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THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THE DOUKHOBORS IN CANADA

One of the many perplexing immigration problems which the Canadian government has had to face in recent years is that connected with the presence of the Doukhobor sect. This sect, calling itself the "Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood," found refuge from Russian persecution within the Dominion of Canada during the year 1899. The records concerning the rise of the Doukhobors are scanty and uncertain, and very little that is definite is known of them as a sect before the second half of the eighteenth century.[1] In seeking to trace the origin of the currents of opinion and the doctrines which have entered into their faith, it is evident that this movement is more or less closely connected with various phases of the opposition to the church since early Christian times.[2] Among the move-

[1] The name Doukhobór is a religious nickname and was used at least as far back as 1785. It comes from the Russian words *Douk* (spirit), and *borets* (champions), hence it means champions of the spirit or spiritual things. In pronouncing it the "k" is scarcely heard at all and the accent is on the last syllable. There are other forms of the name but this is the simple and short form now usually employed. One form of the plural of the name is Doukhobortsi but Doukhobors is equally correct.

[2] They have no written records of their own and have always been unwilling to have outsiders inquire into the secrets of their faith. Accustomed to connect such questioning with trials, fines, banishment, and other forms of persecution, they have learned through long years of such experience to conceal their true beliefs. According to their own tradition they originated with three brothers, Cossacks of the Don, who through the teaching of the spirit and a searching of the scriptures were led away from the ceremonies of the orthodox but corrupt Greek church of Russia. As has been the case with other sects, the views of the Doukhobors have varied from time to time, but in spite of their fluid creed the main trend of their thought is easily discernible. Their strong tendency to reject all external authorities is noticeable. They carefully conceal their superstitious customs.

ments which may be considered as contributing to the formation of this sect may be included the Judaizers, Paulicians, Anabaptists, Manicheans, gnostics, Russian rationalists like Báskin, Kosóy, Tveritínof, the Raskólniks, and the early Quakers. There is also a remarkable likeness between the doctrines of the Doukhobors and those of the Lollards as taught by Wycliffe. The assertion that the sect was founded by a Quaker who visited Russia in the eighteenth century is considered very doubtful. About the middle of the eighteenth century, however, there lived in the Ukraine, in what is now the province of Khárhof, a foreigner who had no fixed place of residence and whose identity is unknown, though he was thought to be a Prussian noncommissioned officer, and a Quaker. This interesting character is thus described: "A man of high character who was devoted to the service of his fellows. He taught that governments are unnecessary, all men are equal, the hierarchy and the priesthood are a human invention, the Church and its ceremonies are superfluous, monasticism is a perversion of human nature, the conspiracy of the proprietors is a disgrace to mankind, and the Tzar and Archbishops are just like other people."[3] He found many followers and around him the nucleus of the Doukhobor sect formed itself, his relation to them being that of adviser and instructor.

The only personal connection that the Quakers had with the Doukhobors before the recent persecution came from a visit of certain English Quakers during the last century. There is an undoubted resemblance between the opinions of the Doukhobors and those taught by the early Quakers. Indeed their doctrine may be described as a very interesting aberration of the somewhat superior doctrine of the Quakers. Among the points in which Quaker influence must have strengthened Doukhoborism are: their attention to the inward voice, their rejection of church ceremonies, their disapproval of oaths and of war, and their independent attitude to authority exemplified by their refusal to uncover their heads even before magistrates or kings.[4] "By early Quaker and Doukhobor alike, Christ was

[3] Aylmer Maude, *A peculiar people: the Doukhobors* (London, 1905), 111.

[4] The Doukhobors are said in many cases to have refused to remove their hats when before officials, magistrates, and governors. *Ibid.*, 101, 102.

identified with the 'inward voice,' and with the capacity to see a moral issue clearly and feel sure of what is right."[5] To them the life and death of Christ was of less importance than the "Christ within." The early Quakers gave a second place to the bible while the Doukhobors, for the most part illiterate, attached scarcely any importance to it except those portions which had passed into the chants or psalms, learned by heart and recited at their meetings. To this unwritten collection of psalms, preserved in their memories, they apply the expression "the living book." To-day the Quakers and Doukhobors seem farther apart. "Among most modern Quakers the Bible, the Atonement, and the Scheme of Redemption, occupy a prominent place, while the Doukhobors attach but slight importance to the Bible as a book, and, for the most part have never heard of the 'Scheme of Redemption,' which they would consider immoral were it narrated to them."[6] There is also a great contrast between the quiet Quaker meetings and the "sunrise service" of the Doukhobors. Another most striking difference exists between these two peace-loving sects in the matter of education and governmental support. The Quakers have always been foremost in educational development and have ever been law-abiding citizens, faithful to the governments under which they have lived. To the Quakers a defective civil government seems better than none at all; while to the Doukhobors, civil government seems to be of itself an evil. Nevertheless, the Doukhobors adhere to a Quaker type of religion which allows man to use his powers of thought and conscience to their utmost, and freedom to express the truths he discerns unhindered by what his predecessors may have said.

Probably the best account of the beliefs of the Doukhobors is the one by Orést Novítsky, which, although written from the point of view of an orthodox Russian, is a fair statement of the Doukhobor beliefs and is accepted as such by the Doukhobors themselves.[7] According to Novítsky, they believe in one God. They do not deny the Trinity but their statements about it are

[5] Maude, *A peculiar people,* 102.

[6] *Ibid.,* 103.

[7] Novítsky made a careful study of the Doukhobors and their creed. His account, which was written as his thesis for a doctor's degree, was published in Kief in 1832.

to the effect that God may be approached from three sides. They accept the external sacraments only in a spiritual sense, hence reject infant baptism; they reject as useless all church rites and ceremonies and condemn church officers. Marriage they say should be accomplished without ceremonies. An external knowledge of Christ is not essential for salvation for "the inward word" reveals him in the depths of the soul. Those enlightened by the spirit of God will after death rise again; what will become of the other people is not known. They regard it as sinful to go to war, to carry arms, or to take oaths. They reject all decrees of churches and councils. Icons and saints should not be worshiped; and government, if needed at all, is necessary only for the wicked.

Peter Verigin, present leader of the sect, has expressed his version of the Doukhobor faith as follows: "The chief article in the Doukhobor's profession of faith is the service and worship of God in spirit and in truth. They do not believe in the mere theory of goodness, but in the fact that conduct alone brings to man salvation. For this it is not only sufficient to understand the ways of God, but to follow them. The conception they have of Christ is based on the teaching of the Gospel, they acknowledge His coming in the flesh, His teaching and suffering in the spiritual sense, and affirm that all contained in the Gospel should be accomplished in ourselves. Thus Christ must in us be begotten, born, grow up, teach, suffer, die and rise again. Concerning baptism they say it takes place when a man repents with a pure and willing heart and turns to God, and not to the world. The foundation of the Doukhobor communism is not based on the economic but spiritual factors, for which the individual psychology is taken as the fundamental issue of everything. The individual is everything, institution is nothing. But the individual has to be in as perfect communism with his spiritual self as possible. Only by keeping the equilibrium between himself and the universe man obtains the highest happiness and freedom. We are our own lawmakers; our individual laws must be in perfect harmony with the laws of nature and universe and not contradict them. The fundamental idea of our principles and laws is the gospel of human love, which originates in the conscience of an individual and leads up

to the conception of whole humanity and God. According to this all living creatures are equal brethren for one and the same life-essence manifests itself in every living being. This is the chief argument why we refuse to eat any meat. We extend this idea of equality also to government, and for this reason deny its superior authority especially when it operates against the conscience of individuals. However, in all that does not infringe what we regard as the will of God, we willingly comply with the law of a government."[8]

As Maude remarks in this connection, we continually find in the Doukhobor statements of belief two different notes. "The one is calm, moderate, persuasive, couched almost in the orthodox phraseology of the Eastern Church, but importing a philosophic truth into the conventional phrases, and at dangerous points taking refuge in mysticism. The other is clear, resolute, radical; there is no mysticism or secrecy about it; but it is often harsh, contemptuous, and inimical, not merely to all authority in Church and State but towards all who do not agree at once and absolutely. It answers to the harshest note sounded by the first generation of Quakers, in their scorn of 'steeple-houses' and 'hireling priests.' These two notes correspond, no doubt, to the views of the milder and more spiritual Doukhobors on the one hand, and the more rigid and logical Doukhobors on the other."[9] We find many inconsistencies in their sayings and they are not above twisting facts to suit their theories. They state they have no bible among them and no need of external revelation, yet when questioned about their faith reply with words from the holy scriptures. According to Tcherthoff "the Doukhobors perhaps furnish the nearest approach to the practice of Christ's teachings that is to be met with in modern life." It is a significant fact that Doukhoborism has been a peasant faith. It has never had any success among the upper classes, and no priest has ever been converted. They have at the most only an intuitive conception of the great aims for which modern culture strives.

[8] *Independent*, 75: 24, 25. A more complete account of the tenets of the Doukhobor faith may be found in Maude, *A peculiar people*, in which Novítsky's classification is reproduced in almost his own words.

[9] *Ibid.*, 105.

A suitable leader is essential to the starting of a sect, and to its continuance if it meets with persecution. The Doukhobor sect was no exception, and capable leaders early appeared among its adherents. Under the influence of Sylvan Kolésnikof, who was active as a religious teacher among the Doukhobors of the government or province of Ekaterinnoslóf from 1750 to 1775, the doctrines of the sect seem to have been at their best. Thoughtful, tactful, prudent, remarkably well informed, his influence was very great and his leadership successful, for he did not come into conflict with the authorities. He taught his followers that the externalities of religion are unimportant and that they might conform to the ceremonial religion of whatever country they found themselves in. One of his sayings was, "Let us bow to the God in one another for we are the image of God upon earth." This is probably the explanation of the bowing customs of the Doukhobors. Another man, not himself a Doukhobor, whose service was of great value to the sect was the wandering philosopher Skovorodá. Though he was too well educated and intelligent to belong to the Doukhobors, he greatly influenced their history. He is said to have formulated some of their views in his time.[10] To the next leader of importance, Ilarión Pobiróhin, belongs the honor of having first made an attempt to draw the sect into a compact community, and of having first assumed divine authority. Pobiróhin was a well-to-do wood dealer of the village of Goréloe in Tambóf, and was chiefly active about 1775 to 1785. Eloquent and of attractive character, he became a leader of the Doukhobors of his district, collecting them together in one place and introducing communism among them. Not satisfied with recognizing himself to be a son of God like the rest of the brethren, he claimed to be Christ. Similar claims have repeatedly been made by later Doukhobor leaders.

[10] This extremely interesting character lived from 1722 to 1794; he was born in the Kief district. Although his parents were common Cossacks, he received a good education. To avoid priesthood he pretended to lose his wits. He visited various countries and on returning to Russia soon adopted the life of a wanderer. He lived very plainly, carrying a Hebrew bible and a flute on his travels, devoting his life to migratory instruction and discussion. Among his accomplishments he counted that of being a musical composer, and the Molokans, who in some respects resemble the Doukhobors, still use some of his verses and tunes. The wandering habit of life which he practiced is still quite common in Russia.

Pobiróhin chose twelve apostles, and appointed twelve "death-bearing angels" to punish all who relapsed after once becoming Doukhobors. He taught that "truth is not in books but in the spirit, not in the Bible but in the 'Living Book'," and he claimed that his church was infallible. The Doukhobors seem to have accepted the theocratic despotism he established without a murmur. Increasing in self-assurance and dictatorialness, Pobiróhin finally came into conflict with the civil authorities, was tried and banished to Siberia with his children and some of his apostles. The most remarkable of all the Doukhobor leaders was Savély Kapoústin, born in 1743, who succeeded Pobiróhin and founded the dynasty which has borne the name of Kalmikof.[11] According to some accounts, he was a son of Pobiróhin and was taken as an army recruit to punish him for being a Doukhobor. After leaving the army he became a leader of the Tambof Doukhobors about 1790. He possessed remarkable ability and his influence over them was very great. In 1805, many of the Tambof Doukhobors joined the Milky Waters colony and Kapoústin was invited to become the leader of this settlement. Under his domination the Doukhobors lost the freedom of thought that had been characteristic of the sect, and became a clan, yielding blind obedience to hereditary leaders.

Because of their peculiar religious views and their open preaching that rulers were not needed, the Doukhobors were looked upon as enemies of both church and state; and they suffered early persecution and banishment in spite of the policy of toleration followed by both Catherine II and her successor Paul. Toward the close of the eighteenth century they were scattered about over southern Russia, southward and westward from the Volga, with adherents in various parts of the empire.[12] Small groups were also living in banishment in Finland, Archangel, and Siberia. During the reigns of Catherine II and Paul, the Doukhobors were severely though intermittently persecuted.

[11] Kapoústin, to avoid military service for his son, arranged to have him made officially illegitimate, and had him pass by the name of his mother's people, the Kalmikofs.

[12] The tenets of the sect were variously expressed by the different groups of Doukhobors, but they were all united in rejecting church authority and church rites, and in disapproving of civil authorities, wars, and oaths.

Alexander I, who reigned from 1801 to 1825, seems to have recognized the futility of the persecutions of the preceding thirty years as a remedy for religious error. On learning of the foolishly harsh treatment that the sect was receiving at the hands of various local authorities, he allowed many Doukhobors from various parts of Russia to migrate to Milky Waters, a fertile district named after the river Molotchna that flows through it into the sea of Azof. The object of the government in allowing the Doukhobors to form a settlement of their own was to hinder them from proselyting. The success of the settlement of thirty families, transported to this district north of the Crimea in 1801, led to requests from other Doukhobors of various governments or provinces to be allowed to join them. At first, these permissions were readily given, the governments sometimes even paying the cost of the migration beside making a liberal grant of fertile land and allowing freedom from taxation for a period of five years. A general permission, however, was not extended to all Doukhobors. Each government was inclined to treat them differently, and no Doukhobors who were serfs of private proprietors could migrate. After 1812, they met with increasing difficulty in getting leave to migrate, at first on account of the Napoleonic invasion and later because it was not thought wise to permit an increase of sectarian settlement. Finally, just before the death of Alexander I in 1825, further migrations to the Milky Waters colony were prohibited. In spite of the beneficent intentions and humane decrees of Alexander I, the persecution of the Doukhobors by local authorities continued on one pretext or another. We have many instances of knouting, brutal treatment, and banishment; several persons were even flogged to death. Harsh measures were passed against them; their right to hold property was limited in order that they might not increase in numbers; and in 1819 they were prohibited from holding public office and a heavy tax was imposed on the whole community for their release from such service. They were restricted in other ways and promised many privileges if they would return to the orthodox church. Severe measures seemed only to strengthen the Doukhobors; their Milky Waters settlement gradually increased and by 1816 there were nine villages to be found there, numbering 3,000 inhabi-

tants, while a much larger number remained scattered over Russia.[13]

The migration to the Milky Waters settlement marked a turning point in the history of this group of Doukhobors. The sect now became an industrial and economic community and ceased to be propagandist. The community was organized without any difficulty and prospered from the first, and for many years it gave little trouble to the authorities. The members quickly adopted agricultural improvements from Mennonites settled near their colony. Agriculture, cattle breeding, carving, carpentry, and masonry were encouraged, but trading and commerce were discouraged by the leader, Kapoústin, for he feared the influence of outsiders. The common members of the sect were also discouraged from learning to read and write. Kapoústin ruled like a prophet and used every means to retain the allegiance of his people. Thirty elders and twelve apostles, appointed by himself, aided him in governing them. They carried on intercourse with the Russian government and paid the taxes for the whole colony so that it appeared to the Doukhobors that Kapoústin's rule was recognized by the authorities. Kapoústin introduced the communal system, but it was abandoned after some years and for a time the members could hold private property. This leader expounded the tenets of the Doukhobors in a manner to turn them to his own profit. He attached special importance to the doctrine of transmigration of souls, which was already known among the sect. He taught that Christ is born again in every believer, and that the soul of Jesus from generation to generation continually animates new bodies. Thus born again he was called pope; false popes arose but the true Jesus retained a small band of believers. These believers, it is held, are the Doukhobors, among whom Jesus is believed constantly to dwell, his soul animating one of them. "The result of Kapoústin's influence was to convert what had been an ultra-democratic, anti-Governmental sect, into a society in which he was an autocrat controlling not only the persons and property, but even the very thoughts of his subjects."[14] They were trained to conceal their real beliefs from outsiders and to be careful not

[13] The Doukhobors of this settlement were the ancestors of those now in Canada.
[14] Maude, *A peculiar people*, 132.

to involve their leader in any difficulty by admitting that he dictated their actions. "Any course decided upon by the Doukhobors is, even to-day, usually justified to outsiders by the use of texts from the Bible, not because such texts are authoritative to the Doukhobors, but because they are a safe way of expressing their decisions."[15]

Kapoústin preferred that the Doukhobors should not apply to the Russian courts of justice, hence urged that all their disputes should be settled among themselves. The "orphans' home," founded ostensibly to secure the welfare of aged widows and orphans, added greatly to the leader's power. This institution was in reality a disguise for the seat of government; it formed a treasury to meet emergencies and centralized the power of the sect. For the maintenance of this institution, a large estate was placed practically at the uncontrolled disposal of the leader, who for official purposes, in relation to the Russian government, figured as the manager of the orphans' home. The members of the sect were sober, well-to-do people, punctual tax payers, and submissive to the government. They considered themselves a "holy people, the King's annointed, a people renewed, and without sin." Exceedingly suspicious of outsiders, then as now, their clannishness went so far that they used all possible means to conceal the misdeeds of their coreligionists. They thoroughly believed in the divinity of the leader and the evil this belief occasioned explains much that is remarkable in their history. The community flourished and its prosperity attracted converts, whose petitions to join the Milky Waters colony caused the Doukhobors trouble. They were charged with proselyting and on the accusation of some of the worthless renegade Doukhobors several of the brethren were arrested and kept in prison.[16]

When Kapoústin died, the office of Christ passed to his son,

[15] Maude, *A peculiar people.*

[16] A characteristic story is told of the Doukhobors in this connection. Their leader, Kapoústin, was arrested on a charge of making converts to his heresy. He met with harsh treatment but was released on bail. Soon after, the Doukhobors declared he had died November 7, 1817, and had been buried the next day. They clung to their story in spite of the fact that the corpse was disinterred and found to be that of another man. Kapoústin lived in hiding for some years after this. *Ibid.*, 137.

Vasily Kalmikof (1792-1832); and his son and heir was Ilarión Kalmikof (1816-1841). Neither of these leaders possessed ability and they fell into evil practices and became drunkards. The council of thirty elders and the twelve apostles ruled in Vasily Kalmikof's name; a period of maladministration began. A mere suspicion of treachery was punished by torture and death by the council of elders, which had constituted itself an inquisitional tribunal. A governmental investigation of their outrages followed in 1834-1839, and revealed a frightful state of things. Among the proved cases of terrorism might be mentioned the fact that some unfortunate victims were found to have been mutilated and even buried alive. The result was that the Emperor Nicholas I ordered all members of the sect to be transported to Tiflis in the Caucasus, except those who would return to the orthodox church. Surrounded by wild hill tribes in the Caucasus, it was thought that the nonresistant Doukhobor sect would soon abandon their principles or be exterminated by their wild neighbors. Several leading Doukhobors have since acknowledged that this expulsion was due to their own misdoings.

In all, more than four thousand exiles went from the Milky Waters to the Caucasus between 1841 and 1843. Though this removal involved many hardships, only twenty-seven Doukhobors were found willing to return to the orthodox church. Later, however, this number was considerably increased when they came to realize what a hard life they would have to lead in the Caucasus. Their leader, Ilarión Kalmikof, died soon after the migration, and they were ruled for a time by an elder named Lyovouska, who soon got into trouble with the Russian authorities and was banished to Siberia. He was followed by Peter Kalmikof, one of Ilarión's sons, who led them successfully until 1864, when he died, still a young man. On his death, his wife Loukeriya became the leader of the Doukhobors and proved exceptionally successful. Instead of dying out as the Russian government had hoped, the new community flourished in spite of the severe climate and other difficulties encountered. This prosperity was largely due to their industry, their practice of communism, and the spirit of coöperation and mutual aid among them. Located six thousand feet above sea level, even barley grew with difficulty, but they practiced agriculture successfully

in spite of the altitude and poor soil. They were also wagoners and cattle breeders, and became a well-to-do peasantry. They spread out and formed settlements in the provinces of Tiflis, Kars, and Elizavetpol between the Caucasus mountains and the Persian frontier.[17] Fifty years after settling there, they numbered nearly 12,000 in the Tiflis government, about 5,000 in the Kars government, and in the Elizavetpol government about 4,000, making a total of 21,000 Doukhobors in the Caucasus. They offered no objections to conscription and were in good repute with the authorities and with their neighbors the Mohammedans, who surrounded them. A new "orphans' home," also called "the Fatherland," which was established in this period, accumulated a large capital, the exact amount of which is not known as the leaders never rendered accounts to the people.

After Loukeriya died, in 1886, trouble arose among the Doukhobors not only over the succession but also over the disposal of considerable property of which she had had charge. According to an official report of 1895 by the governor of Tiflis, a claimant to power immediately appeared in the person of Peter Verigin, from the village of Slavyanki in the government of Elizavetpol. He had for many years been in attendance on the leader, whose nephew he was through his mother, and he claimed also to be the son of Peter Kalmikof. He met with strong opposition from the head men of the village of Goreloe, the seat of government where the head of the sect lived, and the seat of "the Fatherland" or "orphans' home." Though the outlook of the Doukhobors had been much broadened and they had ceased to believe in many of the old superstitions, yet on the confirmation of his relationship to the former leader, Peter Kalmikof, the people of his village and others accepted him.[18]

[17] The Russian authorities induced the Doukhobors by special privileges to take part in the colonization of these districts, added to the Russian empire after the war with Turkey in 1877-1878. "During that war the Doukhobors rendered valuable service to the transport department of the army." Maude, *A peculiar people*, 150.

[18] After his mother announced in solemn gathering that Verigin was the son of Peter Kalmikof, she and her husband fell at his feet with the rest of the village people. They then took the oath of allegiance and signed attestations of allegiance. Thus Verigin established his connection with the holy reigning dynasty, his title being acknowledged on the strength of his birth. *Ibid.*, 153.

Consequently, about seven tenths of all the Doukhobor population swore allegiance to Verigin. The opposition or "small party," which looked upon the unprincipled Verigin as something of a scamp, thereupon appealed to the Russian law courts for the first time in fifty years, asking that they be awarded the custody of the "orphans' home" property. Loukeriya's brother, a member of the "small party," claimed the management of the estate in question and won his case, although the other side charged him with bribery. As a disturber of the peace, Verigin with his brothers and principal followers were banished without trial to Siberia, by administrative order. Verigin's banishment, which was to last five years, from 1887 to 1892, was later extended so that altogether he spent fifteen years in exile. At first he was confined in the government of Archangel and later in other places like Obdorsk at the mouth of the Obi. The Doukhobors, however, took almost incredible pains to keep up intercourse with the exiled leader, whose influence was as great as ever. The Russian authorities removed him to more inaccessible places but the indefatigable persistency of the messengers overcame all obstacles. Thus they were able to receive his instructions in spite of all the government could do to prevent it. These instructions, in some instances, roused great excitement among his followers as they contained new principles which he advised them to adopt for their spiritual welfare.

During his exile, Verigin came into contact with exiles from other sects; he also met friends of Tolstoy and became familiar with books by this author. His ideas were much altered as a consequence and many of the injunctions he sent to his followers at this time were greatly influenced and colored by Tolstoyan ideas. Verigin, however, has always been unwilling to acknowledge that his views have been modified by those of Tolstoy. In 1896, the very year that Verigin asserted that he had not read Tolstoy's works, he composed a letter to his followers made up principally of passages borrowed verbatim from Tolstoy's *Kingdom of God is within you.* That epistle, now a part of the sacred lore of the Doukhobors, was signed by Peter Verigin, but it contains no acknowledgment of the facts that he had borrowed its contents from Tolstoy. It serves to show how far Verigin accepted Tolstoy's ideas; he passed on to his followers

Tolstoy's ideas of nonresistance, vegetarianism, repudiation of governmental authority, law courts, and the ownership of property. Some of these theories the Doukhobors simply translated into forms already familiar to them.

All during his banishment, Verigin prompted a marked religious revival by the advice he sent through his messengers. He recommended the re-introduction of communism, strict abstinence from strong drinks and tobacco, the practice of vegetarianism, the destruction of all arms possessed by his followers, and an adherence to nonresistant principles. In 1887, conscription was introduced by which all male adults became liable for army service. The Doukhobors had at first complied with the law but when the above-mentioned reviva took place they decided they could no longer slay their fellow men. The decision to refuse army service was the result of a message sent by Verigin early in 1895. Their refusal was followed by a severe persecution. Not all the Doukhobors would accept Verigin's regulations, so that there was a split in 1895 resulting in a middle or "butchers' party," which rejected Verigin's advice, and a "fasting party" which accepted it. The former, which consisted of nearly three hundred families out of the seven hundred or more families, begged the Russian authorities not to confound them with the "fasting" Doukhobors and their undertakings. They remained true to their traditional secretiveness, however, and would not reveal what their opponents proposed to do. There was great excitement among them for the "fasters" demanded the return of the "Fatherland" or "orphans' home" with the property belonging to it. They refused also to pay their taxes, which the manager of the "orphans' home" had attended to. They even went so far as to attempt to arouse the surrounding Mohammedan tribes against the government. Their young men began to refuse conscription, but the crisis came when this group prepared to leave the country. The "small party," disturbed by the suspicious preparations of the "fasters" feared an attack from them. The local authorities were perplexed by the difficult situation and the government, misled by false reports and confused by the mutual recriminations of the two parties, found itself in an uncomfortable and unenviable position. The Doukhobors could not be exempted from con-

scription in a military empire. The local authorities, therefore, commenced persecuting them, though in their reports to the higher authorities they were careful to misrepresent what they had done. It must be admitted that the behavior of the Doukhobors was very troublesome. They were often impudent and disrespectful and even deliberately insulted the governor of Tiflis and his subordinates, who thought it necessary to visit the district where the trouble took place.

Verigin had sent instructions in 1895 that on his name-day, June 29, old style, his followers were to collect and burn their arms to show their firm resolve not to use physical force against their fellow men. This they did publicly and the next morning before the fire had quite burned out, the Cossacks who had been sent into the district to keep order came upon the Doukhobors and flogged them brutally. Following this inhuman proceeding the Cossacks were quartered in the villages, as in a conquered country, and they committed many outrages. Many of the sect suffered violent death by flogging while others yielded to the pressure brought to bear on them. The government went further and broke up the homes of the "fasters" in the Tiflis government and scattered about 4,000 people among the Georgians and other tribes. As a result, in less than three years these people were reduced to such straits that about 1,000 of them died from sickness caused by want, change of climate, and other hardships.[19] More would have perished but for the help which the Doukhobors of Kars and Elizavetpol were able to give them in spite of the police regulations which forbade communication with these dispersed people. Those of the men available for military service were sent for eighteen years to the Siberian criminal battalion. It is impossible to justify the inhuman treatment accorded to these people who had really committed no crime. The first to suffer were those serving in the army who laid down their arms. Imprisonment, banishment, flogging

[19] In the winter of 1894-1895 Tolstoy first made the acquaintance of the Doukhobors. Externally they seemed to meet the requirements of his teachings and he naturally fell into the error of regarding them as examples of true Christianity in practical life. "Rejecting the Church and State, acknowledging (apparently) no human authority, they lived together and coöperated in a closely knit community. They professed the very principles of Christian anarchy dear to Tolstoy." Naturally, therefore, he was prominent in appealing for help for the sufferers. Maude, *A peculiar people*, 174.

in various degrees, and other minor hardships were inflicted on them. The policy of the officials between 1895 and 1898 seemed to be to make the Doukhobors abandon their principles or allow themselves to be slowly exterminated. Still the sect had some sympathizers among the officials, and moreover, the government was anxious that news of the persecution should not spread. The Russian press was forbidden to allude to the matter and outsiders visiting the Doukhobors were expelled. But publicity was obtained through Tolstoy and his friends; representatives were sent to the Caucasus to investigate matters and a petition was presented to the tzar by a delegation sent to St. Petersburg. Through the English press were published unintentionally several extremely biased accounts of the Doukhobors and reports of the persecution. Tolstoy's representative, V. Tchertkoff, appealed for help to be administered through him for these people who were being persecuted "for having realized the Christian life." On the other side the Russian government in St. Petersburg sent out a general to investigate the whole matter. A number of Doukhobor elders were summoned before him and they were offered the restoration of land and property if they would take oaths of allegiance and submit to conscription. This official heard what they had to say and did all he could to persuade them to yield. He went so far as to acknowledge the excellence of their views, but asserted that the time had not yet come to put them into practice. To this they replied, "The time, General, may not yet have come for you — but it has come for us!"[20]

Finally, in March, 1898, the Doukhobors received permission to leave Russia on condition that they should go at their own expense. It was stipulated, however, that those who had been called on for military service should not be released, that those (including Peter Verigin) who were in Siberia, should remain to work out their sentences, and that if any of them ever returned, they should be banished to distant parts of Siberia. It would have been impossible for these ignorant, illiterate, and impoverished peasants to avail themselves of this permission but for the aid they received from the Society of Friends in London and in America, and from volunteer workers elsewhere.

[20] Maude, *A peculiar people*, 36.

It is said that Tolstoy wrote his last great novel, *Resurrection*, to get money to pay for the emigration of the Doukhobors to Canada. The Doukhobors were anxious to move at once for fear the permission would be rescinded, and on the first of September, 1898, Prince D. A. Hilkoff, Aylmer Maude, and two Doukhobor families who were delegates for the Doukhobors, sailed from Liverpool to Canada.[21] Prince Hilkoff and Aylmer Maude accompanied the Doukhobors, Ivan Ivin and Peter Mahortof went with their families at their pressing request and at their own expense, to advise with them and act as interpreters. They were to ascertain whether Canada was a suitable country for Doukhobor settlement and what the Canadian government would do to help the migration.[22] Prince Hilkoff's knowledge of the Doukhobors made him an admirable negotiator, especially in the matter of selecting land.

Meanwhile an influential committee of the Society of Friends had interested itself in the project of transporting the Doukhobors to the island of Cyprus. Prince Hilkoff, Ivin, and Mahortof had visited Cyprus in July, 1898, and reported that the island was altogether unsuitable for a Doukhobor settlement. This report came too late to prevent a temporary migration thither of 1,126 Doukhobors, who later came to Canada.

As the Canadian government was anxious to attract immigration, the delegates found its representatives ready to give every possible assistance. The government undertook to give each male over eighteen years of age 160 acres of good land subject to the payment of an entrance fee of ten dollars, which payment could be deferred for three years. Assistance by government interpreters and accommodation in the government immigration halls was also offered on their arrival in Canada, and lastly

[21] Prince Hilkoff's career is very interesting. He left what promised to be a brilliant career in the army because his conscience troubled him for taking human life. He incurred the displeasure of the tzar because he divided his estate among his peasants and incited them to resist the extortions of their priests. Persisting in his course, he was banished to the Caucasus, where he lived among the Doukhobors. Joseph Elkinton, *The Doukhobors, their history in Russia, their migration to Canada* (Philadelphia, 1903), 173-175.

[22] This contemplated migration was not without precedent. Twenty years before, a successful settlement had been made in southern Canada by Mennonites from Russia, who had refused to do military service. Maude, *A peculiar people*, 39.

a grant of one dollar was provided for each immigrant, man, woman, or child, reaching Winnipeg by June 30, 1899.[23] As a further inducement the immigrants were to be exempt from military service, the militia act of Canada being supplemented by an order in council which named the Doukhobors as a sect which was to have exemption from the provisions of this act.

As the Doukhobors, Ivin and Mahortof, were unable to speak English and reluctant to take the responsibility of the decision, and as it was difficult and expensive to communicate with the Doukhobors in the Caucasus, Prince Hilkoff and Aylmer Maude found it necessary to take this responsibility, although they were not fully trusted by the two Doukhobor delegates. The ever suspicious Doukhobors were ready to believe the suggestions of some Russian Jews of Winnipeg that Prince Hilkoff had a selfish motive for helping them. At this time Aylmer Maude, who was a personal friend of Tolstoy, was mistaken as to the real character of the Doukhobors. He accepted the Tolstoyan version of the matter to the effect that "They were supposed to have practically solved the great problem which divides anarchists from socialists, and to have shown how to combine complete individual freedom with equality of opportunity and material condition, and also with peace and good order in the life of the community."[24] Tolstoy, with his dislike of conscription, had hoped also that the collective protest which the Doukhobors had made would have a widespread result. The imperfections of their system became obvious soon after they reached Canada, and Maude was completely disillusioned.

The Doukhobors were anxious to settle as a compact community with their lands as closely together as possible. A promising location was selected in the district near Edmonton, Alberta, consisting of twelve townships where the Doukhobors might settle in a single group. But this arrangement came to naught because unfavorable accounts, which had found their way into print, furnished the conservative opposition to the lib-

[23] Usually the one dollar bonus was paid only to male adults. The government paid a similar bonus to agents of steamship companies to encourage immigration into Canada, but as there were no agents in this case, the bonus went into a fund out of which the government paid the expense of supporting the Doukhobors on their first arrival. Maude, *A peculiar people*, 48.

[24] *Ibid.*, 59.

eral government with weapons against the proposed immigration. Absurd reports were published in the Canadian newspapers, and for these several reasons pressure was brought to bear on the government and the Doukhobor delegates found that they could not get this desirable land. It was impossible to find another suitable location large enough for the Doukhobor community, so that finally three different locations were selected. These were subsequently called the North (or Thunder Hill) colony, situated at the northeast corner of Assiniboia; the South colony (with an annex called the Devil's Lake colony), situated about eighteen miles southwest of the North colony; and the Saskatchewan colonies, divided into the Duck Lake and the Saskatoon settlements, also called Prince Albert or Rosthern colony, situated about 250 miles to the west or northwest of the others. In these settlements the Doukhobors were given more than 600 square miles, comprising some of the most fertile land in the northwest. To get the Doukhobors settled as nearly *en bloc* as possible, it was necessary for the government to give the Canadian Pacific railroad an equivalent elsewhere for the odd numbered sections held by that railway in the townships selected. This was satisfactorily arranged except with reference to a small part of the land allotted, which was held in trust for educational purposes.

Maude, who met everywhere with promptness, cordial assistance, and encouragement during this difficult and critical time, arranged with the Canadian Pacific railway to carry the Doukhobors from the coast, i.e. from St. John, New Brunswick, or Quebec, to the station west of Winnipeg nearest to their future location. The distance was over 2,000 miles and the rate was six dollars per adult, the colonist cars taking two days and eighteen hours, including stoppages, to make the journey. The Canadian authorities were quite explicit about the conditions on which the Doukhobors might come to Canada. In addition to the privileges already noted, they were not at first required to perform on each separate homestead the work legally necessary but were allowed to do this work on any part of the township they took up, in order to facilitate their communal arrangements. On their part the Doukhobors were to supply vital statistics, pay their taxes, and conform to other Canadian laws. Later, when trouble arose, they claimed that they had not understood

what was expected of them, especially in the matter of statistics, although Maude had explained these demands and offers of the government to the two Doukhobor delegates, and they had made no objections to the requirements.

By December, 1898, negotiations and arrangements were so far advanced that Leopold Soulerzhitsky, at Batouni, on the Black Sea, had been empowered by the Doukhobors and their friends in England to engage the Beaver line steamer, *Lake Huron*, to convey the first party of about 2,000 Doukhobors direct from Batouni to Canada. In January, 1898, the *Lake Huron* left the port of Batouni and after nearly a month's voyage reached Halifax. Soulerzhitsky had the Doukhobors of this steamer in charge as well as the third party which consisted of the Cyprus Doukhobors, already mentioned. The second steamer, the *Lake Superior*, which arrived January 27, brought about 2,000 Doukhobors in charge of Count Sergius Tolstoy, the second son of Leo Tolstoy. Each of the steamers made a second trip, and the last steamer, which was the most crowded of all, carried 2,318 Doukhobors besides several Russian helpers whose assistance was invaluable.[25] On account of several cases of smallpox two of the shiploads had to stay in quarantine for a month at Grosse island in the gulf of St. Lawrence. Altogether, 7,363 Doukhobors had reached Canada by June, 1899; about 12,000 of them, who did not wish to emigrate, were left in the Caucasus, while about 110 were in Siberian exile. The Doukhobors were able to furnish a part of the expenses, while the Canadian government spent about $20,000 in settling them, in addition to the $35,000 bonus money due according to the agreement. The Doukhobors agreed to refund a portion of the $20,000 spent by the government.

Among the many whose services proved invaluable during the difficult time of arrival and settlement of the emigrants, the members of the Society of Friends took a prominent part. It was through the efforts and assistance of the Doukhobor com-

[25] Among the workers whose unselfish exertions in behalf of the Doukhobors are noteworthy are: Herbert P. Archer, who continued Maude's work as an intermediary between the Doukhobors and the Canadian government; J. Elkinton, who also met them and accompanied them to their new homes; and Prince Hilkoff, who remained in Canada until all the Doukhobors were settled in their new locations.

mittee of Friends, in London, that the last three steamers were chartered for the migration.[26] They not only furnished able leadership for the movement but also generous financial assistance.[27] One of the Friends, Wilson Sturge, was also foremost in removing the Doukhobors from Cyprus, where they landed in 1898. The climate of the island proved unsuitable, and about 100 Doukhobors died in a few months. There was much discontent among them and a strong desire soon developed to go to Canada to join the others. Wilson Sturge, to whom the Doukhobors were very grateful for his services, wound up their affairs in Cyprus. The *Lake Superior* was chartered and after a prosperous voyage the Doukhobors landed at Quebec, whence they were promptly transported to Yorkton.

The Friends have also been foremost among the Doukhobors in educational work, many men and women of high character giving their services freely to them. Since the Doukhobors reached Canada no other body of men has assisted them so liberally and indefatigably as the Philadelphia Quakers.[28]

The majority of the Doukhobors arrived in Canada almost utterly destitute, for their transportation from Russia had used up what slight resources they possessed and even this voyage itself was made possible only through the help given so generously by the Society of Friends. Their first year in Canada was very trying for they had to face more than the ordinary trials of the pioneer. "They were located on the bare prairie almost without tools or building materials, distant from sources of supplies, without money, harassed by sickness, subject to the rigor of a strange climate with winter fast approaching."[29]

[26] "The members of this committee were William A. Albright, Edmund Wright Brooks, Frederick G. Cash, Samuel F. Hurnard, Thomas W. Marsh, Henry T. Mennell, Arthur Midgly, Thomas P. Newman, Medford Warner and John Bellows, who acted as clerk to the committee." Maude, *A peculiar people*, 76.

[27] The English Friends had to raise a guarantee fund of $80,000 before the English government would allow the Doukhobors to land in Cyprus. Elkinton, *The Doukhobors*, 183.

[28] The author of this article has in her possession a letter from J. Elkinton, Jr., which gives a good account of what the Philadelphia Friends have done for the Doukhobors, as well as other interesting information about them. It serves to show, also, why the Friends have taken so much interest in the welfare of this sect.

[29] Elkinton, *The Doukhobors*, 99.

Their first task was necessarily that of making habitable shelters for themselves. As almost all the Doukhobor men were scattered over Canada as laborers on farms, railways, and in other places to earn wages sufficient to carry them through the winter, the women took their place as workers, building the villages and preparing the ground for harvest. The enterprising spirit and superior ability of the women was well shown in the way they faced the situation and built their homes. From the immigration halls the Doukhobors had moved into huge barracks, built by the government in convenient places on the Doukhobor reserve. Using these as centers of operations, the women energetically began to build up their villages. They carted the logs for miles with the aid of two simple little wheels. They trod the mortar which they used in deep trenches and used their hands as trowels. They carried the earth for the mortar in willow baskets on their backs, while the water was often carried half a mile in two buckets, rough hewn out of tree trunks, hung on the end of a long pole. The weaker women chopped up hay or grass to mix with the mortar; several women, with their skirts kilted up, trod the mortar until it was as smooth as paste while another gang carried it in wooden troughs to the houses where six or eight women neatly and skilfully plastered the logs inside and out until the walls presented a smooth surface. The women also began the work of cultivating the soil. As few draft animals were available, they plowed much of the land by harnessing themselves, twelve pairs of women to a plow, with one to hold the plow. Pictures of this novel method of plowing caused much unfair comment on the supposed cruelty and laziness of the Doukhobor men; the fact was that the women rose to the occasion and did this necessary work in the absence of the men. Besides there were many more women than men among them and in many families there were no men to help bear the burdens, for Siberia had taken them. Out of the 7,361 Doukhobors which came to Canada, only 1,500 were men; the others had been killed or were in exile.

Much sickness appeared among them the first fall and winter, due to the insufficient food, exposure to the bitter weather, overcrowding and living in poorly ventilated rooms, and the fact that they were worn out by excessive labor. They suffered

from scurvy, and from the fever brought by the Doukhobors who came from Cyprus. As they had no physicians, and no medicine in most of the communities, conditions were very bad for a time. They could not get through the winter without assistance and it was only by means of the united efforts of all their friends that they escaped starvation during the winter of 1899-1900. The necessary help was furnished by Friends in Philadelphia and London who had already spent large sums of money to stock the Doukhobor farms and provide them with agricultural implements. The Friends in Philadelphia at this critical time raised $30,000 in a few weeks. Taking advantage of the law permitting settlers' effects to be carried at reduced rates, they were allowed by the authorities to ship in carloads of food and necessaries, which the Canadian officials distributed among the needy of the communities. Other organizations, among them the Dominion national council of women, rendered valuable assistance in this trying time. The Canadian government supplied the immigrants with seed for the spring sowing and through its agents also donated several thousand head of livestock.[30] In spite of the charity they have received, however, the Doukhobors have never shown signs of becoming paupers but have utilized the aid given them in helping themselves. In 1902, matters had somewhat improved, especially in the more progressive communities. From this time on, the Doukhobors prospered and soon began sending money to their brethren in exile. By 1902, they had also begun to pay off the loan advanced by P. N. Birukova and her sister, A. N. Sharapova, to pay for the chartering of the vessel that brought the Cyprus Doukhobors to Canada. Since they could not perhaps be held legally responsible for this loan, this action testifies to both their honesty and their remarkable industry and frugality. According to Dr. William Saunders of the experimental agricultural department of Canada, who visited the Doukhobors of the North colony the first year, the estimated cost of living was two dollars a month per capita, debt was almost unknown among them, their credit with merchants was high, and they saved their money in banks instead of keeping it in a stocking or an old teapot.

[30] *Harper's weekly*, 46: 1779.

The Doukhobors disapproved of private property for the most part and a communal form of property holding, which many hold to be erratic and impossible, is general among them. The Doukhobor community of the North and South colonies is the largest experiment in pure communism ever attempted. Communism seems to have become with them a religious principle for it is based not on economic but on spiritual factors. The village property, stock, and implements are owned in common. They raise most excellent stock, are fond of fine horses and take very good care of them. Certain personal property is not regarded as common but a Doukhobor does not hesitate to ask his brethren for any article that takes his fancy and a good Doukhobor will give to any who ask. They till their fields in common and divide up the produce according to the number of members in each family. The system has its advantages and disadvantages. The mutual support that they have been able to give each other by their communal system has made it possible for them to survive the persecutions to which they were formerly subjected. The system has its advantages, also, in the purchase of supplies of all kinds and implements for agricultural uses. It also makes it possible to utilize small resources so that if any village communes are improverished they are succored by the other Doukhobor communities. On the other hand, the system has the disadvantage of being a hardship for the individual. It is said that occasionally there has been a redistribution of property so that all might be approximately on one level of material well being, though these attempts have not been wholly successful. Communism is rendered possible by strong leadership, dominating the entire group. The Doukhobor communities have been firmly centralized by Peter Verigin, who is supreme among them. He is an adroit and able politician, although he seems too perplexed himself to guide the Doukhobors in finding the truth.

Prince Hilkoff and others interested in getting the Doukhobors comfortably settled were keenly anxious to induce them to adopt or retain communism, but at that time the Doukhobors seemed to prefer individualism, and from 1899 until 1903, when Peter Verigin assumed active leadership, they were unable to come to a decision; some villages became communistic and oth-

ers individualistic. The number of communistic villages gradually diminished, although they prospered more than the individualistic villages. In August, 1900, only one of the ten villages of the Saskatchewan Doukhobors was communistic. Among the Swan river villages three were really communistic, one was individualistic and in the rest there was a struggle between the two forms of ownership. Among the Yorkton villages a few were communal. All this was altered when Verigin arrived from Siberia in 1903. The individualistic villages of the North and South colonies resumed communism and the communism of the different villages was centralized so that the communal funds of both North and South colonies are now controlled by a committee of three. Peter Verigin came at a time when the Doukhobors needed leadership badly and he has given it with judgment and ability, not sparing himself the drudgery of attending to details. According to his own account the Canadian government, afraid of serious trouble with the Doukhobors at the time of the first pilgrimage, offered negotiations with the Russian government for Verigin's liberation from exile in Siberia before the expiration of his term of imprisonment in Siberia. Verigin was liberated and on his arrival in Canada he assumed autocratic control of the Doukhobors. He is in every sense a remarkable man, cultured and intelligent, but he seems at times to be capable of questionable acts, and of insincerity. On his arrival in Canada he brought order out of chaos both in the North and South colonies. Firmly and tactfully he took hold of the situation and induced his followers to adopt modern methods of agriculture and modern machinery, including the steam plow. He has introduced first class stock, horses, and cattle, and by his advice the Doukhobors have broken several thousand acres of land; by 1905 they had purchased additional land to the value of $60,000. They now operate by steam several flour, saw, and flax mills, which they change from one kind of work to the other. They also have at Yorkton an excellent brick- and tile-making plant, one of the largest and best brickmaking plants in Canada. All goods for the colony are brought in wholesale quantities and there is a large warehouse for the distribution of these goods among the villages.

Agriculture and cattle raising are still their principal occupa-

tions. They also engage in lumbering on government lands, for which they hold permits. Then, too, they have made large earnings in cash on railroads built in their vicinity. Annually about 1,000 adults are sent out to labor on the railroads, and after dividing the living expenses, the greater part of the wages of these laborers goes into the common treasury. Some few of the better class look with jealousy on Verigin but the majority have implicit faith in him and he does his best to retain their good will by warding off all outside influence. Maude remarks on this subject: "There is no denying the service that Peter Verigin renders to the Doukhobors by acting as their leader. But there is also no denying there is a considerable element of secrecy and covert despotism about it, and the opposition to it is, in some cases, a moral revolt entailing heavy material sacrifices."[31] There is at present growing dissatisfaction with the Verigin régime and the entire communal system. Some are probably dissatisfied from selfish motives, others because they see the system spells despotism. The poor individual is quite helpless for the way out is exceedingly difficult. Many have not the moral courage to show their disapproval, since it would mean for them a good deal of unpleasantness. They are told, for instance, that they are not individualistic Doukhobors, but Galicians, whom they despise, and this appellation constitutes a heavy reproach against the would-be rebels. Those disapproving of Verigin are reviled, debts are brought against them, and every means taken to compel them to remain in the commune.

Verigin, with pretended humility, claims no authority for himself, but somehow what he desires to have done comes to pass. It is said that when he came to Canada he ascertained who were influential men among his people and made friends with them, converting them into his obedient tools.

That their life in Canada has from the first been a strenuous one has been already shown. In their own words: "We founded steam mills, we acquired steam plowing engines, and steam threshers, we organized steam brick factories, we finished the construction of a great flour mill which, with the machinery, will cost us $30,000, and though we lived in this

[31] Maude, *A peculiar people.*

region during eight years, yet we have had no joy in our life, as the life itself did not allow it. We had nothing and often we had to work more than was good."[32]

The Doukhobor women show great deftness in manual labor; but apart from their outdoor work they play an important part in the industrial life of the community. Besides having the household management they spin, weave, dye, embroider, and practice tailoring and millinery as far as they have use for the art. They are skillful with the needle and they do some exquisitely fine work in making and decorating linen for household use and for the church. Among the pieces used in religious ceremony is the marriage scarf, the sacred emblem of marriage with which each woman is presented when she is married. The texture of some of their table linen is equal to that produced by the best looms of Belfast. They make their linen cloth from the flax raised by themselves. The dyeing, spinning, and weaving are all done by the community. For the spinning they use the old-fashioned distaff, while their wooden loom is very primitive. The clothes of the men and women are made of similar material, those of the latter being generally lighter in color. "The women wear a very picturesque and comfortable hood, with a rosette of bright color on the front of it. The velvet band which encircles the head is invariably black, otherwise there is considerable variety in the color used, although the shape is always the same."[33] This hood is reserved for special occasions, for they wear a white shawl or kerchief in the fields and whenever they are working. They are neat in their appearance. They keep immaculate their kerchiefs and their white aprons, which they wear over their dark cloth skirts when in the house.

Elkinton thus describes their physical appearance: "The Doukhobors are people of the purest Russian type, large and strong, men and women both being of magnificent physique. They are characterized by broad square shoulders, heavy limbs and a massive build generally. Their features are prominent, but refined and bear the marks of a life that is free from vice. The most striking characteristic of all is the bright, kindly sparkle of their eyes, which gives a winning expression to the

[32] *Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries* (Ottawa, 1907), 15.
[33] Elkinton, *The Doukhobors*, 46.

whole face, and quickly wins confidence in their character. All their habits demonstrate that they are possessed of keen minds."[34] The men are grave, deliberate, and slow of speech; the women are tender-hearted and their feelings are easily touched.

Village life has great attractions for them and this perhaps is one reason why they have objected to making homestead entries singly. Their villages are clean and well kept. Each village has a public bath house which is used daily, as the Doukhobors are very cleanly in their personal habits. Their houses during the first years may be said to have been of three kinds. Where logs were procurable, substantial homes were built; the roof was made of poles on which was laid prairie sod four inches in thickness. Where no wood was available, they built wonderfully neat and compact houses of sod. Mention is also made of half dug-outs, damp and dark. In one village, where neither timber nor sod were to be had, the houses were made in a remarkably ingenious manner by the use of poplar sticks five or six inches in diameter. These poles were driven into the ground one foot apart to form an enclosure thirty by twenty feet, and in and out of these, willow withes were tightly woven like baskets. The whole structure when completed was plastered inside and out by the women, who used their hands as trowels in plastering the walls with a thick tenacious clayey mixture which they had already prepared for the purpose. This style of house is durable, and well adapted to resist cold weather. Each room has a window or two and a door, although little provision is made for ventilation. The floors are of hard, smooth-packed earth or sand. Their storehouses and stables are built like the houses, are similar in size and appearance and are often under the same roof. In each house the great oven of sun-dried bricks, which serves for warming the hut and cooking the food, is a characteristic feature. The oven front stands six or eight feet high and five feet wide; the interior baking space is approximately three by four feet. The whole family sleep on the oven in extremely cold weather.

The interior of the houses of the North colony has been described by one who visited the Doukhobors shortly after they

[34] Elkinton, *The Doukhobors.*

built their villages. The Doukhobors have made their own furniture, which consists of a few rough stools to sit on and higher benches for tables. The beds are made of a series of poplar poles about six feet long and three or four inches in diameter, placed close together along the wall. These are covered with hay, with a piece of felt over it, or in a few cases, feather beds. On this framework they sleep, using such bed clothes as they can command. Some use curtains to divide the sleeping places into compartments, for most of the houses consist of one large room used as living-room, bedroom, dining-room, and kitchen. The Doukhobor families are not large and they aim to have in all their villages a house for each family. Absolute cleanliness is characteristic of every house, even that of the very poorest family. The houses of the Swan River villages in the North colony of a later date show great improvement over those already described. One observer says of them: "They are built on either side of a wide street, are of unsawn timbers, covered with clay, painted white and ornamented with yellow dados. The roofs project and form verandahs ornamented with carved woodwork. The yards in front of the houses are spread with sand, swept and watered once or twice a day. The interiors are all white-washed and spotlessly clean, and mostly consist of three or four rooms. Many of their houses to-day are comfortable and attractively clean."[35] The rooms in all the houses are lighted by large iron lamps.

Most of the Doukhobors are vegetarians, and in their own houses they live principally on vegetable soup made of potatoes, onions, and water. A big panful or bowl of soup is placed on the table and each Doukhobor with a wooden spoon helps himself from this common dish. They eat also black bread, fruit, cereals, and vegetables. Eggs and milk are tabooed, the latter because as vegetarians the Doukhobors consider it sinful to take the natural food from the calves. On Sundays, as a special treat, they have pancakes made of flour and water. When sick or away from home they permit themselves a more liberal and nourishing diet. They are not as strict vegetarians now as they were during the time of the persecution, 1895-1898, because

[35] Arthur G. Bradley, *Canada in the twentieth century* (Westminster, 1903), 298, 299.

the fish in the waters near their new home is a constant temptation. They refuse to eat animal fat and when offered food by outsiders they look at it with suspicion and inquire, "Grease?" Many of their Indian neighbors in northwest Assiniboia do not care to have the Doukhobors visit them as they regard them as "queer," and a story is told of a Cree who, desiring to keep a Doukhobor away from his tent, held up a piece of bannock with a deprecatory gesture, at the same time uttering the word "Grease."[36]

The Doukhobors are kind-hearted, thrifty, honest, industrious, and are noted for being extremely hospitable. A simple, kindly, gentle folk of integrity and pure morals, they are appreciative of kindness done them, and are charitable toward the needy. Most of their neighbors praise them for their many admirable virtues. Upright and God-fearing, they regard the family bond highly and love their homes. They are non-smokers and drunkenness is practically unknown among them. Although most of them are exceedingly industrious, there are some lazy Doukhobors, and they spend much time visiting because as guests they are not required to work. They are possessed of infinite patience and cheerfulness under sorrow, suffering privations bravely, and they are noted for their readiness to sacrifice themselves.

The Doukhobor children are very interesting; they are remarkably well-behaved and polite, and impress one very favorably. They have won much praise by their good conduct in school and their eagerness to learn. Respect for parents is strictly observed by all children and the older people in turn regard them as spiritually their equals.

The Doukhobors are extremely peaceable; some of them will not even kill a mosquito. On their journeyings in the mosquito season, when the air is literally full of these pests, these individuals carry a portable smudge which consists of a little vessel of burning charcoal covered with clay and grass, and carried by a string; this makes a dense smoke which surrounds and protects them as they swing it along. No punishments are to be found among the Doukhobors. They admonish each other in a brotherly way, according to the gospel, and if this is not

[36] *Outlook*, 72: 353.

sufficient, the offender is brought before a general assembly of the villagers. Therefore, though they have no written regulations, disagreement and disorder are rare, and they have no use for lawyers. While the Doukhobors have religious meetings, they do not for the most part have any special place for them as they do not attach sanctity to locality, nor do they have special days for their meetings. Any member of the community can arrange one at his house by inviting his friends and neighbors. If he is too poor to provide and serve food, he is supplied beforehand, for all who attend are usually served with food afterwards. At the meetings they recite prayers and read the bible. The Doukhobor ritual or creed is not printed or written for it is altogether a matter of tradition. The men are the more devout church-goers than the women who are not encouraged to attend church services. They often use the Sabbath to talk business. In spite of the fact that they reject all church rites, there have been established among them meetings for worship, the forms of which are as strictly maintained as those of most churches. A striking instance of this kind is their "sunrise service." The Doukhobors rise about four o'clock in the morning to take part in this service, which takes place in one of their largest houses. The men and women form in two lines; the children not taking an active part in these devotions until they are fourteen or fifteen years of age. The oldest man present takes his place at the head of the men's line, and the oldest woman at the head of the women's line, and so on down according to age. Then each of the men gives a recitation, beginning by the eldest, in order.[37] This may be a prayer, a part or chapter

[37] The first two recitations here given are samples of the recitations given at the sunrise service of the Doukhobors. The third is a secular song not used in services. All three were furnished by Mr. M. de Sherbinin of Winnipeg, Canada.

For thy sake, O Lord, I have loved the narrow gate,
For thy sake, I have forsaken father and mother,
For thy sake, O Lord, I have forsaken both brother and sister,
For thy sake, O Lord, I have forsaken wife and children,
For thy sake, O Lord, I have forsaken my whole kith and kin,
For thy sake, O Lord, I have forsaken this life and its lust,
For thy sake, O Lord, I go about hungry and thirsty,
For thy sake, O Lord, I am afflicted and persecuted,
For thy sake, O Lord, I endure dishonor and reproach,
For thy sake, O Lord, I wander without shelter.

from the bible, a creed, a hymn, a part of a letter from a pious person, something that may have been handed down by their fathers as sacred or edifying; often it is of their own composition, learned by heart. When the men have finished, the women take their turn. Frequently one of the women stumbles and the nearest woman prompts her. They do not have any repetition; each gives a different recitation. After this service they devote some time to chanting their hymns or psalms, all remaining standing. Before they close, the man next to the eldest man takes his hand, steps in front of him and kisses him on both cheeks and returns to his own place. He then turns to the women and bows to them in one general bow. The third man in line salutes the elder and the second man in the same way, returns to his place and then makes a general bow to the women. So the ceremony proceeds, each man salutes every one in his line, and returning to his place, gives one bow to the women.

A great thing it is to know God the Creator.
There is not better, there's no greater thing in the world
Than if a man knows God.
If a man knows God he will also exalt him.
That man will also be one of the elect.
With Christ the prophets are always in conversation,
The holy angels sing their songs.
They glorify Christ.
Righteous men have lived on earth,
They knew God, they received all things from the world:
Distresses, oppression, dishonor, reproach, stripes and afflictions.
For this sake also the Lord loveth them.
He calls them to himself, he strengthens them by his word, he calls them his sons.
He sends them to his paradise to his most bright paradise, to the kingdom of heaven!

The boisterous winds are blowing
Lord, does the little bird sing.
O my liberty, my liberty
O thou my golden one!
Liberty — a falcon of the sky
Liberty — a bright morning dawn.
Not with the dew didst thou descend,
Not in my dream do I behold.
Surely the fervent prayer
Has ascended up to the King,
Certainly our Lord — provider
Has tested our life and living and need.
The Queen from Under Heaven (or the Sub-Celestial Queen)
Has come down to abide with us.

When the last man in the line has done his part the women do the same thing, saluting each other and bowing to the men. When this ceremony is over the men sing hymns or psalms together, purely from memory. Finally each person bows down to the ground, placing both hands flat on the ground with forehead on the earth. They all do this together; this concludes the ceremony and they go about their daily duties. This order of service among the Doukhobors prevailed previous to Peter Verigin's arrival in 1903. He has since then introduced some changes and modifications. For example, he has each man go to the front of the meeting to recite his piece of prose or poetry or to read from the bible. It is also said that he has abolished the kissing, handshaking, and bowing as superfluous and ridiculous. Under Canadian influences the Doukhobors no longer rise at the former early unusual hour for prayer. The "sunrise service" is held on Sundays and on the twelve Greek church annual holidays of Russia and some others, because on these holidays no Russians do any farm work. This rule holds good only for those holidays which are observed by the Doukhobors in Canada since they have settled there.

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The marriage ceremony of the Doukhobors, if such it can be called, is very simple. There is no prayer or blessing, or any judicial act or agreement. The bridal couple merely make a declaration before their elders and this act is accompanied by the chanting of hymns and by a feast, if the parties can afford it. A number of Doukhobor men and women were united in marriage on the way to Canada, while taking the trip by boat between Halifax and St. John, Canada. The ceremony is thus described by an eye-witness: "It was the simplest thing imaginable. It took place on the spar deck. The young men approached the young women of their choice, who were attended by their parents, and asked the ladies to become their wives, having first shaken them by the hand. The wooed ones consented, the young gentlemen kissed them, and it was all over. But the brides' parents did not allow the newly married couples to depart without a word of advice."[38]

Ill-treatment of wives is rare among the Doukhobors, and in cases where it occurs the life of the husband is made intolerable.

[38] Elkinton, *The Doukhobors*, 194, 195.

The Doukhobors generally marry at the age of seventeen; and on the whole the women are treated with great consideration.

Most of the Doukhobors are ignorant and unlettered; only about three in a hundred can read. As a result many of them are suspicious, fanatical, intensely clannish, and superstitious to the point of attributing divinity to their leader. To educate them requires tact and wisdom for they frequently mistake customs and traditions for dictates of conscience. Although seemingly anxious to learn English so as to be able to communicate with their neighbors, they look with suspicion on government schools, as a natural result of previous experience in Russia. The Saskatchewan Doukhobors have seemed more disposed to accept suggestions about the schooling of their children than the Yorkton Doukhobors, who are not so progressive as the others. Peter Verigin, while in exile, wrote to them recommending elementary training for their children, but for once his suggestions do not seem to have carried weight, because other leaders, influential with them, counselled the opposite. This attitude was strengthened by the act of an officious school trustee who seized some Doukhobor property as a fine for refusal to pay a school tax of $800, which the Doukhobors could not understand as being obligatory when their children were not yet admitted to the district school. At first many of the parents extended their hearty coöperation when they found that those who taught their children did not seek to undermine any of their religious tenets, but were working in a truly disinterested way. But their attitude has changed since Verigin came upon the scene, for he discourages schools among them. Most of them have since become indifferent or hostile on the whole matter of schools for their children.

Among the first to render educational services to the Doukhobors was Miss Nellie Baker, a cousin of Mrs. E. Varney, who established a dispensary among them during the first year. Miss Baker established a school the first summer at one of the Doukhobor villages on Good Spirit lake. She conducted her school very successfully in a tent twenty feet square, teaching by signs and objects her tentful of children, who did not understand a word of English. She found them possessed of strong minds and inexhaustible energy. Some even walked five miles to the

school; most of them were anxious to have home work assigned, and they were never satisfied with the amount of these tasks. Miss Baker's work was voluntary and quite unremunerated but she was highly successful because of her keen interest, sympathy, and high intelligence. She was the type of teacher most needed among the Doukhobors and others followed in her footsteps.

The Friends of Philadelphia desired to further the educational interests of the Doukhobors but though Peter Verigin, in the fall of 1903, promised that log houses should be built in the villages for school purposes, nothing came of it. Such school houses were started in both the Saskatchewan and the Yorkton district but were left incomplete in some villages for years, while in others they were converted into stables or meeting-houses. One school, however, was begun among them in Petrofka, Saskatchewan, though Verigin did not wish the Friends to spend money assisting the Doukhobors to start schools. He said he wanted his followers to support their own schools as they were wealthy enough to do so. The truth is that he was always hostile to English schools and discouraged them and all other attempts at education among his people for fear it might lessen his influence. A clear instance is found in the case where he utterly disapproved of accepting the offer of the Philadelphia Friends to build a large school in Terpenie. After stating that he was powerless to influence the Doukhobors in this matter he wrote a letter to the Friends refusing their offer, pretending this refusal was a decision of the general meeting in council of the Doukhobors. Verigin has also recommended that the Doukhobors should not consult physicians, and they have no doctors or druggists. They are prejudiced against schools from never having known any other but those of the Russian villages, which were in a miserable condition. They do not recognize their own educational needs, and to bring them to do this seems to be an essential step before anything further can be accomplished.

It early became evident that the Doukhobors were suspicious not only of the Canadian government, but of every other kind of government except their own. In 1900-1901 they were deeply stirred by the preaching of an eccentric theorizer and dreamer, Bodyánsky, who for months palmed off his opinions on the

Canadian government as genuine expressions of Doukhobor principles. Because his agitation happened to coincide with the suspicious state of mind the government was in, he succeeded in starting troubles which lasted for years, for they were only partially settled by Verigin when he reached Canada in 1903. Among other things, Bodyánsky issued in the Doukobors' name what he called an "Address to all people," explaining their disapproval of Canadian laws and inquiring "whether there is anywhere such a country and such a human society where we would be tolerated, and where we could make our living, without being obliged to break the demands of our conscience and of the Truth." He also drew up a special appeal to the sultan of Turkey, in the same strain, signed by a number of representative Doukhobors. In 1901, through Bodyánsky, the Doukhobors protested against making private property of God's earth. The Doukhobors seem to have accepted the suggestions of Bodyánsky, merely because they wanted to puzzle the Canadian immigration department and keep matters in suspense while they waited for instructions from Peter Verigin in Siberia, though at the same time they carefully concealed the real reason for their hesitation. Bodyánsky eventually returned to Europe; but in the fall of 1902 a religious fanatic, who posed as a prophet, preached to them certain doctrines which together with other causes increased the unrest among them and started them on a remarkable pilgrimage, the accounts of which electrified two continents. This zealot told the Doukhobors that it was wrong to till the ground when they could live on fruit in a warm country, that it was wrong to use money or anything made of metals which were obtained from the earth and prepared for use by their enslaved brethren. He told them it was against the divine law to use animals as beasts of burden or to utilize any of their products. He cited the example of Christ "who abandoned manual labor and went about preaching and teaching the law of God." This, he considered, the Doukhobors ought to do also. The sect immediately split. The majority of the Doukhobors refused to accept these teachings and abandon their settled way of life, while about one-fourth of them prepared to carry into actual practice these wild theories. Literal and foolish interpretation of familiar texts played a part in inaugurating

the movement. Much bitter feeling was aroused as families and villages were divided. Efforts were made by members of their own sect, like Gregory Verigin, brother of the leader, to dissuade them from their mad enterprise, but in vain. They first turned loose their stock, which the mounted police at once took charge of for the government. They next gave their money to the nearest immigration agent, cut off metal hooks, eyes and buttons from their clothes, threw away their leather footgear (as products of animal life), and exhorting their friends to join them, they started on the famous pilgrimage, increasing in numbers as they passed on.

Their object was first to seek the messiah, whom they expected to find in Minnedosa or Winnipeg. Next they were to preach the gospel to all men and seek a rich, warm country where there would be no government and they would not have to work and "spoil the earth," but could live on fruit from the trees. They had another motive which they carefully concealed, but which became known years afterward. They had hitherto refused to pay taxes or enter their land individually or return vital statistics. They hoped that their march would so inconvenience the Canadian government that the officials would agree to their demands on the land question, the registration of vital statistics, the payment of taxes, and the transport of their whole number to a warmer climate. The religious element entered into the case, but one who has lived among them for years expressed the opinion that "the Pilgrimage like the Address to All Nations of two years previous, was partly a piece of politics masked by religious phraseology and Bible Texts."[39] The two most prominent leaders in preparing the people for the pilgrimage were Iván Ponomaróf and Vasily Abéydkof. They were influential among the sect and years before the emigration from Russia were the accredited messengers who brought back from Siberia Verigin's recommendation to his people that they abandon meat, tobacco, and strong drink. Among the pilgrims were some of the ablest of the sect, and although most of them seemed to be sincere, they

[39] This is the opinion of Herbert P. Archer, who has done a great deal for the Doukhobors. A direct impulse was given to the movement by Verigin's letters, which had been published in 1901 in Russia, and were in circulation among the Doukhobors. They were ready to put into practice the leader's views as expressed therein.

have never seen fit to give any satisfactory explanation of their conduct during this movement.

On the march, the pilgrims endured fatigue and hardships which would seem enough to kill ordinary men but to which some of them appeared quite insensible. They set out, many of them, barefooted, bareheaded, and with nothing but their clothes and some bread and apples. Early on the march they threw away their heavy outer clothing, for many believed that God would send them a second summer instead of winter, and this belief was strengthened by the singularly fine weather which they enjoyed for a time. They lived on what was given them in the villages through which they passed, and on grain and corn gleaned in the fields and picked up around elevators, supplemented by dried rosebuds, leaves, herbs, grasses, and anything of vegetable origin. They carried their sick and feeble on stretchers made of poplar poles and blankets. As they marched they sang their weird and plaintive psalms; they have always been fond of singing and some of their strange but beautiful music has come down to them from remote generations. A special correspondent writing a reliable account in the *Manitoba Free Press* said of them: "A razor has not touched the beard of one of the pilgrims since they adopted their new belief. All are unkempt, unshaven, hollow cheeked, and wild eyed. In front stalks the new 'John the Baptist,' his jet black beard and long hair floating in the autumn wind. Suddenly he will stop with eyes glaring before him, then leap forward, clutching at the air with extended grasping hands, crying, 'I see him! I see Jesus! He is coming! He is here!' The dementia can be seen to run through the procession like a wave at these words."[40] Their condition became serious after they passed the last of their villages October 25, 1902, for the sick would not take medicine for fear their souls would be forever lost. When they reached Yorkton, the 1,060 women and children were not allowed to go further, and the police by using a mixture of force and persuasion, dispatched them home. The authorities tried to stop the men also, but they eluded the police and tramped doggedly on. On November 3, the weather changed and the first

[40] Maude, *A peculiar people*, 237.

snows fell. A sharp wind came on, and as they had to sleep in the open, they suffered much from the exposure. Under the combined influence of the increased cold, starvation, exhaustion, and religious theories and superstitions, some of the pilgrims became quite demented. Finally the authorities took decisive action and through the efforts of the mounted police, the deluded men were taken in hand and more or less forcibly deposited on the cars of a special train by which they were sent back to Yorkton, November 8. This closing incident of the pilgrimage took place at Minnedosa but it was some weeks before the dissension and excitement calmed down. Peter Verigin, on his arrival, firmly and promptly set to work to restore harmony, but it was no easy matter. Another attempt at a pilgrimage was made in 1903 and came about in the following fashion. Verigin in visiting the different villages after the first pilgrimage, had deemed it expedient in villages where the pilgrims were predominant to approve of their zeal for righteousness. He even went to the length of reproaching the non-pilgrims for lack of zeal, and overplayed his part. Some of the non-pilgrims resolved to mend matters by starting a pilgrimage more thoroughgoing than the first. It never grew to any proportions, however, and was a small affair in comparison with the first one. Verigin discouraged it in every way for it was contrary to his real wishes, and it was promptly stopped by the police. The second pilgrimage had one additional feature not found in the first. During the march, at intervals, especially when entering a town or settlement, the pilgrims divested themselves of all garments and both men and women "following the example of Adam and Eve in Paradise," presented themselves in a state of absolute nudity. Some of these semi-sane fanatics were imprisoned in Regina for a term of three months. Disgraceful reports, which have never been either verified or disproved, were afterward circulated about the cruel treatment which they received while in various prisons in Canada. These statements naturally produced an unfavorable impression of Canadian justice among the Doukhobors. The whole movement materially injured the Doukhobors and reflected upon the good judgment of their friends and well-wishers. There have been no more pilgrimages since 1907, when one was undertaken by a small number — about sixty-four

—who called themselves "free men," but who are called by the others "wanderers" or "pilgrims." These Doukhobors, however, are still looking for a warm country where they need not work but can live on fruit. Both communistic and independent Doukhobors disapprove of them. They were even refused food by the former when they passed their villages on the march. The "free men" made their headquarters at Hlebododarnoe, a village where the extremists from all the other villages have gathered and lived for several years. The "free men," however, are now more moderate than they formerly were. The Doukhobors need careful attention on the part of the government until the influence of their environment and the public school system shall have their full effect in transforming them into good citizens.

The most perplexing phase of the Doukhobor problem to the Canadian government is the attitude which they have maintained toward the civil authorities. Many of them deny the authority and righteousness of any governmental control over the individual. From the first they have showed that they were suspicious of the kindest and most well-intentioned efforts of the Canadian government. They feared that any compliance on their part with the governmental regulations would involve some obligation conflicting with what they understood to be the "law of God." They objected to the Canadian homestead laws which required them to apply in severalty for their homesteads. Most of them protested against the civil registration of land titles, marriages, births, and deaths, declaring that these were no concern of the government. Communications from the Society of Friends in Philadelphia urging compliance with Canadian laws, and direct explanation by government officials were of no avail. The Doukhobors adhered to their views on the subject until the arrival of their leader, Verigin, when they began to comply with the registration laws to some extent. They refused to become British subjects because, they said, as believers in Christ, who forbade his followers to take an oath, they could not take the oath of allegiance. Besides, they consider themselves citizens of the entire globe and do not recognize the existence of national states and separate forms of government. They are also afraid

to sign their names to any document as they recall the trouble that came to them by doing this in Russia. Their instinctive and inbred attitude of antagonism may seem unreasonable and childish, but it can be largely explained by their long and bitter experience under Russian despotism.

Unwilling to proceed to harsh measures to enforce their authority, the Canadian authorities wisely adopted a policy of waiting in the hope that as their means increased and they became more enlightened, the Doukhobors would finally come to a more reasonable attitude. In this hope the government has been partially justified, for certain localities have made substantial progress, entering some homesteads and partly complying with the registration laws. This is true particularly of the Prince Albert settlers. On the other hand, many localities have made no progress at all for years and new vagaries like the pilgrimage are continually arising to vex the officials.

The government, for some years, has practically granted to the Doukhobors the privilege of possessing their land in common, for there was a provision in the law at the time the Doukhobors came to Canada which allowed the people to live in villages. As they lived almost entirely in villages and were entitled to hold their homesteads under this hamlet provision of the Dominion lands act, their right to their homesteads did not altogether depend upon their actual residence upon them. After having been in Canada for seven years the large majority of the Doukhobors were still cultivating their land in common and refusing to become British subjects. The Canadian government, which had made every allowance for them with the expectation that in time they would comply with the requirements, felt that matters could not be left in this condition indefinitely. The Doukhobors were not complying with the provisions of the lands act, and prospective settlers were persistently clamoring for the lands of the Doukhobors since the latter were not fulfilling the conditions or making use of them. A commission was appointed to investigate and secure accurate information in regard to the conditions among them. This commission reported November 25, 1906. "They found 61 villages, 8,701 people, 2,160 homestead entries, 49,429 acres under cultivation, average entries

per village 35, average population per village 142, and an average cultivation of 5.6 acres per head."[41] The large majority of the Doukhobors refused to acknowledge individual ownership of their homesteads, while a few of them, called independents, were complying or intended to comply with the terms of the Dominion lands act, although residing in the villages. "The total number of Independents was 849, they had made 211 homestead entries, with 6,906 acres total cultivation, an average of 8.1 acres per head."[42] The settling of the land question in a fair and just manner was a difficult and complex matter, for various difficulties had to be considered. For example, confusion had resulted from the fact that some of the Doukhobors had removed their residence from village to village without regard to the location of the lands entered in their names. Furthermore, community land already cultivated had also to be protected. After reserving 768 quarter sections or 122,880 acres of land for 8,175 communistic Doukhobors and giving the independents their entries, the commission found available for settlement and at the disposition of the government 1,618 homesteads. In 1911 about 600 Doukhobors had taken up homesteads and had become British subjects. The suggestions of the commission in regard to the settlement of this troublesome land question were carried out. All entries by Doukhobors, who were not cultivating the land entered in their names for their own benefit, were cancelled. The Doukhobors were given six months, or until May 1, 1907, in which to make entry. In case the homestead of an independent Doukhobor was more than three miles from the village where he resided, his entry was protected for six months, but if he was not in residence on his homestead before May 1, 1907, his entry was subject to cancellation. To protect the community Doukhobors as much as possible, there were reserved the quarter-section on which the village was situated and adjoining quarter-sections not exceeding in total area fifteen acres to each resident of the village, exclusive of independents, or approximately three times as much land as they had brought under cultivation during eight years, including as much of the community cultivation as possible, in no case exceeding a dis-

[41] *Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries*, 9.
[42] *Ibid.*

tance of three miles from the village. Some of the Doukhobors claimed they could not support themselves on this reserve but most of them were satisfied with the arrangement.[43] Fearing that their holdings would be reduced to seven acres per soul if they did not cultivate their land, the Doukhobors actively set to work to break it up. As they have prospered and their wealth increased, they have since bought several thousand acres in addition to these reserves. Thus in consequence of their refusal to become Canadian subjects, they lost the greater part of their homesteads amounting in value to about two million dollars.

Peter Verigin's attitude toward the land question is noteworthy. It is true that he is in a difficult position but his procedure in this matter appears questionable, to say the least. He found everything in confusion on his arrival and until matters had settled down he announced that the sect would become British subjects. After that, while Verigin still professed his willingness that they should become British subjects, his assistants apparently worked against him and supported the opposition to naturalization among the villages. As it is an indisputable fact that the Doukhobors obey no authority other than Verigin's, only one conclusion is possible. If evidence of his supremacy were wanting it might be found in the fact that at his suggestion in 1886 they changed their name to the "Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood" after they had in 1816 announced to the Russian government that they would rather die than make such change. The settlement of the land troubles, although it has proved beneficial, has not disposed of the Doukhobor question.

The essence of Doukhoborism is struggle and wandering and the latest development in the history of the Doukhobors is their emigration to British Columbia. Upon the decision of the special commission on the Doukhobor land question there occurred a split in the community; for some of the members of the community, as has already been stated, accepted the government's

[43] The Prince Albert colony of about one thousand people, not satisfied with its lands, has sought to remove to the Yorkton district. Seven hundred seventy-four Doukhobors, living near Devil's Lake, on March 30, 1907, also petitioned to join the Yorkton Doukhobors, requesting that their lands be exchanged for allotments in the Yorkton district. The government found it necessary to refuse the petition but many of them have removed in spite of this refusal.

offer, made individual entries and became Canadian subjects. From that time on, Peter Verigin determined to move the community to some other province where he thought conditions would be more favorable for continuing communistic life. British Columbia was decided upon and Verigin secured the first land holding there by private purchase, and moved a first installment, consisting in all of two thousand Doukhobors. Altogether five thousand and seven hundred out of the eight thousand Doukhobors in Saskatchewan moved to British Columbia. The rest were to follow shortly. Verigin purchased a total of 14,407 acres at a cost of $646,017 in British Columbia on the banks of the Columbia river, and established four large settlements there at Brilliant, Glade, Pass Creek, and Grand Forks. The transportation and resettling cost about $200,000, both the exodus and the establishment of the immigrants in their new home, as well as the land itself, being paid for from the central fund. This fund is administered under the direction of Verigin though managed by Mihail Kazahoff for the benefit of the community. It represents the community property. Each adult man in the village contributes $200 annually to this central fund. A village committee manages the village property which belongs to each individual village. While in Saskatchewan the Doukhobors had acquired wealth; the balance sheet of the community dated August 13, 1912, showed total assets of $332,300 and this sum did not include property owned by individuals or independents. The Doukhobors have paid their debts and no better evidence is needed of their thrift than the fact that eighteen months after their arrival in Canada and their settlement under the most unfavorable conditions, in a moneyless condition and lacking everything, they requested the English Quakers "to cease pecuniary gifts and apply them where they were more needed."

In British Columbia they have cleared and cultivated land, have established water-works and electric light systems at Brilliant, have erected sawmills at all the settlements and have operated successfully a brickworks plant at Grand Forks and a jam factory at Nelson, thus adding manufacturing to their agricultural pursuits. The leading characteristic of the Doukhobors is still simplicity in life and manners. They have built their houses in the British Columbia colonies so that each of

them accommodates several families. The women take turns at cooking, baking, cleaning, and other work, and the men take turns caring for the heating stoves, and similar tasks. They are still strict vegetarians and raise everything for themselves. Verigin claims that the cost of living for a Doukhobor family is the lowest in America. They have banished the use of money from their community; when members receive money from outside it is turned into the common treasury. Their need of money has in fact been eliminated, for clothing and every other necessity is free of charge for all members of the colony. A committee has charge of purchasing and selling and this committee exists as long as it does its work acceptably. The Doukhobors discuss and settle their public affairs at a public forum, which is an assembly house for more than 2,000 people.

But even in British Columbia the Doukhobors have failed to find peace. Soon after settlement they came into conflict with the government. They had asumed that they would not be disturbed in the matter of governmental regulations but the officials began to demand compliance with the school laws and the registration of marriages, births, and deaths. The Doukhobors object to registration as being against the tradition of their religion. They insist that they can not comply with a law which they cannot sanction. They reject the English kind of education with boy scouting and military drill as "a most pernicious and malicious invention of this age." They denounce the prevailing commercial system of education as emphasizing too much the development of material interests and ignoring the spiritual factors. They say it creates an insatiable greed for easy money and luxury. In regard to registration they state that they do not consider their residence in Canada as fixed for all time, saying "To-day we happen to be here, after some time we may find ourselves in another country altogether." Since they consider war wicked and wholesale murder, they absolutely refuse to serve in the army.

Thus the hope of finding perfect freedom in a new country has not been realized and the history of the Doukhobors in Canada is not finished. Convinced of the worthlessness of their material success and of all worldly aims, they are as intent as ever on spiritual salvation. That their efforts to realize cer-

tain ideals of conduct, however admirable, will prove futile seems certain. Their policy is too negative and the spirit of the times is against them. "At the same time, in the stubborn seeking for perfection in isolation from the world, society and temptations of wealth and the body they are an example and light to a materialistic age." In their future, as with all primitive and natural phenomena of decay and dispersal, lies the possibility of extraordinary evolution. Whatever the ultimate outcome, for the Canadian government the Doukhobor problem remains still, as it was in the beginning, the most perplexing one which the immigration department has to face.

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SECTIONALISM IN KENTUCKY FROM 1855 TO 1865[1]

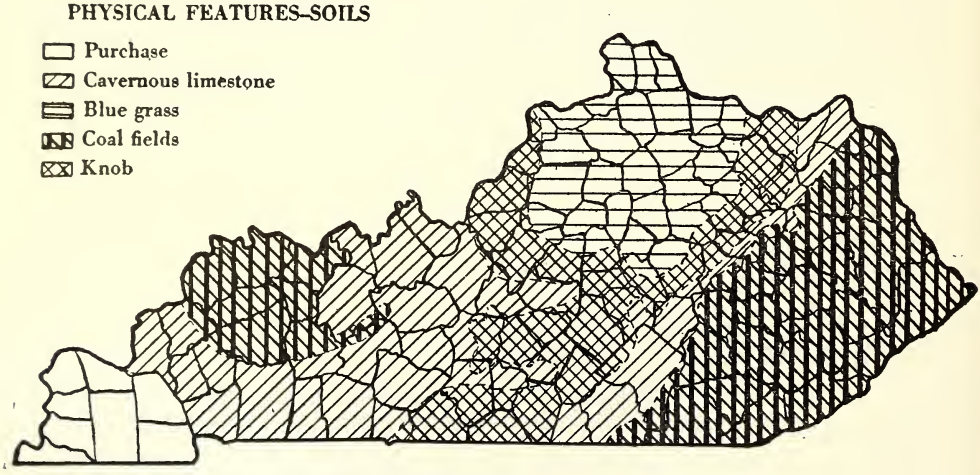
Sectionalism in Kentucky is a subject that might be treated in many different ways. It is the purpose of this paper to confine the discussion to the political sentiment of the population as it crystalized in election returns, both national and state, during the decade from 1855 to 1865. This particular period is a significant one to the student of American history, because it includes the civil war issues and likewise marks a transition from the political alignment that prevailed in the preceding decades to that which has continued up to the present time. This theme involves a brief outline of party action in Kentucky during these important ten years, with especial attention to the grouping of political sentiment on the basis of interests that arise from the physical features of the country.

Kentucky is rich in diversity of natural features and its very complexity makes a study of this kind more difficult in this case than it would be in reference to some other states. The well known popular division of the state into "blue grass, pennyroyal, mountain, and purchase" is useful for some purposes but it fails to draw important distinctions in soil that are necessary to our study and it is more scientific and more accurate to make six divisions, more closely allied to the geological formations of the state.

The first division is the blue grass land with its brown surface loam on a bed of limestone, hard and deep. (See map no. 1.) The second division is the knob land, named from the prevalence of sand stone knobs that have been left in the process of erosion. Its soil is mostly clay on a bed of shale and it is the poorest land in the state. The third division is the cavernous limestone land, with a soil better than that of the knob land and poorer than that of the blue grass, capable of good productivity. The limestone bed is softer than that of the blue grass and is honey-

[1] This paper was read before a joint meeting of the American historical association and the Mississippi valley historical association, Cincinnati, Ohio, December 29, 1916.

combed with caves in many places, a characteristic from which its name is derived. The fourth and fifth divisions include the coal fields of Kentucky; they are hilly and rugged in character, especially in the eastern part of the state. The sixth and last division is known as the "purchase," and is located at the extreme western end of the state, between the Tennessee river and the Mississippi. It is level, in the main, with a sandy and clay soil of considerable fertility.

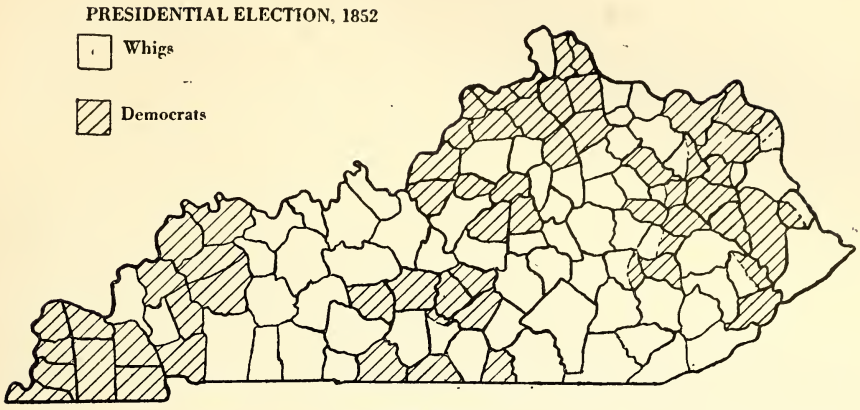


Map No. 1

The lines of division are not so clearly marked as the above description would indicate, for there are areas of excellent land in the section that are poor in the main; and thin-soiled hills occur in the richest portions of the state. Individual counties, moreover, in many cases exhibit a diversity within their own boundaries which is reflected in the political sentiment.

Before considering the decade of our choice, it will be interesting to notice for a moment, for the purpose of comparison, the grouping of party sentiment in the presidential election of 1852. (See map no. 2.) This was the last campaign in which the whigs, as an organization, took part. It resulted in a victory for their candidate in Kentucky, but the majority for Scott was so small that it must be regarded as prophetic of the decline and fall of the historic whig party in that state.

From a sectional point of view, this first test of the relation-



Map No. 2

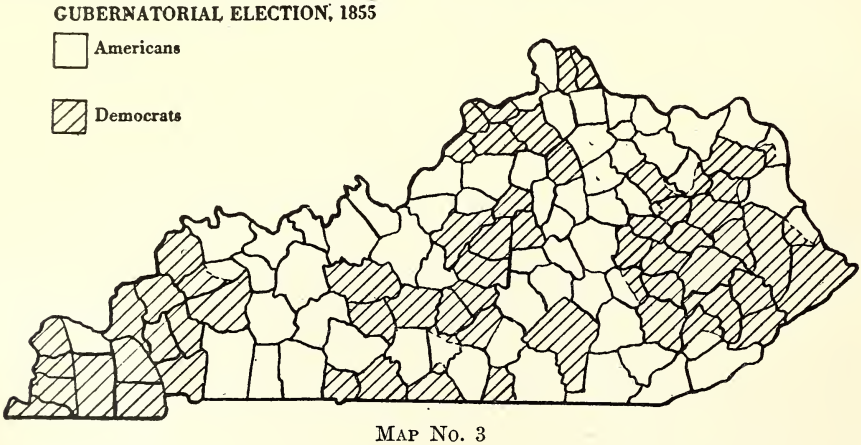
ship of political sentiment and the soil is significant. It is apparent that the whig party predominated in the richer soils of the blue grass and the cavernous limestone while the democratic party controlled in the thinner lands of the knob country and the coal fields of the west and the east. It is not possible to say that the relation is exact for the great party that had grown up under the leadership of Clay was not to be held strictly within sectional boundaries; nor can it be said that the principles of democracy held sway only in the poorer and more remote parts of the state, especially since democracy was vitally changing in character in the fifties.

The election of 1855, the first of the decade under consideration, was a contest for the governorship of the state between Charles S. Morehead and Beverly L. Clarke, candidates, respectively, of the American or knownothing and the democratic parties. The former was successful by a majority of 4,403. (See map no. 3.)

Viewed from the sectional standpoint it is interesting to note the exactness with which the new party had slipped into the strongholds of the old time whigs. This process of change can also be traced from the newspapers of the time. The Mercer county *Ploughboy*, for example, declares it is "no longer a secret that Sam has caught all the Whigs in the county but five and quite a number of the Democrats."[2]

[2] Quoted in *Commonwealth*, February 2, 1855.

Sectionally the democratic counties increased considerably, especially in the mountains of eastern Kentucky. The *Commonwealth*, a leading organ of the American party, explained this change by saying that the people of the highlands "had not yet been reasoned with," and it promised that before another election "Sam" will have "visited and fully talked with the hardy mountaineers at their homes and firesides and when its polls shall again be opened they will vie with their brethren of the united midland and river shore, in rolling up majorities in vindication of the sentiment that Americans are able to rule their own country without foreign assistance."[3]



Map No. 3

In the election of 1855 the whigs had not put any ticket in the field, believing it would be better to go into a condition of "quiescence" or "armed neutrality," casting their vote wherever the guarantees for the country's good were best.

The strong hold that the know-nothing or American party had taken upon the population of Kentucky is one of the peculiar facts of its political history. The foreign element in the state was not large and the Roman church was neither overbearing nor disposed to interfere in the affairs of the people. A St. Louis paper, the *Intelligencer*,[4] in urging the fitness of Kentucky to name the American candidate for the presidency in the coming election, based its opinion on that "perfect abandon" with which the state had given itself up to the new movement.

[3] *Commonwealth*, August 20, 1855.

[4] Quoted in *ibid.*, June 15, 1855.

The democrats were inclined to look on the situation as a "whig trick" and they persisted in calling it a bargain with the freesoilers and abolitionists of the north, and a desertion of the true interests of the south. This, in fact, was the leading issue of the campaign in Kentucky, and throughout its career in the state the American party was obliged to set forth its fidelity to southern interests, in many ways and at many times.

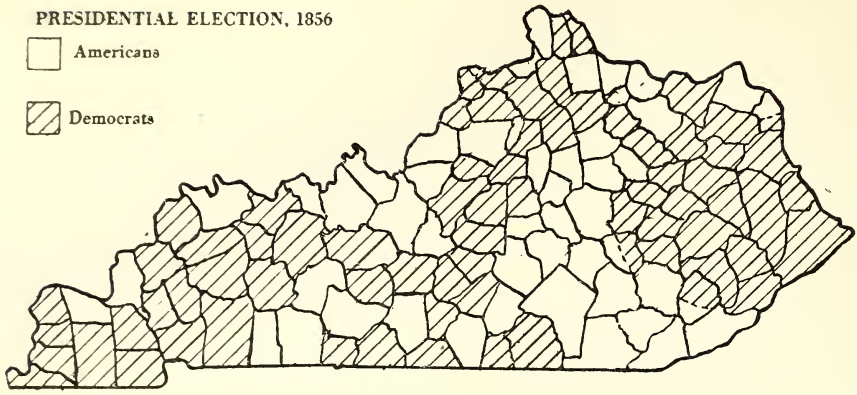
A fine expression of the spirit and sentiment which carried the election for the American party in 1855 is found in an address by Robert J. Breckinridge, in a paragraph in which he sums up the movement as follows: "What I behold is a vast and apparently spontaneous uprising of American nationality. Beneath that we behold the restoration of that primeval spirit of Protestant civilization in which the country itself was originally created; and still beneath that the renewal of that profound sense of overwhelming necessity of our national Union which was the grandest outbirth of our national revolution."[5]

Other issues of a more local nature figured in the grouping by parties and sections. These are indicated in the proceedings of the legislative assembly. An appropriation of $5,000 a year for the colonization of negroes in Africa was a continuation of the whig policy in regard to slavery. Appropriations for agricultural fairs and asylums for the blind reflect little, if any, sectional significance. Such is not the case, however, with an effort to secure charters for several new banks in the state. The American party was in control of both houses of the legislature and it opposed an increase in the number of banks, on the ground that it would lead to an undue expansion of the currency. The democrats, on the other hand, true to their traditional attitude, favored the charters.

The election of 1856 was a contest between Fillmore and Buchanan for the presidency and resulted, in Kentucky, in a victory for the democratic candidate by a majority of 6,118. (See map no. 4.) The high hopes of the American party were thus blasted and its decline from this time on was rapid.

Several things contributed to bring about this result. Buchanan was a democrat of the Jacksonian type and popular for that reason. John C. Breckinridge, his running mate, was a

[5] *Commonwealth*, May 4, 1855.



Map No. 4

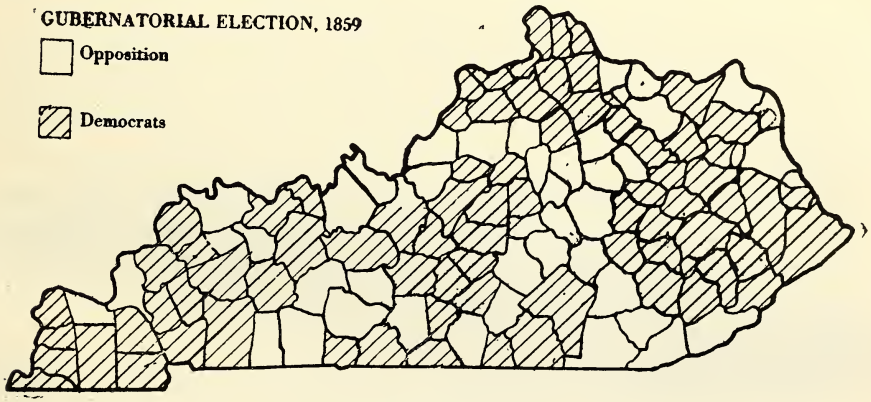
favorite son of Kentucky, a descendant of one closely associated with the origin of the resolutions of 1798 and possessed of personal qualities that made him popular with the people to a degree second only to Clay among the noted men of Kentucky. The acts of violence that had occurred in the election of 1855, particularly in Louisville on the "Black Monday," reacted to the detriment of the anti-foreign program. The Frankfort *Yeoman*, a democratic organ, had charged the American party with winning the election by "murder and arson."[6] The distinctive doctrines of the party did not strike deep into the Kentucky mind and the leading advocate of the party complained in its columns that its platform was ignored entirely in the campaign of 1856, while the democrats fought against republican issues.[7]

In the general assembly which followed the election of 1856 the democrats were in control. In retaliation for the American opposition to the charter of new banks they now, in turn, opposed the recharter of those strong financial institutions of the state, which had established a sound currency, given stability to industrial conditions, and enabled the state to pass through the depression of 1857 without suspension of specie payment.[8] In this assembly the subject of internal improvements was likewise a source of division. The *Commonwealth* in comment-

[6] Quoted in *Commonwealth*, August 20, 1855.
[7] *Ibid.*, March 21, 1857.
[8] *Ibid.*, March 5, 1858.

ing on the situation declared that Kentucky was "languishing and loitering in the rear of her sister states merely for the want of internal improvements," while the "Democracy resists every attempt to aid in their completion."[9]

In its subsequent bearing on sectional grouping a significant feature of the election of 1856 was the nomination by the republicans of Kentucky of a complete state ticket. In this the American party rejoiced, on the ground that it would draw from the democracy of the mountains at least three thousand votes.[10] The convention was held at the southern end of Madison county, just at the border between the blue grass and the mountains. The leaders of this growing party in Kentucky were acting on sectional principles when they looked for their constituency to that section of the state where economic conditions were least favorable to the plantation system and the institution of slavery. As early as 1845 the antislavery movement was under way; by 1850 an effort was made, under the leadership of Cassius M. Clay, to elect members to a constitutional convention for the purpose of removing slavery by legal amendment; and in 1851 Clay ran for governor of the state on the issue and secured about three thousand votes.



Map No. 5

The election of 1859 was a contest for the governorship of the state between Beriah Magoffin and Joshua F. Bell, and resulted

[9] *Commonwealth*, May 4, 1857.
[10] *Ibid.*, July 16, 1856.

in the election of the democratic candidate, Magoffin, by a majority of 8,904. (See map no. 5.) In this election the American issue was practically dead, and its place in the election was taken by the "opposition."

Sectionally considered, the democrats had made still further gains. That party was now coming to take a more conservative stand on the peculiar institutions of Kentucky and the south. The change was apparent, particularly in the central part of the state. In the more remote and poorer sections democracy was still loyal to its earlier principles. The statement of Mr. Shaler, in his *Kentucky*, that the election of 1859 is a conspicuous example of the influence of soil on political sentiment is a curious mixture of truth and error. He says: "The Democratic majority came mostly from the Blue Grass or wealthier districts of Kentucky; the counties on the poorer soils where the slave interest was small or non-existent, retained their resolutely hostile attitude to the leadership of the slave power."[11]

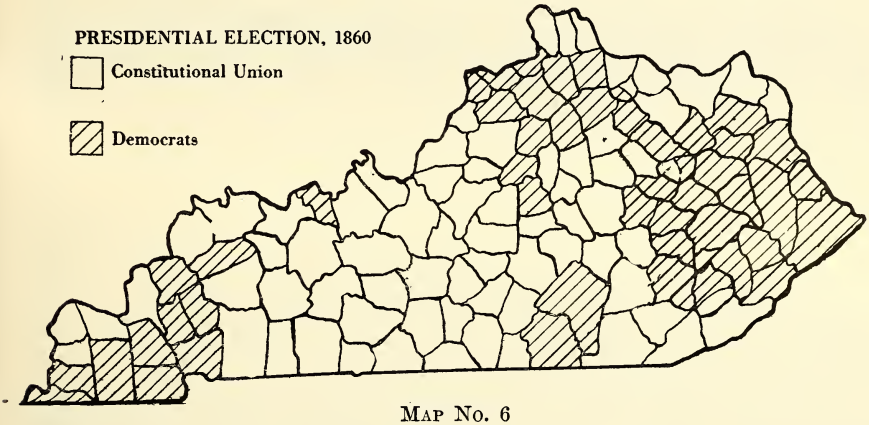
As a matter of fact the poorer sections of the state contributed to the result of the election fully as much, if not more, than the richer ones. Sectional lines, it is true, were beginning to shift on the question of slavery and all that went with it, but there is reason to believe that many of the more remote counties of the state were still cherishing the principles of the Jacksonian democracy and perhaps, in some cases, those of the Jeffersonian brand, and were standing by it with singular fidelity. Pertinent to this point is a remark of the *Louisville Journal*, an organ of the opposition, in a warning to partisans deserting its ranks, to the effect that they must remember that democracy was changing and that the democracy of 1859 was no more to be compared to the democracy of Andrew Jackson than was night to day.[12]

Successful as the democracy of 1859 had been, it is nevertheless true that it was in process of division from within. The Kansas-Nebraska bill, which a Kentucky paper had fittingly called that "sectional tornado," was dividing the democrats as it had divided the whigs. One section favored Douglas and joined the democrats of the north, while the other section gath-

[11] Nathaniel S. Shaler, *Kentucky, a pioneer commonwealth* (Boston, 1885), 232.
[12] *Louisville Journal*, July 30, 1859.

ered around Breckinridge in a stronger stand for the paramount interests of the south. Democratic newspapers became bitter in their expressions of hostility toward one another. The *Maysville Express*, for example, declared that the *Louisville Democrat*, a Douglas organ, was a greater menace to the welfare of the state than the opposition itself.[13] The *Commonwealth*, seeing the opportunity that the situation offered, proclaimed: "A furious war is now raging in the ranks of Democracy and now is a favorable time to assail those who are at war among themselves."[14]

The election of 1860 was a contest among four tickets in the presidential race. (See map no. 6.) The constitutional union



Map No. 6

party and its nominees, Bell and Everett, won the election in Kentucky by a vote of 14,180 over Breckinridge and a vote of 40,372 over Douglas. The latter did not carry a county in the state. The issue of union had been put to the front in the platform of the constitutional union party. "This party," said John J. Crittenden, "has arisen out of the troubles and dangers of the country for the protection and preservation of our institutions. . . This is, in my judgment, the party that is safest and most conservative."[15]

[13] *Commonwealth*, March 19, 1858.

[14] *Ibid.*, November 18, 1859.

[15] Ann M. B. (Crittenden) Coleman, *Life of John J. Crittenden, with selections from his correspondence and speeches* (Philadelphia, 1871), 2: 216.

Sectionally considered the issues of the growing storm had revived the spirit of nationalism and driven the democracy from the center of the state. At either end of the state it still held guard for the principle that the people of a state have a right to manage their own affairs.

In our time we have come to classify with a good deal of exactness the parties of 1860 with reference to the stand they took on union, states' rights, slavery, and secession. To one who reads the newspapers of the decade, however, the lines of cleavage are not so sharp and clear. The constitutional union party put union to the front, but it still desired to be known as favorable to the rights of the states; the Douglas democracy allied itself with the democracy of the north, but it never ceased to hold its loyalty to southern interests; the party of Breckinridge placed states' rights before everything else, but it did not go before the people as opposed to union. The *Louisville Courier*, an organ of the states' rights ticket, on the day before the election said that the victory of its candidates would bring "peace and quiet to the Union, . . . fresh impulse to industry and trade, . . . and patriotic effort to lengthen and strengthen the Union."[16] Only upon such an interpretation of the Breckinridge ticket can we explain the vote of the counties in the mountain region where the people were lovers of liberty but never of secession.

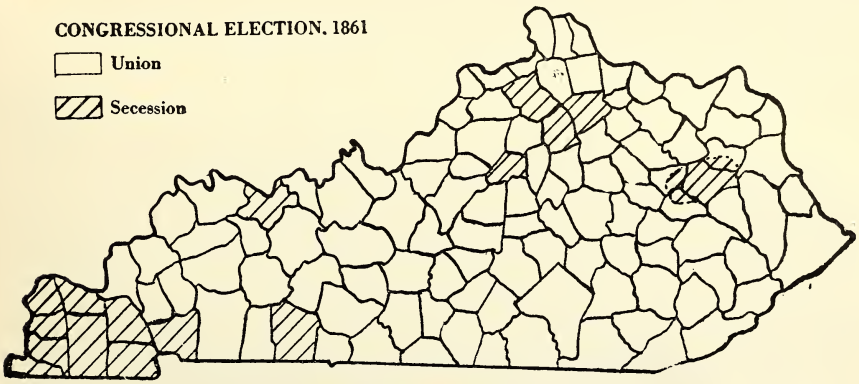
The election of Lincoln created an issue of which many had long been thinking. As early as January, 1860, a banquet had been given in Louisville at which the governors of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and Indiana had been present and taken part. The following are some of the toasts to which responses were made: "The Union it must be preserved;" "If treason to the Union shall prevail in the South or in the North, our noble state will stand between the sections as stood the people of old between the living and the dead to stay the pestilence."[17]

Robert J. Breckinridge, in a famous letter to John C. Breckinridge, wrote of the dissolution of the union: "It is the deliberate opinion of Kentucky that it is no remedy for anything whatever, and is in itself, the direst of calamities."[18] Ten days

[16] *Louisville Courier*, November 6, 1860.
[17] *Commonwealth*, January 27, 1860.
[18] *Ibid.*, January 17, 1860.

after the election the governor of the state wrote to the editor of the *Yeoman*, the organ of his party: "What will Kentucky do and what ought she to do now that Lincoln is elected president?"

The efforts of Kentucky to harmonize the sections, by compromise measures; the effort to preserve a policy of neutrality and make it effective by a border state league, are not the subjects of this paper. By the logic of events it was only a few months before the one issue in Kentucky became union or secession. Every election from 1861 to 1864 hinged on that question, in some form, whatever the office to be filled might be. In 1861 there were three elections: one in May, to elect delegates to the border state convention; one in June, to select representatives to a special session of congress in July; and one in August, to elect members of the general assembly and a treasurer for the state.



Map No. 7

Mr. Thomas Speed, in his book entitled *The union cause in Kentucky* regrets that so little attention has been paid to these elections.[19] Discredit has been thrown upon them by charges of interference with the voting, of absence from the state or voluntary refusal to go to the polls.[20] The election of July registered a vote on both sides of 107,000 as compared with a vote of 146,000 in the presidential election preceding, which was the

[19] Thomas Speed, *The union cause in Kentucky, 1860-1865* (New York, 1907), 87-98.

[20] *Commonwealth*, May 9, 1861.

largest vote ever polled in the state. (See map no. 7.) Of this election of July the *Commonwealth* says: "It is an expression of the people, the whole people, the sovereign people."[21]

Interpreted in the light of other elections of the war period involving the cause of union and of other evidences of the sentiment of the Kentucky population, the map may be taken as a fine tribute to the loyalty of the population of the state as a whole, and it comes as a reminder, in the midst of a paper on sectionalism, that there are issues so great in their character that they break over any lines that the physical features of a country may tend to produce.

The election contest of 1863 between Thomas Bramlette and Charles A. Wicliffe, for the governorship of the state, resulted in a majority of over 50,000 for Bramlette, the union candidate, on sectional lines very similar to those of 1861. The appropriation of money for the support of soldiers in Kentucky was the issue.

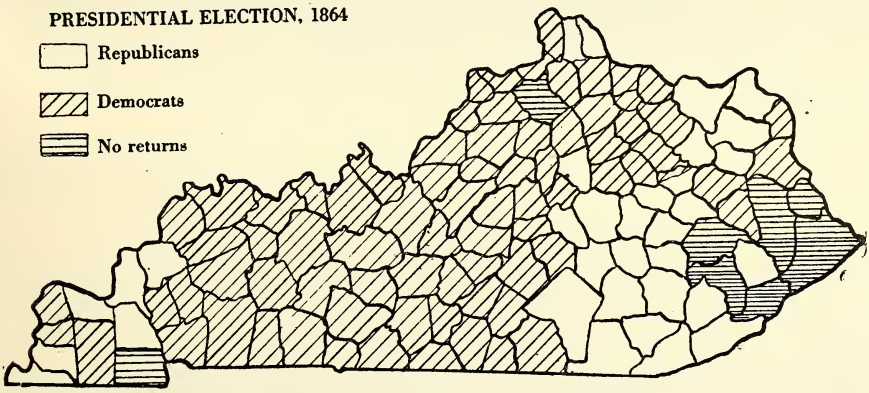
The issues of the war were responsible for the new party alignment that was rapidly coming to be made in the state. The *Lexington Observer* in summing up the change coming over the mountains said: "The Mountains are well nigh a unit against secession."[22] To the same effect is a letter from Estill county in eastern Kentucky, which voices the opposition to the governor's call for a convention to submit the question to a vote in the words: "All the Mountains are against it." If the purpose is to keep Kentucky in the union it is not necessary, for "we are thank God already there," and if its purpose is to take Kentucky out of the union it is pernicious.[23] Rockcastle county, likewise, in a letter threatened to "rise en masse at the first efforts to precipitate Kentucky into the vortex of ruin."[24]

The election of 1864 was the contest between Lincoln for a second term and McClellan, the candidate of the democratic party. The result was a victory for McClellan in Kentucky. This result is to be interpreted as a protest of the population against the interference of the federal government in the affairs

[21] *Commonwealth*, June 26, 1861.
[22] Quoted in *ibid.*, April 26, 1861.
[23] Quoted in *ibid.*, January 26, 1861.
[24] Quoted in *ibid.*, May 13, 1861.

of the state. (See map no. 8.) The alignment of central Kentucky on the side of democracy was as rapid as that of the mountains on the side of republicanism.

The plea for an end to the war put forth by democracy; the law of expatriation, by which a citizen lost his rights as a penalty for encouraging or helping the enemy; the interference with the elections in the later years of the war; the enlistment of negroes in the army; the drafting of men into the army; the proclamation of emancipation, even with its clause of compensation to the border states; the restrictions on trade, with compulsory orders to sell products of plantations and farm to federal officers at prices set by themselves; the imprisonment or deportation of citizens for expressions of sympathy with the confederacy, are responsible for the reaction toward states' rights and the strengthening of the democratic majority.



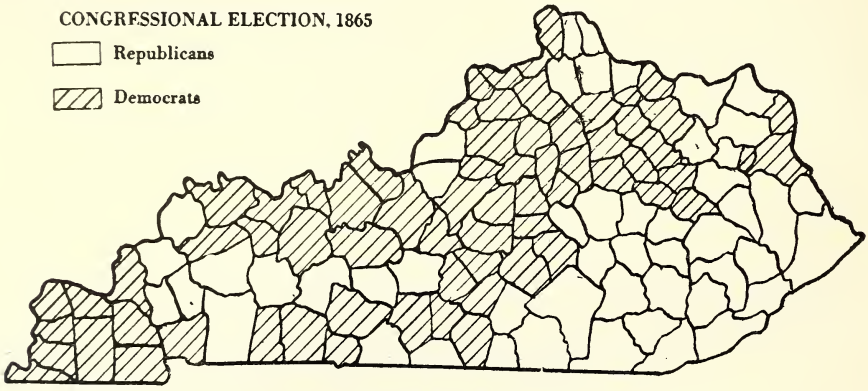
Map No. 8

The governor of the state supported McClellan in the campaign and spoke in his behalf.[25] Even the old *Maysville Eagle*, which had heralded to the people so many years the doctrines of whig, American, and constitutional union, supported McClellan.[26] The spirit of the election which won for the democracy may be seen in an expression of an eminent jurist of the time who said, "If a recusant state should lay down its arms and submit to the national constitution as its supreme law, and

[25] *Commonwealth*, September 19, 1864.
[26] *Ibid.*, October 7, 1864.

nevertheless the war should still be waged against her for the unconditioned purpose of changing organic laws and institutions by force, I should expect that the true Union men in every state would repudiate such a policy."[27]

The election of 1865 had for its purpose the selection of members of congress, particularly with reference to the passage of the thirteenth amendment, and the state registered its will against the measure by returning a democratic majority, though not so large as that of 1864. (See map no. 9.) Sectionally, the



Map No. 9

republicans had gained several counties, with some signs of recovering for the new party a foothold in the old whig strongholds.

We come to the close of our decade with sectionalism still apparent and following the lines of natural conditions of soil and location, but with party alignment largely reversed. Democracy now dominates the richer blue grass lands and the republican party controls the thinner and more remote sections of the state, especially in eastern Kentucky. It would be interesting if space permitted to mention in greater detail certain counties, like Morgan and Pulaski in eastern Kentucky, where the sectional action was rather peculiar; or the group of counties in the purchase which at times act contrary to expectation; or the hilly counties to the north of the blue grass.

In conclusion it may be said that political sentiment, as ex-

[27] *Commonwealth*, September 2, 1864.

pressed in election returns, did group itself along sectional lines, as it surged around the larger issues of the decade: union, states' rights, slavery, secession; and likewise around the more local issues of currency, internal improvements; and probably around many minor currents of opinion, feeling, and interest that this study has not revealed nor even discovered. We see that this grouping was related to the physical features of the country; that it shifted backward and forward over the counties that lay on the border between sections in the confusion of issues; that at times it broke entirely over sectional lines as some great issue came clearly before the people; that the alignment of political sentiment was reversed in the changes of the decade; and finally that the broadest generalization of sectional action portrays a population loyal, at the same time, to union and to states' rights, a phenomenon not remarkable when we remember the sectional location of Kentucky on the border between the group of states to the south and those to the north of the Ohio river.

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HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE OLD NORTHWEST

The field under survey remains as previously defined; this is the record of a year's progress, not an unusual year but one characterized by encouraging evidences of steady progress.

ORGANIZATION, LEGISLATION, AND EQUIPMENT

The State historical society of Wisconsin continues to maintain its leading position among historical agencies of this region. The scope of the work undertaken by the society has been enlarged; the new plan for handling the publication work with systematic classification of the various lines of activity seems to be working very satisfactorily. At the suggestion of Superintendent Quaife an archives committee has been appointed to consider the need of additional space to house the growing collections of the society; the archives situation in other states is being investigated before any definite recommendations are attempted. A comprehensive printed report will probably result from the labors of the committee. In *Bulletin of information*, number 83, the Wisconsin historical society publishes a "List of active members of the State historical society of Wisconsin and of its local auxiliaries" (June, 1916).

The centennial celebration of the state of Indiana last year was in every way a distinct success. The fund of $5,000 which was permitted to be used for historical publications out of the appropriation of $25,000 for the Indiana historical commission for centennial purposes resulted in the publication of a series of *Indiana historical collections*, consisting of five volumes of source material.[1] It is to be regretted if this good work cannot be continued on a permanent basis. The distribution of these volumes is a matter of some interest. Copies are offered to the public at practically the cost of printing, the proceeds going into the state treasury as a fund for the use of the historical commission in producing other volumes. One copy is to be furnished at the expense of the commission to each public library, college,

[1] See section on publication of source material.

and normal school in the state. Two hundred copies are to be furnished to the Indiana state library and two hundred to the historical survey of Indiana university, for purposes of exchange for similar publications.

Three historical agencies in Illinois, the state historical library, Illinois historical survey, and the Illinois centennial commission, are concentrating their energy on preparations for the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the state in 1918. The centennial commission is interested in the larger aspects of the celebration; it is engaged in giving publicity to and arousing local interest in all the features of the anniversary. Besides the centennial history already contracted for there are plans for a general state-wide celebration and for local celebrations. Episodes in Illinois history will be staged by suitable pageantry. The officers of the general committee are Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Chicago, chairman, and Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, secretary. Important progress is reported on the five volume centennial history of Illinois. The unfortunate illness of Clarence W. Alvord, general editor and author of the first volume, has tended to handicap the entire project, but the work is being pushed with every indication of intention to get the work in press before winter. The preliminary volume by Solon J. Buck, surveying conditions in Illinois in 1818, has experienced numerous delays and has been distributed only recently. This has been printed as an official state publication and is distributed on the same plan as the volumes of the *Illinois historical collections*. The centennial history will be published in a limited edition on the same basis, after which it is probable that a contract will be made with a publisher for the issue of a larger edition from the original plates. The centennial memorial building commission has succeeded in raising the $100,000 fund required of it, which, added to the $125,000 appropriated by the general assembly, has enabled it to go ahead with the project for the erection of an imposing monument to the state's progress in the last one hundred years.

The Chicago historical society has employed an expert cataloger who has cataloged its library in conformity with the library of congress plan. The map catalog was brought up to date at the end of December, 1916; it now contains 2,587 entries.

The Michigan historical commission continues to show evidence of aggressive activity; it has enlarged its staff by the addition of Mr. Floyd B. Streeter as research assistant. With their arguments reënforced by a fire in the old state house last summer, officers of the commission continue their agitation for fireproof housing of the records collected by the commission. They are anxious for some safe centralized archival building which will render documents more easily and quickly accessible. The commission has prepared for consideration in the legislature of 1917 a bill amending the act of 1913, which created the Michigan historical commission, so as to define a larger field of action for the commission in the publication of historical works and bulletins; it would provide for the appropriation of $15,000 annually for the work of the commission. At present the appropriation is $6,000 per annum.

The headquarters of the Ohio archaeological and historical society continue to be at Columbus, Ohio. The most important recent development has been the erection of the Hayes memorial library at Fremont, on the grounds formerly belonging to Ex-president Hayes. This building was dedicated May 30, 1916; an extended account of the dedicatory ceremonies may be found in the *Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly* for October, 1916. The Hayes papers and private library are now being cataloged. The annual report of the historical and philosophical society of Ohio may be found in the October-December number of its *Quarterly publication.*

The Harvard commission on western history, while giving especial attention to the activities of New England upon the ocean and in the far west, is laying the foundation for the collection of material from all regions influenced by the New England pioneer. Alumni clubs are organizing committees on western history and individual graduates are preparing to work along the same lines independently or in coöperation with persons interested in the formation of local historical societies. The results of this activity are just becoming evident in the middle west. An article on the work of this commission may be found in the *Harvard alumni bulletin*, March 22, 1917.

The coöperative enterprise is still in progress by which the state historical departments of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan,

Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa have undertaken to locate and calendar papers which bearing upon the history of the old northwest, are on file in the governmental offices at Washington. This has proved to be a more formidable task than was originally expected; it has for this reason, however, proved all the more worthy a venture. The practical problems arising in this combined undertaking were discussed at a conference of the superintendents of these historical societies at Chicago, September 23, 1916.

ACQUISITION OF MATERIAL

The Wisconsin state historical society has been very fortunate in its recent accessions of manuscript materials. The office of the adjutant-general of Wisconsin turned over a large mass of unclassified papers covering the activities of that office from 1850-1890; they are especially extensive and important for the civil war period. To the Cyrus Woodman collection of 181 bound volumes acquired over a year ago, there have been added twenty-one volumes of Woodman's letter-books, the gift of his son, Edward Woodman of Portland. The civil war papers of Harvey Reid, a university of Wisconsin student who left school to enlist in the union cause, have been deposited with the society. Negotiations were pending at the time of the 1916 "Historical activities" article for the acquisition of the collection of manuscript papers of the Empire lumber company of Eau Claire; since that time the documents have been presented to the society by O. H. Ingram, the founder of this lumber concern. It may be possible to secure from the manuscript letters and the letter-press copies in these papers sufficient material for a history of the lumbering industry of the Chippewa valley. The papers are being sorted and classified; the collection may number many thousands. The society has continued the addition of photostatic copies of material relating to Wisconsin and to the surrounding territory from the Indian office and from the land office at Washington; it has also secured several hundred prints of documents from the George Washington papers for use in one of the forthcoming volumes of the Draper series. It is rumored that Senator La Follette has deposited in the state historical library all his papers down to the time when he went

to Washington as United States senator from Wisconsin; they are not immediately to be made accessible to the public.

The officers of this same society have been formulating a more aggressive policy in the collection of contemporary newspapers. The library has added half a dozen new Wisconsin journals representing either special interests or new localities; it has also increased its non-Wisconsin newspaper list, so that it now includes daily papers of interest and value to the historical worker in the old northwest from representative places throughout this section, such as Buffalo, Pittsburg, Detroit, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, and Louisville. The success of this policy is just now menaced by the effects of the unprecedented cost of print paper. The society has acquired almost 100 volumes of early newspaper files; these include the following middle west journals: Racine *Argus*, 1838; Oconomowoc *Free Press*, 1858-1860; Alma (Wis.) *Buffalo County Journal*, 1 volume, 1861-1864; Cincinnati *West and South*, 1867-1868; and the Chicago *Advance*, 1867-1872.

The Illinois historical survey has made some notable acquisitions during the past year. From the *archives nationales* at Paris were secured transcripts of selected documents taken from the *correspondance générale, colonies*, series B and C; these relate to the French period of Illinois history. A valuable set of photostatic copies of letters taken from the Lyman Trumbull collection of manuscripts at the library of congress throws important light on the political developments of the period from 1855 to 1870. A collection of northern Illinois newspapers of the last forty years has been secured by purchase from J. A. Clinton, who has been a patient and industrious collector of such materials; the survey also acquired files of the Columbus (Ohio) *Crisis*, 1861-1865. All these materials have been added to the survey's collection at the university of Illinois. The Chicago historical society has made additions only to its museum collections; the most notable accession is the O. L. Schmidt collection illustrating household manners and customs among the pioneers.

The historical and philosophical society of Ohio has added to its library several manuscript items including the manuscript records of the Colerain, Oxford, and Brookville turnpike com-

pany, 1832-1841, and seven volumes of records of a group of Ohio Baptist churches, 1790-1910. Mr. Joseph B. Foraker has presented to the society 150 scrapbooks filled with newspaper clippings of political import arranged by years, and numerous packages of similar clippings not yet placed in scrapbooks. The Buffalo historical society has acquired during the past year numerous miscellaneous manuscripts relating to the history of western New York and the adjoining region.

The Harvard commission on western history has added several important items to the Cambridge collection within recent months. The Beaman account books and papers, from Poultney, Vermont, 1820-1850, consist of several thousand documents; they contain information on western settlement, especially concerning Vermontville, Michigan.[2] The manuscript letters of Ephraim Brown and family, of Bloomfield, Ohio, 1805-1853, were presented to the commission by George C. Wing, author of *Early years on the Western Reserve* (Cleveland, 1916). Two items which promise to add to an understanding of the old northwest are D. H. Budd's manuscript diary of an overland journey to California, 1852-1856, and the Breckenridge collection of Missouriana, 2,349 pamphlets, newspapers, and magazines.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The one significant general addition in this line is the *Writings on American history*, 1914 (New Haven, 1916. 161 p.), compiled by Grace G. Griffin. The lists of published historical works in the *History teacher's magazine* continues to do an important service in furnishing general bibliographical information.

The bibliography of printed materials relating to Michigan history in preparation by the Michigan historical commission is nearing completion. It has involved the coöperation of various local libraries at various points in the state of Michigan and the library of congress. A copious index is planned for this work to enable the user to find readily all material relating to a given subject; the entries will show in what libraries the specific items may be consulted. The volume will probably include a general descriptive list of manuscript materials in the Burton branch

[2] See *Michigan pioneer and historical society collections*, 28: 197.

of the Detroit public library, and a tentative calendar of early files of Michigan newspapers. The commission hopes to issue at a later date a descriptive list of early Michigan newspapers.

In January, 1917, the Wisconsin state historical society began the publication of a monthly check list of Wisconsin public documents. This is a unique undertaking for a state historical agency. The value to historians, librarians, and state officials, of such a series of bulletins makes it a welcome bibliographical addition. Several of the society's *Bulletins of information* should be noted in this same connection: number 82 lists "Periodicals and newspapers currently received at the Wisconsin historical library, June, 1916;" number 84 is entitled "Historical pageantry: a treatise and a bibliography, July, 1916;" number 86, "Periodicals and newspapers currently received at the Wisconsin historical library, corrected to January 1, 1917" was issued in February, 1917; number 87, "The public documents division of the Wisconsin historical library," by Anna W. Evans, has been distributed recently. The Wisconsin historical society is planning to bring out during the present year a check list of newspaper accessions to the state historical library for the five year period 1912-1916, inclusive. The purpose of this publication will be to supplement the volume issued in 1911, entitled *Annotated catalogue of newspaper files in the library of the state historical society of Wisconsin.*

The Illinois survey has had some of the more important manuscripts in its possession, particularly the Eddy papers, calendared by Dr. C. H. Lincoln.

The state historical library of Wisconsin, like the Michigan historical commission, undertakes to answer historical inquiries made of it; this involves the maintenance of bureaus of historical information which are numerously patronized both from within and without the respective states.

PUBLICATION OF SOURCE MATERIAL

The Indiana centennial celebration contributed three important volumes of published sources as the beginning of a series of *Indiana historical collections.* One is a volume entitled *Indiana as seen by early travelers*, a collection of reprints from books of travel, letters, and diaries, prior to 1830, selected and edited by

Harlow Lindley (Indianapolis, 1916. 596 p.).[3] Two constitute a set on *Constitution making in Indiana*, a source book of constitutional documents with historical introduction and critical notes, by Charles Kettleborough (Indianapolis, 1916. 530 p., 693 p.).[4] Two additional volumes have been planned to contain the messages of the governors of Indiana from territorial days to 1851. James A. Woodburn has edited Robert Carleton's (Bayard R. Hall) *The new purchase or seven and a half years in the far west* (Princeton, 1916. 522 p.);[5] it contains intimate pictures of pioneer life in Indiana.

A volume illustrating *Circuit rider days in Indiana* has been edited by W. W. Sweet (Indianapolis, 1916. 344 p.).[6] *My story of the civil war and underground railroad* is the title of a volume of reminiscences prepared by M. B. Butler, first lieutenant company A, Forty-fourth Indiana (Huntington, Indiana, 1916. 390 p.). "The pioneers of Jefferson county," a series of reminiscences by James B. Lewis, John Vawter, Robert and Alexander Miller, C. G. Sapington, and John R. Cravens, appears in the *Indiana magazine of history* for September, 1916. The *Reminiscences of Thomas T. Newby* is the title of a fifty page pamphlet full of pioneer flavor. A similar nine page pamphlet entitled *Pioneer recollections of early Indiana* has been issued by J. W. Sansberry. A letter from General Harrison, written in 1802 when he was governor of Indiana, may be found in the June, 1916, issue of the Mississippi Valley Historical Review.

The publication activities of the Wisconsin historical society have gone forward under the new plan for the society's publications. Volume 22 of the *Collections*, containing the journals of Sergeant Ordway and Captain Lewis on the Lewis and Clark expedition, was distributed last summer.[7] Volume 23 of the *Collections* (Draper series, volume 4), containing selections from the Draper manuscripts pertaining to *Frontier advance on the upper Ohio*, appeared in January, 1917.[8] A similar volume entitled *Frontier retreat on the upper Ohio, 1779-1781*, volume 24

[3] To be reviewed later.
[4] To be reviewed later.
[5] Reviewed in this number.
[6] Reviewed *ante*, 3: 250-251.
[7] To be reviewed later.
[8] To be reviewed later.

of the *Collections* (Draper series, volume 5), has passed the editorial stage and has been in the hands of the printer for several months; it is not expected, however, to come from the press for another month. Attention should be called to the "Extracts from Capt. McKay's journal—and others" in the *Proceedings* of the society for 1915. Work on the preparation of a documentary history of the constitution of Wisconsin continues without very definite plans for its publication; it may run to four or five volumes. Plans are being made for a volume of papers dealing with pioneer farming in Wisconsin; the Bottomley family papers acquired by the society a few years ago will constitute the nucleus for this volume. The rare old pamphlet by Ole Nattestadt, published in Norway in 1839, describing for the benefit of his fellow countrymen his journey to the United States and his impressions of the new country, will be reprinted both in the original Norwegian and in translation; the work of translating and editing has been done by Rasmus B. Anderson of Madison. A number of letters from the correspondence of Senator James R. Doolittle, including five from Carl Schurz, were published in the *Missouri historical review* for October, 1916. A diary written by a young woman in early Wisconsin may be found in the *Collections* of the New Hampshire historical society, volume eleven.

The most significant development in this field for the state of Michigan is the undertaking of C. M. Burton of Detroit to publish certain selected manuscripts from the Burton historical collection. The first number, edited by M. Agnes Burton, appeared in October, 1916; it constitutes a thirty-two page pamphlet of very suggestive source material. The second number of forty-eight pages has also been distributed. Two more pamphlets are to make up the first set.

The Illinois state historical library is putting its energy into the coming centennial celebration; no effort therefore is being made at present to continue the *Illinois historical collections.* Some scattered items of source material have appeared, however. The *Journal* of the Illinois state historical society has printed a suggestive letter written by Andrew Shuman, editor of the Chicago *Journal*, to Senator J. R. Doolittle, August 13, 1862; also a series of letters received by P. P. Enos in the period from 1821 to 1832 and letters written by General Grant and his

son to I. N. Morris. *The papers of Barnard and Michael Gratz*, Philadelphia merchants who had important commercial relations with the Illinois country in the revolutionary period, have been edited by William V. Byars (Jefferson City, Mo., 1916. 386 p.). M. M. Quaife has edited a volume on the *Development of Chicago, 1673-1914* for the Caxton club of that city (Chicago, 1916. 290 p.). He has also been the advisory editor in the work of getting out a reprint of Black Hawk's *Autobiography*, undertaken by the Lakeside press of Chicago in its series of *Lakeside classics*. A volume of *Personal recollections of Abraham Lincoln* has been prepared by H. B. Rankin (New York, 1916. 412 p.).

A volume of modest size contains the *Story of my life and work*, by G. Frederick Wright, since 1897 president of the Ohio state archaeological and historical society. Gorham A. Worth's "Recollections of Cincinnati from a residence of five years, 1817 to 1821" has been reprinted in the *Quarterly publication* of the historical and philosophical society of Ohio, April-July, 1916. Tract number 96 of the Western Reserve historical society prints nineteen documents relating to the beginnings of colonization in the Western Reserve by the Connecticut land company; a twenty-five page study of the documents by Claude L. Shepard accompanied the documents. The "Memoirs of Laforge," translated by L. J. Kenny, may be found in the *Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly*, January, 1917; the documents contain material relating to the French settlement of Gallipolis, Ohio. Light is thrown on the same topic by a group of documents in the July, 1916, number of the *Catholic historical review* entitled, "A vanished bishopric of Ohio." Papers relating to the transplantation of free negroes to Ohio, 1815-1858, may be found in the *Journal of negro history* for July, 1916.

A few significant items of source material bearing generally on the old northwest region have been published recently. The volume of *Travels in the American colonies*, edited by N. D. Mereness (New York, 1916. 693 p.) includes D'Artaguiette's journal (1722-1723) of a tour up the Mississippi to the Illinois country, and Hamburgh's fragment (1763) concerning Detroit and the lakes. A volume of *Original narratives of the north-*

west has been edited by Louise Phelps Kellogg (New York, 1917. 382 p.)[9] for the well-known series of *Original narratives of early American history*, authorized by the American historical association and prepared under the general editorial direction of J. Franklin Jameson of the Carnegie institution at Washington.

MEETINGS AND PUBLISHED TRANSACTIONS

The *Annual report* of the American historical association for 1914 (Washington, 1916)[10] records the features of the thirtieth annual meeting held at Chicago. This meeting was, naturally, especially attractive to historical workers in the upper Mississippi valley. The influence of the frontier in the old northwest received attention in Frederick J. Turner's paper on the "Significance of sectionalism in American history," which is recorded in the *Report* only by title. Max Farrand, in a paper entitled "One hundred years ago," called attention to the westward movement and to the development in the middle west of a conscious nationality and national type; the paper is preserved only in abstract. The joint session held with the Mississippi valley historical association was chiefly devoted to a discussion of the origin of the Kansas-Nebraska act. F. H. Hodder, in a paper entitled "When the railroads came to Chicago," called attention to the influence of railroad building on Douglas' political policies. P. Orman Ray replied with a paper on "The genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act," stressing the responsibility of Senator Atchison of Missouri; his paper is printed in full. A suggestive paper by William J. Trimble on "Agrarian history of the United States as a subject for research" is recorded in abstract. The paper by Otto L. Schmidt on "The Chicago historical society" reviews the history of the society, outlines its recent activities, and discusses its plans for future work. "Legislation for archives," by Charles H. Rammelkamp, gives special consideration to the experiences of states of the middle west.

At the 1916 session of the association at Cincinnati two papers were read which pertained to the history of the old northwest: James A. James presented a paper on "Spanish influence in the west during the American revolution," and Ernest A. Smith

[9] To be reviewed later.

[10] To be reviewed later.

analyzed the "Influence of the religious press of Cincinnati on the northern border states." In the conference of archivists, a paper was read by Theodore C. Pease entitled "The problem of archive centralization with reference to local conditions in a middle western state," taking as its basis the situation in the state of Illinois. At one of the sessions of the American political science association which met in Cincinnati on the same date, N. H. Debel submitted a paper on "The operation of the veto power in Illinois."

Volume IX of the *Proceedings* of the Mississippi valley historical association for 1915-1916 has recently been distributed. It contains two papers relating to the history of the upper Mississippi valley, namely: "Religion as a factor in the early development of Ohio," by Margaret J. Mitchell; and "The veto power in Ohio," by R. C. McGrane. The presidential address, "The Mississippi valley in American history," by Dunbar Rowland, should also be noticed, as well as one entitled "The functions of a state historical society," by S. J. Buck, in which the author had in mind the institutions in states of the old northwest. The 1917 meeting of this association was held at Chicago, April 26-28. Papers on the history of the middle west were read as follows: "The value of the memoir of George Rogers Clark as an historical document," by James A. James; "The coming of the circuit rider across the mountains," by W. W. Sweet; "Glimpses of some old Mississippi river posts," by Louis Pelzer; "The military-Indian frontier," by Ruth Gallaher; "Fur trading companies in the northwest 1763-1816," by W. E. Stevens; "The pioneer aristocracy," by Logan Esarey; "Nauvoo, a possible study in economic determinism," by Theodore C. Pease; "The influence of the west on the rise and decline of political parties," by Homer C. Hockett; and "President Lincoln and the Illinois radical republicans," by Arthur C. Cole.

The Ohio valley historical association held its tenth annual meeting at Indianapolis, October 4 and 5, 1916, upon the joint invitation of the Indiana historical commission and the Indiana historical society. The meeting was featured as one of the events in the program of the Indiana state centennial celebration. A full report of all papers is given in the proceedings, which have been published in the first number of volume VI of

the *Indiana historical society publications*. The following should be noted here: "Speculations in the thirties," by R. C. McGrane; "The new purchase," by James A. Woodburn; "A lost opportunity: internal improvement," by Worthington C. Ford; "Kentucky's contribution to Indiana," by James R. Robertson; "Organizing a state," by Logan Esarey; "Early railroad building in Indiana," by Ralph Blank; "Civil war politics in Indiana," by Charles Kettleborough; and "A hoosier domesday," by F. L. Paxson.

The formal celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of Indiana's admission into the union took place at Indianapolis December 11, 1916; a record of the meeting is preserved in *Bulletin* no. 8 of the Indiana historical commission, December, 1916. The centennial address was delivered by James A. Woodburn on the theme, "The foundation of the commonwealth;" and a centennial ode was read by William D. Foulke.

Volume 40 of the *Michigan historical collections* has not as yet put in its appearance; it will contain the papers read at the two meetings of the Michigan pioneer and historical society held in 1915. During the year 1916 the society held three meetings in coöperation with the Michigan historical commission. At the eleventh mid-winter meeting in February the following papers were read: "History of Little Traverse township, Emmet county," by H. S. Babcock; "Evolution of Emmet county," by B. T. Halstead; "Catholic missions in Emmet county," by T. Linehan; "Presbyterian missions in Emmet county," by John Redpath; "The Indians of northern Michigan and their legends," by J. C. Wright; "The first bank of Michigan," by W. L. Jenks; "Revolutionary soldiers and their daughters in Michigan," by Mrs. William H. Wait; "The Adventist movement in Battle Creek," by F. W. Gage. The forty-second annual meeting was held at Lansing, May 24 and 25, 1916, and the following papers were read: "A tribute to William Fletcher, first chief justice of the Michigan supreme court," by R. H. Person; "A tribute to the late Judge Isaac Marston," by W. L. Clements; "National aid to education in Michigan," by J. L. Snyder; "Historical phases of railroad problems in Michigan," by D. Friday; "Pioneers of southern Michigan in 1846," by Sue L. Silliman; "The field for the historian of the upper peninsula,"

by F. X. Barth; "The spirit of the times," by W. N. Ferris. A special meeting at the invitation of the Delta county historical society was held at Escanaba, October 18 and 19, 1916; papers were read as follows: "The forests of the upper peninsula and their place in history," by A. L. Sawyer; "The history of Escanaba's ore docks," by F. H. Van Cleve; "The Keweenaw waterway and the copper industry," by Lew A. Chase; "Romance and adventure in Ontonagan history," by H. M. Powers; "Forts and old buildings of Mackinac Island," by M. A. Breuckman; "The early history of Delta county," by J. P. McCole; "Father Marquette at Michilimackinac," by O. Wood; "Early highways and mail routes in the upper peninsula," by G. T. Werline; "Indian geographical names in the upper peninsula and their interpretation," by William Gagneur.

The *Proceedings* of the Wisconsin historical society at its sixty-third annual meeting, October, 1915 (Madison, 1916. 231 p.) includes the following papers: "The settlement of the town of Lebanan, Dodge county," by W. F. Whyte; "Chicago's first great lawsuit," by C. E. Preussing; "A forgotten community: a record of Rock Island, the threshold of Wisconsin," by H. R. Holand; "British policy on the Canadian frontier, 1782-1792; mediation and an Indian barrier state," by Orpha E. Leavitt; and a paper entitled "Remains of a French post near Trempealeau," the results of the combined efforts of E. D. Pierce, G. H. Squire, and Louise P. Kellogg.

Two volumes of the *Transactions* of the Illinois state historical society have appeared since last year's article on historical activities. The *Transactions* for 1914 (Springfield, 1915. 214 p.) prints the papers read at the annual meeting in May, 1914, including the following: "The early courts of Chicago and Cook county," by O. N. Carter; "The life and services of Shelby M. Cullom," by H. A. Converse; "The Methodist Episcopal church and reconstruction," by W. W. Sweet; "The destruction of Kaskaskia by the Mississippi river," by J. H. Burnham; "Black Hawk's home country," by J. H. Hauberg; "The Williamson county vendetta," by G. W. Young; "The Yates phalanx —the thirty-ninth Illinois volunteers," by W. H. Jenkins; "Northern Illinois in the great whig convention of 1840," by Edith P. Kelley; "Southern Illinois and neighboring states in

the great whig convention of 1840," by Martha M. Davidson; "The young men's convention and old soldiers' meeting at Springfield, Illinois, June 3-4, 1840," by Isabel Jamison. The *Transactions* for 1915 (Springfield, 1916. 211 p.) contains the following papers read at the meeting in May, 1915: "Life of Adlai E. Stevenson," by J. W. Cook; "A group of stories of American Indians," by Lotte E. Jones; "Reminiscences of old Yellow Banks," by J. W. Gordon; "Duden and his critics," by Jessie J. Kile; "Jesse W. Fell," by Frances Morehouse; "The story of the banker-farmer movement originating with the Illinois bankers' association," by B. F. Harris; "Indian treaties affecting lands in the present state of Illinois," by F. R. Grover. The volume also contains an address on "General James Shields of Illinois," by F. O'Shaughnessy and a series of papers on the history of Quincy prepared by the Quincy chapter of Daughters of the American Revolution.

At the May, 1916, meeting of the Illinois state historical society the following papers were read: "The first two counties of Illinois and their people," by Fred J. Kern; "The veto power of the governor of Illinois," by N. H. Debel; "The Indian history of Illinois," by Ralph Linton; "Oddities in early Illinois laws," by J. J. Thompson; "Jacques Thimoté de Monbreun," by W. A. Provine; "Early Presbyterianism in east central Illinois," by Ira W. Allen; "Random recollections of sixty years in Chicago," by W. J. Onahan; "The work of the Illinois park commission and the preservation of historical sites," by J. A. James; "Slavery and involuntary servitude in Illinois," by O. W. Aldrich; and "Old settlers' tales," by Mabel E. Fletcher. A special meeting of the Illinois state historical society was held at Springfield, December 7, 1916, to celebrate the ninety-eighth anniversary of the admission of Illinois into the union. At the same time there was a conference of representatives of local historical societies in Illinois.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

The *Indiana magazine of history* continues to maintain its high rank among local historical periodicals. Some of the most important articles published since June, 1916, are: "The socialist party in Indiana," by Ora E. Cox; "Who was our Sieur

de Vincennes?" by J. P. Dunn; "Some features in the history of Parke county," by Maurice Murphy; "Tecumseh's confederacy," by Elmore Barce; "Terre Haute in 1850," by John J. Schleicher; "Indiana in 1816," by Merrill Moores; "Development of the city school system of Indiana, 1851-1880," by Harold Littell; "Social effects of the Monon railway in Indiana," by John Poucher; "Catholic education in Indiana, past and present," by Elizabeth Denehie; "Universalism in Indiana," by Elmo A. Robinson; "Old Corydon," by Charles Moores; "Reminiscences of the civil war; escape from Fort Tyler prison," by H. B. Little; "The wilderness road," by Frances Higgins; and "Memories of the National road," by Harriet M. Foster. A series of historical sketches of Indiana university by James A. Woodburn has been appearing in the *Indiana alumni quarterly*. The *Magazine of history*, extra number 44, contains an "Address on old Vincennes," by John Law. The *Home and school visitor* has in the October, 1916, number an article on "Indiana," by W. S. Gable; one on "One hundred years of Indiana," by G. S. Cottman; and one entitled "Down to New Orleans," by Logan Esarey. In the September-December number of the *German American annals* may be found an account by Preston A. Barba of the General Swiss colonization society, a society organized in Cincinnati in January, 1857, which shortly afterwards founded Tell City, Indiana.

The *Journal* of the Illinois state historical society has been carried down to July, 1916, with some possibility that an additional number will appear before this issue of the Mississippi Valley Historical Review is distributed. The last four numbers include the following articles: "Indian treaties affecting lands in Illinois," by Frank R. Grover; "Forgotten statesmen of Illinois: Robert Smith," by W. T. Norton; "Military history of Kane county," by John S. Wilcox; "Oddities in early Illinois laws," by J. J. Thompson; "The pacification of the Indians of Illinois after the war of 1812," by Lizzie M. Brown; "Lincoln at Galesburg," by J. F. Evans; "Personal reminiscences of Mr. Lincoln," by J. W. Vinson; "Abraham Lincoln," by Edward F. Dunne; "A modern knight errant: Edward D. Baker," by J. H. Matheny; "Slavery or involuntary servitude in Illinois prior to and after its admission as a state," by O. W. Aldrich;

"Early Presbyterianism in east central Illinois," by Ira W. Allen; "The two Michael Joneses," by Frances H. Relf; "Old trails of Hancock county," by Herbert S. Salisbury; and "James M. Davidson, 1828-1894," by E. A. Snively. The *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois* for 1915[11] contains two Illinois articles: "The premises and significance of Abraham Lincoln's letter to Theodor Canisius," by F. J. Herriott; and "Recollections of a forty-eighter," by Frederich Behlendorff, relating the author's experiences as an Illinois soldier in the civil war. The *Magazine of history* has been giving special consideration to Lincoln articles; one by E. B. Washburne on "Abraham Lincoln" may be found in extra number 43, and in extra number 45 there are two contributions: "Abraham Lincoln, his 'illusion' of 1860," by E. E. Holt; and "Life and character of Abraham Lincoln," by Richard Edwards.

The contents of the *Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly* for the past year include an account of "the dedication of the Hayes memorial at Spiegel Grove, Fremont, Ohio;" "Rarey, the horse's master and friend," by Sara L. Brown; "The exploration of Tremper mound," by W. C. Mills; "Joseph Badger, the first missionary to the Western Reserve," by B. E. Long; "Memoir of Antoine Laforge," by L. J. Kenny; "The ballad of 'James Bird'," by C. B. Galbreath; "The Coonskin library," by Sarah J. Cutler; "Flatboating on the Ohio river," by I. F. King; "Silver mines of Ohio Indians," by R. S. King; and "Birthplaces of three Ohio presidents," by F. J. Koch.

In the April-June, 1916, number of the *Journal of American history* may be found an article by E. O. Randall entitled "The mound builders of Ohio." The *Ohio history teachers' journal* which is published as a bulletin of Ohio state university presents in its November, 1916, issue an article by Clarence E. Carter on "Some Ohio historians."

Two articles may be noted in the *Wisconsin archaeologist*: "Grant county Indian remains," by C. E. Brown and A. O. Barton, and "Indian remains in Waushara county," by George R. Fox and E. C. Sagatz. An article by Carl R. Fish entitled

[11] To be reviewed later.

"Raising of the Wisconsin volunteers in 1861," appears in the *Military historian and economist* for July, 1916.

The *Iowa journal of history and politics* has two articles that in part overlap the field of this report. "Agents among the Sacs and Foxes," by Ruth A. Gallaher, may be found in the July, 1916, issue as the third of a series of four articles on "The Indian agent in the United States before 1850;" J. S. Heffner's paper on the "Congregational church of Iowa City" in the January, 1917, number contains a brief sketch of the movement of Congregationalism westward from New England.

The general historical periodicals have about the usual number of articles bearing on phases of the history of the old northwest. The July, 1916, issue of the *American historical review* prints an article on "Western ship-building," by A. B. Hulbert; the January, 1917, issue contains C. R. Fish's "Social relief in the northwest during the civil war." The following contributions have appeared in the 1916-1917 volume of the Mississippi Valley Historical Review: "Virginia and the west," by C. W. Alvord; "The organization of the British fur trade," by W. E. Stevens; "The story of James Corbin," by M. M. Quaife; and "Effects of secession upon the commerce of the Mississippi valley," by E. M. Coulter. The *American political science review* for November, 1916, includes a paper by A. C. Millspaugh on "The operation of the direct primary in Michigan." The *Catholic historical review* for April, 1917, contains an article by O. B. Corrigan entitled "The provinces of Philadelphia, Milwaukee, and Santa Fe." The *Magazine of history* for July, 1916, contains a brief paper by Mrs. Louise S. Houghton concerning "The French-Indians and the United States."

MONOGRAPHS AND GENERAL TREATISES

Several general works may be mentioned in this connection as having a direct bearing on the Mississippi valley: *English and American tool builders*, by Joseph W. Roe (New Haven, 1916. 315 p.);[12] *History of manufactures in the United States*, by V. S. Clark (Washington, 1916. 675 p.); *The centennial history of the American bible society*, by H. O. Dwight (2 vols. New York, 1916. 605 p.); *History of domestic and foreign com-*

[12] Reviewed *ante*, 3: 405.

merce of the United States, by Johnson, Van Metre, Huebner, and Hanchett (Washington, 1915); *The National road*, by Robert Bruce (Washington, 1916. 96 p.); *The story of corn and the westward migration*, by E. C. Brooks (Chicago, 1916. 308 p.);[13] and *The birth of Mormonism*, by J. Q. Adams (Boston, 1916. 106 p.).[14] *The commerce of Louisiana during the French régime, 1699-1763* (New York, 1916. 476 p.), by N. M. M. Surrey, is a recent addition to the *Studies in history, economics, and public law series* of Columbia university (volume LXXI, no. 1, whole no. 167);[15] it has chapters on the trade of the Illinois country, on New France in the fur trade of the Mississippi valley, and on kindred topics. A study of *A century and a half of fur trade at St. Louis*, by I. Lippincott, has been published in the *Washington university studies* for April, 1916. Miss Catharine C. Cleveland's study entitled *The great revival in the west, 1797-1805* (Chicago, 1916. 215 p.)[16] has been published during the past year. Probably the most important contribution of the past year is the two volume study by C. W. Alvord entitled *The Mississippi valley in British politics: a study of the trade, land speculation, and experiments in imperialism culminating in the American revolution* (2 vols. Cleveland, 1916. 358; 396 p.).[17] A study, for the most part from unused documentary sources, of the history of the lower lakes and upper Ohio valley under French control will appear shortly as volumes 20 and 21 of the *Publications* of the Buffalo historical society; it is the work of Frank H. Severance, the secretary-treasurer of that society. A few new titles of general studies which cover this section have been announced by candidates for the doctor's degree: *The history of tobacco growing in the Ohio valley*, by M. K. Cameron (Harvard); *The Presbyterian church and slavery*, by I. S. Kull (Chicago); *Economic aspects of the campaign of 1860*, by G. R. Bedenkapp (Columbia); *Recruiting during the civil war*, by O. E. Hooley (Wisconsin); and *The early history of the education of women in the northwest*, by A. E. Stanley (Chicago).

Three new numbers of the *University of Illinois studies in the*

[13] To be reviewed later.

[14] Reviewed in this number.

[15] To be reviewed later.

[16] Reviewed *ante*, 3: 550-551.

[17] Reviewed in this number.

social sciences have been brought out in the past year. They are: *The life of Jesse Fell* (volume v, no. 2, 1916. 129 p.),[18] by Frances M. I. Morehouse; *Land tenure in the United States with special reference to Illinois* (volume v, no. 3, 1916. 135 p.),[19] by Charles L. Stewart; and *Mine taxation in the United States* (volume v, no. 4, 1916. 275 p.),[20] by L. E. Young. *The veto power of the governor of Illinois*, by N. H. Debel, will be distributed shortly as numbers 1 and 2 of volume vi. A *History of the university of Chicago*, by Thomas W. Wakefield, has been issued by the university of Chicago press (Chicago, 1916). *The making of Illinois: a history of the state from the earliest records to the present time* (Chicago, 1916. 254 p.) is a work written by I. F. Mather. More Lincoln material has appeared: *Abraham Lincoln*, by Lord Charnwood (New York, 1916. 479 p.), a good biography; *Abraham Lincoln*, by Daniel E. Wheeler, in the Macmillan series of *True stories of great Americans* (New York, 1916); *Abraham Lincoln, the lawyer-statesman*, by J. T. Richards (New York, 1916. 260 p.);[21] *Abraham Lincoln and constitutional government*, by B. A. Ulrich (Chicago, 1916. 406 p.);[22] *Abraham Lincoln*, by C. P. Bissett (Los Angeles, 1916. 56 p.);[23] and *The convention that nominated Lincoln*, by P. O. Ray (Chicago, 1916. 38 p.). A brief biography of *La Salle* has been prepared by Louis S. Hasbrouck (New York, 1916. 212 p.). *The history of the Illinois and Michigan canal*, by J. N. Putnam, is now in press, to be published under the auspices of the Chicago historical society.

The Ohio-Michigan boundary is the title of a work compiled by C. E. Sherman and issued as the first volume of an Ohio official publication (Ohio coöperative topographic survey, *Final report*, volume i. 115 p.);[24] besides the reports of the commissioners and of the engineer engaged in a topographic survey of the boundary zone it contains two scholarly papers on the historical aspects of the boundary dispute, namely: "Basis of the

[18] Reviewed *ante*, 3: 554-556.
[19] To be reviewed later.
[20] To be reviewed later.
[21] Reviewed *ante*, 3: 537-538.
[22] To be reviewed later.
[23] To be reviewed later.
[24] To be reviewed later.

Ohio-Michigan boundary dispute," by A. M. Schleisinger and "The controversy over the Ohio-Michigan boundary," by Anna M. Soule. Three other Ohio items are: *The life of William McKinley*, by Charles Olcott (Boston, 1916. 2 vols. 400; 418 p.);[25] and *The fifteenth Ohio volunteers and its campaigns*, by Alexis Cope (Columbus, 1916. 706 p.);[26] and *Early years on the western reserve*, by George C. Wing (Cleveland, 1916).

The recent centennial celebration in Indiana has stimulated a good deal of writing along various lines of state history. Many of the publications take the county as a working unit; these include: *Centennial history of Washington county, Indiana, its people, industries, and institutions*, by W. W. Stevens (Indianapolis, 1916. 1060 p.); *Perry county, a history*, by T. J. de la Hunt (Indianapolis, 1916. 359 p.);[27] *The first century of the public schools of Tippecanoe county*, by Brainard Hooker (Lafayette, 1916); *History of Hancock county, Indiana*, by G. J. Richman (Greenfield, Indiana, 1916). A large number of state histories of varying pretensions have appeared: a *Centennial history of Indiana* for schools and teachers' institutes, by H. M. Skinner (Chicago, 1916. 101 p.); a similar work entitled *History of Indiana*, by J. A. Woodburn and T. F. Moran (New York, 1916. 63 p.); a *History of Indiana*, by O. H. Williams (New York, 1916. 72 p.); and *The history of Indiana for boys and girls*, by C. W. Moore (Boston, 1916. 72 p.). Julia H. Levering has issued a second edition of her *Historic Indiana* revised and enlarged and designated a "centennial edition" (New York, 1916. 565 p.). *The play-party in Indiana* is the title of a volume by Miss Leah J. Wolford issued under the auspices of the Indiana historical commission; as a study of folk customs of early Indiana it is a distinct contribution to the history of the social life of the state. Harlow Lindley has prepared a biographical bulletin for the Indiana state library entitled *The governors of Indiana*. Frances D. Streightoff and Frank H. Streightoff are the joint authors of *Indiana, a social and economic survey* (Indianapolis, 1916. 261 p.).[28] A volume of documents entitled

[25] Reviewed *ante*, 3: 543-545.
[26] Reviewed *ante*, 3: 414-415.
[27] Reviewed *ante*, 3: 553-554.
[28] Reviewed *ante*, 3: 552-553.

Circuit rider days in Indiana (Indianapolis, 1916. 344 p.)[29] contains an historical introduction of ninety pages which deals with the early history of Methodism in Indiana; it was prepared by the editor, W. W. Sweet. He has completed another work along similar lines entitled *History of the north Indiana conference of the Methodist Episcopal church* (Indianapolis, 1917. 363 p.);[30] this volume was planned and started by the late H. N. Herrick. A three volume work on *Courts and lawyers of Indiana* has been prepared by L. J. Monks, Logan Esarey, and E. V. Shockley (Indianapolis, 1916. LXXV, 384, 527, 526 p.). A *Memorial to the pioneer mother of Indiana* has been issued in pamphlet form (Indianapolis, 1916. 30 p.).

Economic and social beginnings of Michigan, by George N. Fuller (Lansing, Michigan, 1916. LXXII, 630),[31] is the first number of the University series of the Michigan historical commission's publications; it is a careful study of the settlement of the lower peninsula during the territorial period, 1805-1837. Volume II of this series, *The public life of Zachariah Chandler, 1851-1875*, by Wilmer C. Harris, is now in press. To the other volumes being edited by the commission has been added a work on *Historic Mackinac*, by Edwin O. Wood; it will probably be a two volume study. The commission is planning to revise and bring down to date the volume authorized by the Michigan legislature in 1887 and published under the title *Early history of Michigan with biographies of state officers, members of congress, judges, and legislators*; it will be enlarged in scope and printed in two volumes as *Michigan biographies*. *Government of Michigan*, by C. S. Larzelere (Chicago, 1916. 152 p.),[32] is a little volume containing a ten page sketch of Michigan history. Two new doctoral dissertations on Michigan history are *Development of the free school and the abolition of rate bills in the states of Connecticut and Michigan*, by A. R. Mead (Columbia) and *History of the Pere Marquette railroad*, by P. W. Ivy (Michigan). An *Economic history of Wisconsin during the civil war decade*, by Frederick Merk, is expected to appear shortly;

[29] Reviewed *ante*, 3: 250-251.
[30] To be reviewed later.
[31] To be reviewed later.
[32] Reviewed *ante*, 3: 551.

it will be volume one of a new series of studies in Wisconsin and western history of the Wisconsin historical society's publications. Mr. Merk has been for five years in the employ of that society. A study on *The organization of political parties in Wisconsin* is announced by J. T. Carter as a Wisconsin doctoral dissertation.

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS AND ACTIVITIES

The Michigan historical commission is preparing to issue a bulletin containing the *Prize essays, written by pupils in Michigan schools in the local history contest, 1915-1916.* These essays were submitted in a prize contest arranged by the Michigan Daughters of the American Revolution and the Michigan state federation of women's clubs, to encourage the study of local history in the schools of the state. The topics of the 1915-1916 essays concern the settlement and development of the cities of Manistee, Three Rivers, Traverse City, and Cadillac. Other bulletins issued by the commission are: number 5, *Names and places of interest on Mackinac Island, Michigan, designated and adopted by the Mackinac Island state park commission and the Michigan historical commission*, by Frank A. O'Brien (86 p.); number 6, *Nicolet day on Mackinac Island*; and number 7, *Lewis Cass day on Mackinac Island.* Two other papers should be mentioned: "Forgotten heroines" and "Two missionaries to the Indian," both by Frank A. O'Brien.

A twenty page pamphlet, entitled *Indiana local history; a guide to its study*, has been prepared by Logan Esarey and has been published and circulated by Indiana university. The senior class of 1913 of the Vevay high school has prepared a small booklet entitled *A brief history of Switzerland county.* The Tipton county centennial committee has issued another containing a biography of General John Tipton together with a brief account of the settling of Tipton county; it was prepared by Ebert Allison for use in the schools. Some "Notes on centennial pageants in Indiana" may be found in the December, 1916, issue of the *Indiana magazine of history.*

The Chicago historical society has held a number of special exhibits during the year including exhibits of Lincoln mementoes and of early Chicago imprints. A committee of the so-

ciety resurveyed the archaeological remains of Cook, Dupage, and Will counties preparatory to the publication of A. F. Scharf's *Indian trails and villages in the vicinity of Chicago.* The society still maintains its propaganda to retain the original names of Chicago streets believing that in no better way can the achievements be commemorated of those in whose memory they were named. About ten thousand portraits of Chicago citizens have been filed in the society's library during the year. Mrs. Margaret Bangs is the author of *A syllabus of twelve studies in Illinois history.* A *Souvenir of early and notable events in the history of the northwest territory* is the title of a privately published pamphlet by William H. Bates (Pekin, Illinois, 1916. 31 p.). An account of the movement in Illinois for obtaining a state flag or banner may be found in the July, 1916, number of the *Journal* of the Illinois state historical society.

A committee of the Ohio history teachers' association is gathering material for a *Source book of Ohio history*; the expectation is that copy will be ready by the fall of 1917. A committee of the history section of the Illinois high school conference is at work on a similar volume of source readings on Illinois history.

Some developments may be reported in the field of coöperation between state and local historical agencies. While some of the older state organizations have come to despair of being able to accomplish anything important along this line, the Michigan historical commission comes forward with youthful energy and enthusiasm for an elaborate system which it proposes to carry into practice. Under this scheme county historical societies properly organized, officered, and encouraged by the state organization will be invited to coöperate in collecting manuscript and printed materials now widely scattered in private homes. Should the proposed plan work out in practice Michigan will be organized for local historical work more effectively than any state of the old northwest; it will bring clearly to the attention of all interested the ideals toward which the state pioneer and historical society and the historical commission are working and should quicken public sentiment to attract the attention of members of the legislature to the need of legislation in the interests of the history of the state. The commission succeeded in attracting to the forty-second annual meeting of the society a large

number of delegates from various counties to report on the work of the local organizations and to discuss ways and means for more efficient coöperation between Michigan historical workers. The state historical society of Wisconsin has always encouraged such local auxiliary societies and has sought to cultivate close relations with them; they are entitled under a state law to send delegates to the annual meetings and to have their reports of proceedings printed by the state historical society. The coming centennial in Illinois should stimulate developments along these lines; at a special meeting of the Illinois state historical society in December, 1916, a conference of representatives of local historical societies was held to encourage such tendencies.

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Notes on the Discovery of Gold in the Northwest

In a recent review of Laveille's *Life of Father De Smet* the reviewer says of the famous missionary: "He long knew of the presence of gold in Montana and Idaho, but kept the secret and swore his Indian informants to secrecy in order that his missions and the entire native population might be spared as long as possible the fate that had overtaken the Indians of California after the discovery of gold there in 1848."[1] The reviewer apparently accepts without question the word of the author that Father De Smet actually was the discoverer of gold in the northwest, and thus gives the sanction of scholarly authority to this shadowy tradition. If Father De Smet actually "had known for twenty years of the gold buried in the mountains" or in other words had discovered gold in 1840 as asserted by his biographer,[2] then this missionary to the Indians should be credited with having retarded the whole course of northwest history and with it the history of the nation.

The only evidence that Father De Smet actually discovered gold rests upon the testimony of the missionary himself. His first statement relating to the discovery of gold was written in 1849, at the time of the gold rush to California. He then wrote to his brother Charles, who was living in Belgium, as follows: "In 1840 I climbed a lofty mountain a few days' travel from the Sacramento. The bed of a stream that came down from it seemed to me to be of gold sand. It was so abundant that I could not believe the thing was real and I passed on without examining it. Today I have little doubt that it was really the precious metal."[3] If Father De Smet saw gold it must have

[1] Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 3: 418.

[2] E. Laveille, S. J., *Life of Father De Smet, S. J.*, translated by Marian Lindsay (New York, 1915), 319.

[3] De Smet to his brother Charles, April 26, 1849. H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson, *Life, letters, and travels of Father Pierre-Jean de Smet* (New York, 1904), 1421. The editor declares that in 1840 Father De Smet passed over Alder

been at the headwaters of the Stinking Water and old miners whom I have interviewed are unanimous in the opinion that never was there such a display of gold as that described by Father De Smet.[4] They think that the good father was deceived by the reflection of mica which is found in various parts of the west. It must be borne in mind also that Father De Smet was not a miner and that, when years later he learned of the discovery of gold in California, he would naturally recall this incident of 1840 as an actual discovery of gold.

The second statement of Father De Smet relative to his knowledge of gold in Montana was written in 1845, but its meaning is clear only if one accepts the explanation of it which he made in 1864. In this later year he wrote: "I have known of the existence of the precious metals in this region for many years past, and the thought has always filled me with apprehension for the future of the Indian tribes who inhabit it. On the 3rd of September, 1845, while I was on missionary duty among the mountain Indians, I wrote (page 125 of the Oregon Missions) 'Poor unfortunate Indians! They trample on treasures unconscious of their worth, and content themselves with fishery and the chase. When these resources fail, they subsist upon roots and herbs; whilst they eye with tranquil surprise the white man examining the shining pebbles of their territory. Ah! they would tremble, indeed, could they learn the history of those numerous and ill-fated tribes that have been swept from their land, to make place for Christians, who have made the poor Indians the victims of their rapacity.'"[5]

There is no doubt but that when the good missionary was writing in 1864 regarding opinions which he held in 1845 he thought that he was referring to the existence of gold. But if we examine the whole of the letter to which he refers, we find that he had something else in mind. In the paragraph immediate-

Gulch. *Ibid.*, 1422 n. This, however, is impossible, for when Father De Smet came into Montana in 1840 he crossed the mountains near Red Rock lake and descended the Stinking Water, the Beaverhead, and the Jefferson rivers to the Three Forks.

[4] Mr. G. W. Wolf, president of the Western Montana National bank, and a man of wide experience and knowledge of placer mining, and Granville Stuart, one of the best known placer miners in Montana, are among those who believe that Father De Smet must have been deceived.

[5] De Smet to Father Terwecoren, March 26, 1864. Chittenden and Richardson, *Life, letters, and travels of Father Pierre-Jean de Smet*, 1519.

ly preceding the one quoted above, he explains what he meant as follows: "The quarries and forests appear inexhaustible; and having remarked large pieces of coal along the river, I am convinced that this fossil could be abundantly procured. What could this now solitary and desolate land become under the fostering hand of civilization. Indeed the entire tract of the Skalzi seems awaiting the benign influence of the civilized people. Great quantities of lead are found on the surface of the earth; and from the appearance of its superior quality, we are lead to believe there may be some mixture of silver."[6]

This letter was written by Father De Smet to his superior and there is apparently no reason why he should conceal his belief that gold existed in the northwest or mislead his brother Jesuit who was just as much interested as he in keeping the white men out of the country. The letter also indicates that Father De Smet at this time looked forward with favor to the coming of the whites. It was not until after he learned of the evils inflicted by the miners upon the Indians of California that he sought to preserve the country for the red men.[7]

All the later references which Father De Smet has made to his knowledge of gold in the territory before the discovery was given to the world, apparently refer back to the incident of 1840 or to the letter of 1845, neither of which can possibly establish the claims which are made for him.[8]

Laveille further asserts that "on another occasion Father De Smet learned from a reliable Indian, that on one summit of the Black Hills, the interstices of the rocks were filled with golden sand," and he attempts to prove this statement by a letter which Father De Smet wrote to General Pleasanton in 1865.[9] In this letter Father De Smet refers to the rumor of gold on the headwaters of Pointed Arrow or Flint creek. Laveille assumes that

[6] De Smet to Monseigneur, September 2, 1845. *Ibid.*, 493.

[7] Laveille, *Life of Father De Smet, S. J.*, 319.

[8] De Smet to Caulfield, March, 1862, Chittenden and Richardson, *Life, letters and travels of Father Pierre-Jean de Smet*, 1508; De Smet to Blondeal, the Belgian ambassador, May 4, 1862, *ibid.*, 1510. Both these letters refer to his keeping the secret "for twenty years past." A letter of February 4, 1863, to W. H. Campbell, is not so specific. *Ibid.*, 1511.

[9] Laveille, *Life of Father De Smet, S. J.*, 320 n. Chittenden and Richardson, *Life, letters, and travels of Father Pierre-Jean de Smet*, 1521.

this stream was in the Black Hills, an assumption which cannot possibly be true. Father De Smet gives as one of the reasons for not accompanying the Indian to the headwaters of Flint creek that he was "in hopes that by hurrying in my journey towards Fort Benton I might arrive in time to meet the boat of the American Fur Company."[10] If he had been in the Black Hills he would not have gone to Fort Benton at all to meet the boat but would have sought it at a point hundreds of miles lower down, where he could have met it several days later.

Flint creek must doubtless be the stream of that name which empties into Clark's Fork near Gold creek. Before 1865 gold mines were opened on Flint creek but Father De Smet's letter does not indicate the date when the "old Indian" gave his testimony. It must have been after the opening of placer mines in the northwest, for it is doubtful if the "gold dust" mentioned by Father De Smet was shipped into the country. The evidence presented by this letter is so vague that no conclusions can be drawn from it.

The proof that Father De Smet discovered gold remains still very shadowy, and presents in itself some very good reasons to think that he is not entitled to the credit. Let us look then at the claims of other contenders.

In addition to Father De Smet there are two serious claimants for the honor of discovering the yellow metal in the northwest. One of these was a half-breed named François Finley, but usually called Benetsee, and the other, the party of the Stuart brothers and Reese Anderson. Finley's leading champion is Mr. Duncan MacDonald of Ravalli, Montana.

Mr. MacDonald's mother was an Indian. His father, Angus MacDonald, was a Scotchman who in 1847 built a trading post for the Hudson's Bay company a few miles south of Flathead lake on Post creek in the present Flathead Indian reservation. On March 8, 1916, in answer to our query, Mr. MacDonald submitted the following: "In answer to question regarding Angus MacDonald my father finding or handling gold given him by a half-blood by name of Penatsee Finley (Penatsee was a nick name, François is his right name). Him and several other Canadians and mixed bloods stampeded to California in 1849. It

[10] Chittenden and Richardson, *Life, letters, and travels of Father Pierre-Jean de Smet*, 1522.

was in California he learnt the value of gold. He returned to Montana in 1850, and went up . . . what we call now Hell Gate River. When he pitched camp at a stream now known as Gold Creek he thought he would try for gold. And sure enough he found some. I did not learn how much but [it] was part of a teaspoonful. When he returned at Post Creek [the Hudson's Bay post mentioned above] he gave it to my father. At the same time MacDonald was not satisfied. He told him [Benetsee] to get some more gold, which he did. I think the last gold he gave . . . him [Angus MacDonald] was in 1851 or 2, about a teaspoonful. The said MacDonald then wrote a letter to the Board of Management [of the Hudson's Bay company] at Victoria about gold being found in this part of the country. The Company then wrote him to keep it secret as it might cause a big excitement same as [in] California, as they [Hudson's Bay company] were in quest of fur and [the miners] might ruin their business. He, Angus MacDonald, was the first white man [who] saw gold and handled it without doubt in Montana. Father told me this several times. Then he told me Major John Owens [who built Fort Owens in the Bitter Root valley] got wind of it but he also kept quiet feeling same as the Hudson's Bay Company. But he had a lot of white employees . . . some of them sent word to the Stuarts about rumors of gold in this part of the country. So the Stuarts made a straight line to Gold Creek and the gold was there and they [the Stuarts] are getting the credit instead of François Finley (Penatsee) and Angus MacDonald. . . [signed] Duncan MacDonald."

This indirect evidence is our only authority for Benetsee's venture save for rumor and legend as old as the early fifties. As far as is known there is not a contemporary account of his discovery. Neither have we a word written subsequently by anyone who saw Benetsee with the gold. Pride of race is very strong is Mr. MacDonald. For years he has sought to revive Indian legends and Indian geographical names, and he is proud to claim for one of his race the honor of discovering gold in the northwest. It is but natural too that he should seek to give all the glory possible to his father.

While there is not enough evidence to accept the Benetsee legend as fact, the story was so generally believed in the early

gold mining days that there must be something in it. That Benetsee was a historical character is not doubted. He has an aged daughter still living in Montana. Granville Stuart, his rival for the honor of opening the gold fields of the northwest, remembers him well. On November 24, 1916, Mr. Stuart gave us the following statement: "I met François Finley, the breed, while hunting. He told me he came from California, and that he had looked about for gold—as all men from California in those days did. He [Finley] said he had never systematically mined in this region. He never considered himself a miner and never claimed to have opened the gold fields of the Northwest. At least nothing ever came of his discovery."[11]

Although no one doubts Mr. Stuart's word, in fairness it should be remembered that he and Benetsee are rivals for the same honor. Much more valuable than this late description of events is one which Mr. Stuart made in early years. His first written account of the Benetsee rumor is found in his valuable little book, published in 1865, which he called *Montana as it is.*

[11] Lieutenant Bradley in his journal of 1876 apparently agrees with this statement of Mr. Stuart. He says: "The first discovery is credited to Francois Finley, in 1852, but he did not seem to profit by it and nothing came of it." "Journal of Lieutenant James H. Bradley in the Sioux campaign of 1876," in *Contributions to the Historical society of Montana; with its transactions* (Helena, 1876-), 2: 150. It is very strange that Captain Mullan does not once mention either Benetsee or the Stuarts in his various references to Gold creek. In one place he says: "This creek has been named 'Gold Creek' as Colonel Lander is said to have found gold specimens in it." Captain John Mullan, "Report on the construction of a military road from Fort Walla-Walla to Fort Benton," *Executive documents of the senate,* 37 congress, 3 session, no. 43: 138. It is very queer that he does not mention the Stuarts as this note was made on November 24, 1860, two years after their discovery. In his *Miners and travelers' guide to Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming and Colorado, via the Missouri and Columbia rivers* (New York, 1865), he also mentions no gold discoveries. But this little book was lifted almost bodily from the text of the former. The above mentioned Colonel Lander is thus another of the so-called "first discoverers" of gold in the northwest. F. H. Hayden, United States geologist, in his various reports makes no mention of the Montana gold discoveries. See F. H. Hayden, "Preliminary report of the United States geological survey of Wyoming and portions of contiguous territories," and "Preliminary report of the United States geological survey of Montana and portions of adjacent territories," *Executive documents of the house of representatives,* 42 congress, 2 session, nos. 325, 326. The latter deals largely with agricultural surveys. H. H. Bancroft mentions several others credited with discovering gold in the northwest. See his *History of Washington, Idaho and Montana, 1845-1889* (*Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft,* vol. 31—San Francisco, 1890), 611-616. As usual Bancroft follows any tradition given him.

Here he tells the Benetsee episode as follows: "About the year 1852, a French halfbreed from the Red River named François Finley, but commonly known by the sobriequet of 'Benetsee' who had been to California began to prospect on a branch of Hell Gate, now known as Gold Creek. He found small quantities of light float gold in the surface along this stream, but not in sufficient quantities to pay. This became noised about among the mountaineers."[12]

Stuart tells the story not very differently fifty years later. In the *Daily Missoulian* of November 12, 1916, he said: "During the winter (of 1857-8) some residents from the Bitter Root Valley came over to the Beaverhead and told a rumor that a Red River half-breed known as Benetsee, some years before had come from California and had prospected for gold. He had scraped up a little gravel in the stream which is called Benetsee creek and washing that gravel as he had seen it done in California, he saw a few bright specks in the bottom of the pan and having seen gold in California, thought this might be gold. However, he did not dig any holes or wash any gravel or try to mine in any way whatsoever. Five years passed without anything being done. . ."[13]

Stuart does not in a single instance deny that before his party found gold at Gold or Benetsee creek in 1858 there were rumors of Benetsee's find. In fact he implies that his party went to that stream on the strength of this rumor. That the Stuarts and Anderson found gold there is history.

Another tale similar to Finley's, which grew up in the western

[12] Granville Stuart, *Montana as it is; being a general description of its resources . . . to which is appended a complete dictionary of the Snake language, and also of the famous Chinook jargon* (New York, 1865), 7. Mr. Stuart wrote this book in 1864.

[13] This claim of Mr. Stuart's that "five years passed without anything being done" does not agree with his earlier statement in Sanders, where he says that in 1856 Robert Hereford, John Saunders, Bill Madison and others, hearing the Benetsee story went to Gold creek where they found a little gold which they gave to Captain Grant, "who used to show it, up to the time of his death in 1862, as the first piece of gold found in the country." Helen F. Sanders, *History of Montana* (Chicago and New York, 1913), 1: 167. Evidently Captain Grant either did not believe the Benetsee story or had never heard of it. It is also possible that the story of the find of 1856 is fiction. It seems hardly possible that the Benetsee story could have been unknown to Captain Grant. As far as can be learned every contemporary had heard of the Benetsee rumor.

part of Montana developed in the same region and at the same time. Mr. Charles S. Warren, writing in 1876 says: "There seems to be some diversity of opinion as to the first discovery of gold in Montana. In 1852 Samuel M. Caldwell discovered gold on what was then known as Mill Creek, nearly opposite Fort Owen, west of the Bitter Root River."[14] This "pre-historic" tale like that mentioned above[15] is not often told. Its defenders seem to be few.

Still another quite popular legend had its center at Fort Benton farther east. This is the oft repeated account of the "mountaineer" Silverthorne. Lieutenant Bradley, who is usually followed in vouching for this story, gives it as follows: "In 1856 a mountaineer named Silverthorne appeared at Fort Benton with gold dust to the amount of $1,525.00 which he claimed to have mined in the mountains of this Territory and disposed of it in trade. It would seem that he afterwards went to California to form a party to return to his mines."[16]

If this Silverthorne story has any foundation, the fact led to nothing, for as far as is known Silverthorne did not later attempt to exploit the gold deposits of Idaho territory. In another account Bradley says that the late Judge Frank Woody and others in years subsequent to 1856 often saw Silverthorne about the Bitter Root valley.[17] The story seems fairly plausible as Bradley claims that Major Culbertson gave him a part of the facts and that the famous trader, M. Mercure, told him the whole tale. In fact, Mercure said that he later found Silverthorne and got the particulars from him. The account, therefore, largely hinges on the veracity of Bradley.

Where Silverthorne found the gold is not known. The nearest Bradley could come to it was that it was "in the mountains

[14] Charles S. Warren, "The territory of Montana," in *Contributions to the Historical society of Montana*, 2: 83.

[15] See note 13 above.

[16] "Journal of Lieutenant James H. Bradley in the Sioux campaign of 1876," in *Contributions to the Historical society of Montana*, 2: 150. The Silverthorne episode is also given in Sanders, *History of Montana*, 1: 170. Major Culbertson, the American Fur company factor at Fort Benton, seems to have taken a similar attitude to that said to have been adopted by the Hudson's Bay company in the case of Benetsee's discovery.

[17] Saunders, *History of Montana*, 1: 170. This account is evidently taken from Bradley's narrative in the *New Northwest* (Deer Lodge, Montana), October 8, 1875.

of this Territory." As Bradley was writing in 1876 he doubtless refers to Montana territory as the latter was separated from Idaho territory in 1864. Like many other "Forty-niners" from California Silverthorne was doubtless on the lookout for gold during his wanderings.

The above stories, like that of Benetsee, were not given us by the principals, nor are there any contemporary accounts of them to be found. All these stories may have some grains of truth in them. Gold was later found quite widely scattered over the mountainous sections of the northwest. Considering the number of men in the region who had been through the California craze, and the fact that most of the wandering trappers of the period would be on the watch for the elusive metal, the finding of it now and then would not be strange. Legitimate evidence of their veracity, however, is lacking, and we can consign them all to tradition.

The Stuart brothers and Reese Anderson present the first valid claim to the discovery of gold in the northwest, and there is no doubt that they are responsible for the gold rush to the territory now comprising Montana and Idaho. The Stuart party was returning from an unsuccessful expedition to California, when they decided to try their luck once more in the mountains north of the Great Salt lake. In 1857 they crossed the Red Rock divide into the old Idaho territory. The following year they found gold in paying quantities on Gold or Benetsee creek, between the present cities of Deer Lodge and Missoula, Montana. It was news of this discovery that started the gold rush to the northwest and paved the way for its future development.[18]

P. C. Phillips
H. A. Trexler

[18] Granville Stuart has given several accounts of the discovery of gold by his party in 1858. The earliest is perhaps that which appears in his *Montana as it is*, 7. There is also a narrative of his in Sanders, *History of Montana*, 1: 167. Stuart's fullest and latest description of the expedition is in the *Daily Missoulian* of November 2, 1916.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Modernizing the Monroe doctrine. By Charles H. Sherrill, late United States minister to Argentina. With an introduction by Nicholas Murray Butler. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1916. 203 p. $1.25 net)

This interesting little volume is a plea for Pan-Americanism, "the most altruistic and the most practical foreign policy to which any country ever devoted itself." It is altruistic because it contemplates seriously the advancement of the interests of states other than our own; it is practical because it makes for world peace. As the author understands it, Pan-Americanism is an attempt to assemble the finest traits of a score of republics that they may be employed in combination for the common good of all.

The realization of this ideal — for it is an ideal — must come through mutual appreciation of good qualities, mutual toleration of conflicting viewpoints, and finally through the development of a patriotism which is not circumscribed by the bounds of any single state. In this work the United States must lead and there can be no hope for success until we are able not only to understand our South American neighbors better but to command their respect as well. Until recently the history of our relations with them has been that of lost opportunities. We have ignored and misunderstood them; we have made no really intelligent attempts to become acquainted with them or their country, their likes or dislikes, their good qualities or their short-comings. To picture the Latin Americans, as we of the northern continent are often inclined to do, "in a landscape of palms beneath the sultry rays of a tropical sun, rolling cigarettes, and occasionally ejaculating, mañana" is an error born of ignorance. They have not been enervated by a tropical climate because most of them live under temperate climatic conditions. Neither is their chief occupation or amusement that of fomenting political revolutions. The South Americans have fully as much political sense per capita as their northern brethren; they take their politics more soberly and seriously; and furthermore "there is no more chance of a revolution in such countries as Argentina and Uruguay than there is in Brooklyn." Buenos Aires with its 2,000,000 people, its splendid hotels, department stores, and public buildings, its university, and its excellent newspapers, is thoroughly European in appearance and thoroughly progressive. It suggests the solid character of the best South American citizenship.

The North American has erred not only in neglecting to acquaint himself with the good points of his South American brother but in failing to present his own good qualities in a favorable light as well. In both cases he, not the Latin American, is the loser. Strange as it may seem it has never been thought worth while to take full advantage of the tremendous trade opportunities which the southern continent affords. Although the trade of Argentina, Chili, Brazil, and Uruguay amounted to $1,800,000,000 in 1913 we enjoyed only a comparatively small part of it because we thought it unnecessary to send there competent, highly trained business and diplomatic representatives who would measure up to the agents employed by England and Germany. In the comparisons which were very naturally made the United States suffered. Moreover, our news service is poor. Cable news from the United States has generally been scanty and so sensational in character as to make an exceedingly unfavorable impression upon South American readers. On the other hand England, Germany, and Japan having studied conditions closely, recognize the value of a carefully supervised news distribution. At regular intervals they furnish to the leading newspapers of the continent adroitly worded statements concerning affairs of world interest not neglecting to magnify the importance of their part in these events.

This general indifference upon the part of the United States has created in South America a corresponding indifference which borders closely upon well defined suspicion. If Pan-Americanism is to become a reality, and if the Monroe doctrine is to be more than the unilateral policy at which Latin Americans and Europeans alike look askance, it is imperative that the United States make some earnest, well-considered, and tactful endeavors to remove the causes of this distrust. Happily some things have been done already. The meetings of the Pan-American congresses, which periodically gather together for the discussion of problems of common interest the best minds of the republics of the western hemisphere, have done much good. The frequent meetings of the Pan-American union (consisting of the Latin-American ambassadors and ministers under our secretary of state as chairman) have contributed to increase mutual respect and to create a new appreciation of the responsibilities as well as the advantages of the Monroe doctrine. The A. B. C. congress was of the greatest practical benefit. In it the United States, by demonstrating its desire to profit by their advice and coöperation in the solution of problems of international interest, proved to the South American republics that its own policy was by no means selfishly national in scope.

The most interesting part of the volume deals with the "Triangle for peace," — Mr. Sherrill's plan for developing Pan-Americanism. His

first suggestion is that affairs common to the interests of the several American states ought to be discussed and settled by a body in which the South American republics are accorded full representation. Second, that the European colonies in the southern continent and Central America should have their freedom either through grant or by purchase by the United States. Finally, the United States must withdraw from the Philippines. Although these islands are rich in resources and are located at the doorway of the orient they are an embarrassment. In times of peace they present serious problems in the civilization and government of the native population; in times of war they must either be defended — an expensive and troublesome task — or evacuated, which would be humiliating. Were the Philippines to be traded for the European colonies in the western hemisphere a long step toward world peace would be taken. The Monroe doctrine would be restored to the position it occupied before the Spanish-American war, the suspicion of Japan would be allayed, and the east would be left to those nations most vitally interested in it and best equipped to solve the problems arising from the administration of colonial dependencies. With South America, Central America, and the West Indies free from European control reorganization could take place with the aid of the United States. The Guianas, Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador, more or less closely united physiographically, might be induced to form a confederacy; Argentina, Chili, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay could do the same since their interests are identical; and although the West Indies would remain in the possession of the United States the Central American states might find it to their advantage to unite into some sort of a league.

Not many years ago these suggestions had a place only in the realm of possibility but today they may well be called probabilities. The United States will be represented at the conference which makes the world peace and this nation can make a solid contribution to the welfare of the western hemisphere and at the same time aid in securing the peace of the world by urging the program advanced by Mr. Sherrill. At no time in the world's history will our allies be more inclined to favor such proposals. Moreover, if the plan already hinted at in German circles of an alliance with Russia and Japan matures, it is imperative that the United States unify the western hemisphere or be prepared to abandon the doctrine of "entangling alliances with none."

William V. Pooley

History of the presidency. By Edward Stanwood, Litt.D. (Bowdoin). In two volumes. Volume one, History of the presidency from 1788 to 1897. Volume two, History of the presidency from 1897 to 1916.

(Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1916. 586 p.; 396 p. $4.50 net)

The first volume of this set is the well-known work carrying the presidential narrative down to the inauguration of President McKinley in 1897. It is again submitted in the original form, without an attempt at revision. Comment is therefore unnecessary except by way of regret that the author did not see fit to incorporate the results of recent historical discoveries, whether in the field of acquisition of new materials or in the realm of historical interpretation.

Volume II continues the discussion to the inauguration of Wilson and Marshall in 1913 and closes with an analysis, in a chapter of thirty-five pages, of the evolution of the presidency. One prominent difference between the two volumes is the difference in space available for the consideration of a single presidential administration. The first volume covers twenty-seven administrations in thirty chapters averaging less than twenty pages; the second volume has three hundred pages for a period of sixteen years in which governmental affairs were directed by but three different executives. In content it appears less a history of the presidency and more a general treatise of the political narrative of the period, more perhaps a history of presidential elections. Issues had become more complicated, new independent parties were in the field, some with indications of an increasing element of permanence, and party platforms came to include more and more planks; all these factors combined to make the change mentioned more or less inevitable. There is, therefore, too little opportunity to suggest the significance of a given policy or act. One wishes, for instance, that the author had submitted more data to make clear President McKinley's desire to avoid war with Spain in the spring of 1897. More use might have been made generally of the executive messages and state papers; the work also reflects the difficulty common to all writing of contemporary history, namely, that of securing access to the more private and intimate kinds of source material such as will be absolutely necessary to an adequate understanding of the field surveyed. The author contents himself with the platforms of parties whereas the future historian will look for private correspondence, diaries, and such materials of a confidential sort. The attempt was made to make the volume more useful in the campaign of 1916 by printing in an appendix the platforms and candidates of the various parties that were in the field.

The most noteworthy sections of the volume are the chapter on "The era of 'progressive' insurgency," in which considerable insight into the forces at work in the pre-convention portion of the campaign of 1912 is displayed, and the interpretative analysis of the "Evolution of the pres-

idency." The latter is by no means the contribution that might well be expected from a veteran author of such broad experience in historical writing but it serves the purpose of drawing together the scattered narrative items into a synthetic whole.

ARTHUR C. COLE

History and procedure of the house of representatives. By De Alva Stanwood Alexander, A.M., LL.D. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1916. 435 p. $2.00 net)

Mr. Alexander has written a book that is both useful and interesting. He has done more than present a technical account of the organization and rules of the house of representatives. He has also supplemented the formal facts with illustrative incidents and personal characteristics of speakers, floor leaders, and other prominent members of the house; and has presented this material in an attractive literary form.

The subject is treated in an analytical rather than a chronological arrangement; and the historical discussion appears in connection with each topic. This method has the effect of separating incidents closely related in time, and of taking up some recent events before others which serve to explain what came later.

In the chapter on the roll of members elect, the influence of the clerk of the former house over the organization of a new house with a close party division in 1839 and 1855 are set forth. The narrow margin in the present congress should arouse interest in these earlier contests.

A good deal of attention is naturally given to the power of the speaker and the rules of the house, including the exciting incidents connected with counting a quorum, the adoption of the "Reed rules," and the more recent changes. Mr. Alexander does not hesitate to express his approval of the changes brought about by Speaker Reed, in the interest of dispatching business; and while he admits that some of the more recent changes are useful or at most harmless, he considers the new methods of appointing committees a failure, and favors restoring this power to the speaker.

In taking this position, the author fails to recognize that the responsibility for directing the work of the house according to the wishes of the majority may be concentrated in the floor leader, without incurring the risk of unfair treatment to the minority when these powers were added to those of the presiding officer.

The disintegration of the control over finances by the distribution of authority among various committees is well told; and it is of interest to note that Mr. Reed aided actively in this movement some years before he took up the opposite task of centralizing control in the hands of the

speaker. But the committee system as a whole is inadequately presented. There is no discussion of the functions of committees, nor of their methods of procedure, nor of the system of subcommittees.

A chapter on the president and the house notes the increasing influence of the chief executive with some indications of distrust. The author evidently does not see in this another phase of the same tendency towards concentrating responsibility which he approves in the case of the speaker.

Nothing is said of the relations between the house and the senate, except in connection with impeachment proceedings. An interesting study might be made of the comparative influence of the two branches of congress, and the connection between effective leadership and the hegemony of one or the other house.

An appendix presents in tabular form the data as to apportionment, political divisions, presidents, speakers, clerks, and other officers, and the chairman of important standing committees.

JOHN A. FAIRLIE

Principles of American state administration. By John Mabry Mathews, Ph.D., assistant professor of political science, university of Illinois. (New York and London: D. Appleton and company, 1917. 534 p. $2.50 net)

Until very recently the framework and functions of state government in this country have had surprisingly little attention at the hands of text writers. Books relating to the government of the nation we have had by the score, and during the last decade there has been no dearth of volumes relating to the various aspects of municipal administration; but the machinery, methods, and problems of state government have been almost wholly neglected. During the last twelvemonth, however, two noteworthy volumes have appeared in this field, both of them excellent in quality and both entitled to a genuine welcome from students of public affairs. One is Mr. Holcombe's *State government in the United States*; the other is Mr. Mathews' volume. These books are akin in that both deal with the same general subject and both are a credit to their respective authors. But there the parallel ends. If the two writers had prearranged to divide the field of statecraft between them they could hardly have better managed to keep from treading upon each other's ground. Mr. Holcombe has concerned himself with the foundations of state government, with the major organs of executive and legislative power, likewise with problems of governmental reorganization. Mr. Mathews, on the other hand, has given his special attention to the equally important task of showing what the various state departments have to do and what methods they pursue in doing it.

The administrative work of the American commonwealth has enormously increased in our day and with this increase in functions has come an appreciation of the need for greater efficiency. The time has gone by when the methods by which a department conducts its work, whether in nation, state, or city, can be regarded as matters of minor consequence to be left to the discretion of whomsoever happens to be for the moment at the head of a department. Today the method is as important as the man; the system under which the public business is carried on ranks in importance with the personnel of government. That is why a careful study of principles and methods, such as this book contains, must necessarily be of service not only to students of administration but to the men who are actually engaged in administrative work and who wish to be guided by the best practice in carrying out their complicated tasks.

The writer of a book on the subject of state administration runs the risk, however, of dropping into either of two pitfalls. He may err in giving us too little or in giving us too much. He may touch only the high points, thus impairing the value of his book to those who want to get a real grasp of the subject, or he may clutter his pages with so many details relating to the multifarious activities of the various state departments that the average reader will get lost in the underbrush. Mr. Mathews has happily managed to steer a middle and proper course. His aim has been to select for description those functions of state administration which, either because of their outstanding importance or because of their suitability as types will broadly suffice to show the man of average intelligence how the entire business of the state is carried on. The book is, accordingly, divided into two parts, one dealing with the way in which state administration is organized, the other with the methods by which the administrative organizations perform the functions allotted to them. In this latter section of the book the author's main attention is devoted to six far-reaching state services, namely, taxation and finance, education, charities and corrections, public health, the enforcement of law, and the administration of justice. An admirable chapter, well-balanced and unbiased, on the reorganization of state administration completes the volume.

From the friends of better state government in this country Mr. Mathews is entitled to both gratitude and congratulations, the one because he has done a work which was so well worth doing and the other because he has done it so well. He has paid scrupulous heed to the canons of sound writing, avoiding rash generalizations and sticking closely to the main trails of discussion. He has not disdained to be accurate in details, a trait that is none the less benign because it passes among the unwashed as mere pedantry. At the end of each chapter there are

some references for further study and the mechanism of the book, the presswork particularly, is unusually good.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

State socialism after the war. An exposition of complete state socialism, what it is, how it would work. By Thomas J. Hughes. (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and company, 1916. 351 p. $1.50 net)

This is not a historical work. The early chapters do recount developments in England in the early years of the war which led to the introduction of various features of state socialism, but the author, in attempting to make use of the journalistic device of writing of coming events as if they had actually happened, falls into the error of assuming a cessation of hostilities in the great war at the intervention of the neutral powers under the leadership of the president of the United States. This forecast is carried on to cover the development of British East Africa under a complete system of state socialism, which is represented as becoming infectious and resulting in a gradual world-wide adoption of the same system. The author uses this device to lead up to a detailed analysis of what a system of state socialism involves. This state socialism is considered by the author to be merely the practical application of the social gospel of Jesus. He closes with two chapters which explain its scriptural foundation and a concluding chapter showing the growth, expansion, and adaptability of modern business methods to the new social order. It should be noted that his scheme of state socialism involves government ownership, but not government conduct or control of industry.

A. C. C.

Republican principles and policies. A brief history of the republican national party. By Newton Wyeth. (Chicago: Republic press, 1916. 256 p.)

This is a book of small importance to the historian, written by a conservative republican as a campaign document for 1916. While intended for campaign purposes, it reviews the history of parties from the establishment of the constitution without undue stress of the later period, but the reconstruction period is slighted. The tariff is the main theme, and it will surprise many to learn that the democratic party has been consistent on that issue, or as much so as its imperfect nature permits. There are many such gems of political wisdom as the following: "But as long as an old party is reasonably successful in administration, conserves the public interests according to its course, and does not attempt the solution of new problems ahead of public interest, or if it makes the

attempt public judgment presently comes to its support, so long will the party command public respect and prevail as the dominant party" (p. 7). As Mr. Wyeth believes that the good republicans are more numerous than the less good democrats, he should be an optimist.

CARL RUSSELL FISH

Guide to the materials for American history in Swiss and Austrian archives. By Albert B. Faust, professor of German, Cornell university. [Carnegie institution of Washington, publication number 220. Papers of the department of historical research edited by J. Franklin Jameson] (Washington: Carnegie institution of Washington, 1916. 299 p.)

This book follows the model, already familiar to students, set by the Carnegie institution for its great series of guides to archive material on American history. It is of special interest in this connection to note that the study of the archives for the French cantons of Switzerland (pp. 149-184) is by Mr. Jameson, general editor of the whole series, whose masterly direction of every branch of the work is known only to those who have participated in it. It need only be added with reference to its technical character that from the appropriate introductory material to the elaborate index, this volume conforms to the standards of excellence aimed at in the series as a whole.

In Switzerland and Austria, as in Italy and Germany, the essential archives are widely scattered. Forty archives and six libraries were examined. The introductory material consists of a brief description of governmental systems, with the consequent archive arrangement, and a discussion of the main topics of importance. Then follow the descriptions of the several collections, with valuable bibliographical data. Space has permitted a greater freedom than in the case of some other volumes, for a concise calendaring of some of the documents, and for some significant quotations.

The archive material begins about 1700, and is not generally open to inspection after 1848. In the case of the American legation at Berne, and some others, material of a later date is listed.

The Austrian diplomatic material, besides its obvious importance, is interesting for the comment it gives on American conditions, for the ministers regularly wrote home news letters. Both the Swiss and Austrian archives have valuable material on American trade, particularly in the consular reports. The leading feature in the case of both countries, in fact the distinguishing contribution of this guide, is the material for a study of emigration. Mr. Faust has himself introduced the historical public to this field by his article in the *American historical review* for

October, 1916, on "Swiss emigration to the American colonies in the eighteenth century." American historians have long desired such material, but it has seemed a hopeless task, as it has indeed been a hopeless task for the unassisted individual, to gather it. This guide reveals the fact that the archives with which it deals are unusually rich in just what we have required. It will undoubtedly prove the open sesame for many a scholar.

CARL RUSSELL FISH

Birth of Mormonism. By John Quincy Adams, D.D. (Boston: Gorham press, Toronto: Copp Clark company, 1916. 106 p. $1.00 net)

This slender volume, penned in moods similar to those enjoyed by a greater John Quincy Adams when he was berating his enemies in his *Memoirs*, is a religious tract the purpose of which is set forth in the preface as follows: "It is sent forth with the hope that it will help to arouse the American people to endeavor more energetically to remove the moral menace to and blot upon our country — the greatest religious fraud of the nineteenth century, if not of all time." Having proclaimed his thesis, the author selects topics for discussion: Joseph Smith, Jr., and his golden plates, the translation and publication of the Book of Mormon, the organization of the church, the witnesses, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris, and the contents and origin of the Book of Mormon and the doctrines and covenants. The last twenty pages of the book contain a bibliography, an extract from the *Nauvoo Expositor*, and a description of Joseph Smith, Jr., from the *Saint Louis Weekly Gazette*, of May 18, 1844. There is no index.

The book will probably seem convincing to the audience for which it is intended, an audience incidentally which is already convinced, but by the historically minded the volume cannot be taken seriously. The author's temperament will not allow him to scan his subject with the coldness of a judge. To John Quincy Adams, D.D., the Smith family was a "lazy, illiterate, drinking, shiftless, good-for-nothing lot, having no regular occupation, doing everything by turns, and nothing long, and living largely off their neighbors;" as to the Mormon leader, "Joe, whose besetting sin, then (about 1830), as later, was lying, was considered the most worthless of them all." This is not the frame of mind with which Hubert Howe Bancroft approached the same subject. Had the author perused Bancroft's *History of Utah* he would have found this statement (pp. 38-39): "It is my purpose to treat the subject historically, not as a social, political, or religious partisan, but historically to deal with the sect organized under the name of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as I would deal with any other body of

people. . . Whatever they may be, howsoever righteous or wicked, they are entitled at the hand of those desirous of truth to a dispassionate and respectful hearing, which they have never had."

Unfortunately the author did not read Bancroft. Had he done so he probably would have been surprised at the mass of material which now reposes in the Bancroft library at the university of California. Instead of a scant list of thirteen authorities, he could have printed a bibliography about as large as his entire book. He would not have found it necessary to lament that the *Nauvoo Expositor* which he "was privileged to examine has since been lost." How careless! But there are places where rare old documents and rare old newspapers are preserved, and sometimes used. One of these is the Bancroft library and there the *Nauvoo Expositor* is kept along with hundreds of other newspapers, pamphlets, books, and rare documents, which, it is hoped, the next writer on Mormonism will take the trouble to examine.

THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL

Ethnobotony of the Tewa Indians. By Wilfred William Robbins, John Peabody Harrington, and Barbara Freire-Marreco. [Smithsonian institution, bureau of American ethnology, bulletin 55] (Washington: Government printing office, 1916. 124 p.)

Most primitive tribes display singular ingenuity in the utilization of the products of their environment, and this trait is nowhere more apparent than in the multitudinous purposes for which they employ the available plant forms, whether wild or cultivated. In view of this fact, it seems strange that the subject of ethnobotany should have been so largely neglected by scientific investigators. The books listing the plants with which a certain tribe is familiar, and stating the uses to which they are put, can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The present work is of the greatest importance therefore, if only as an addition to our knowledge of aboriginal life.

The authors have presented their results in excellent form, and have incorporated a good deal of material of interest to the lay reader. One very interesting section deals with the Tewa ideas in regard to the functions of plant parts. We are told that they are quite ignorant of the *modus operandi* of fertilization, and can assign no use to corn pollen, with which they are thoroughly familiar. The idea that thorns are developed for protection also seems never to have occurred to them. "There is little evidence of philosophizing or of inquiry into the reasons for the existence of things and conditions." In the language plants are distinguished from animals and minerals grammatically, there being a special "vegetal" gender. There are very few general or classificatory

terms, but the different species are clearly distinguished, the Tewa having separate names for each of the native conifers, all of which are called pines by the whites.

In the case of plants used for food, the methods of preparation are described. There are also good accounts of Tewa agriculture, and the ceremonies associated with it are briefly described. An important section deals with the methods used by the authors in the collection of data, and this should prove invaluable to future investigators in this almost virgin field.

RALPH LINTON

Twenty-ninth annual report of the bureau of American ethnology to the secretary of the Smithsonian institution. 1907-1908. (Washington, D. C.: Government printing office, 1916. 636 p.)

Thirtieth annual report of the bureau of American ethnology to the secretary of the Smithsonian institution. 1908-1909. Washington, D. C.: Government printing office, 1915. 453 p.)

The volume containing the twenty-ninth annual report of the bureau of ethnology has as a principal feature a very careful and exhaustive study of the ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians in New Mexico by John P. Harrington. This paper comprises some of the results of the joint researches of the Bureau of American ethnology and of the School of American archaeology of the Archaelogical institute of America. The results of these studies are of the highest scientific value as throwing light on the cosmography of primitive peoples, whether or not their environment is similar to that of the Tewa. To the sociologist as well or to the student of ethnology, the careful record of this mass of detailed information regarding a single tribe occupying a well defined area is of the very highest importance. It may well serve as a corrective to much that has been written of Indian habits and customs in the effort to generalize from insufficient evidence. The list of place names which occupies a prominent place in the paper is of special interest to those students who have access to native groups still occupying approximately their ancient homes. This study of a single tribal unit may well serve as a model for similar researches in the almost unexplored field of Indian geography.

The principal contribution in the volume containing the last annual report of the bureau of ethnology consists of a most interesting study by Walter E. Roth on the animism and folk-lore of the Guiana Indians. Mr. Roth was for seven years commissioner of the Pomeroon district in British Guiana and the results of his careful studies among the natives of his province are presented in detail. His previous studies of the na-

tives in North Queensland, Australia, had enabled him to work out the plan for the survey which he used in his South American study. He tells us in the preface how he came to extend his inquiries beyond his own district: "As the work progressed, I recognized that, for the proper comprehension of my subject, it was necessary to make inquiry concerning the Indians of Venezuela, Surinam, and Cayenne, with the result that the area to be reviewed comprised practically that portion of the South American continent bounded, roughly speaking, by the Atlantic seaboard, the Orinoco, and the northern limits of the watershed of the Rio Negro and the lower Amazon."

Besides this the report contains also a very suggestive and valuable contribution on the ethnobotany of the well known Zuñi Indians. Among the topics covered in this research are medicial practices and medicinal plants, edible plants, and the use of plants in weaving, dyeing, basketry, and pottery decoration. Plant names in folk-lore and their use in clan names are also discussed. Recently the department of agriculture sent out experts to investigate the subject of Indian corn raising. The report on the material gathered is being prepared as a contribution to scientific farming. Ethnobotany has, therefore, more than a purely scientific interest to the ethnologist and botanist. The pressing question of food production and the problem of adapting crops to soil rests fundamentally upon such researches as are here presented in this remarkable study.

This volume contains, in addition to these scientific papers, an admirably arranged bibliography of the publications of the bureau and a very complete topical index of the contents of previous volumes.

Orin G. Libby

Political debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas in the senatorial campaign of 1858 in Illinois together with certain preceding speeches of each at Chicago, Springfield, etc. With an introduction by George Haven Putnam, Litt.D. (New York and Boston: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912. New edition, 1916. 284 p. $2.50)

The famous debate between Lincoln and Douglas during the senatorial campaign in Illinois in 1858 is of such permanent interest and value that the present work will be welcomed by a large and varied group of readers. In connection with the present state enterprise of writing a centennial history of Illinois, it is very appropriate that just at this time a new edition of this debate should be prepared, commemorating as it does the definite entrance of Illinois into a great national conflict at a critical moment for the American people. The services of Abraham Lincoln in

reshaping national aims and ideals have been but tardily recognized. But his example has been for many years passing permanently into the national subconsciousness to emerge in the concrete form of civic righteousness. The story of his notable conflict with Senator Douglas has the ever recurrent interest attending a contest where vital moral issues are involved. The abiding interest of the nation in our long struggle for democracy gives Lincoln his place with Jefferson and Jackson as one of the very few greatest defenders of free government. This debate deserves to become a classic as a characteristic piece of literature, typical of the middle west and distinctively American. In the present work great care has been exercised to produce a popular edition that compresses the entire debate into a single volume but sacrifices nothing either in appearance or arrangement. In this form the debate is equally available as an exercise book for public speaking or for general reference purposes.

Founding of a nation. The story of the Pilgrim fathers, their voyage on the Mayflower, their early struggles, hardships, and dangers, and the beginnings of American democracy, as told in the journals of Francis Beaumont, cavalier. By Frank M. Gregg. In two volumes. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark company, 1915. 341; 346 p. $7.50 net)

The inquiring scholar who reads the somewhat lengthy title of this work, or whose eye falls on the bibliography at the close of the second volume, will perhaps proceed with serious interest to attempt to discover the identity of the Francis Beaumont whose cavalier account of New Plymouth is the basis for these two handsome volumes. The "Foreword," however, and the advertisement on the paper wrappers in which the book is sold, will save him from this search, for he will learn that this is one of those works which weave a slender love story around a mass of historical facts. As no variety in size or color of type differentiates the fact from the fiction, the only guide to the uninitiated will be the author's warning: "Wherever Beaumont speaks of himself and events which affect him alone, that part of the story is fiction; but whenever he associates himself with the acts of the colonists that part is in the main recorded history." A heroine, too, is invented for the story, in the person of Lora, a daughter of Elder William Brewster. This lady, in a discourse of several pages, enlightens her cavalier lover, and incidentally the unsuspecting reader, as to the early history of the separatists.

Of its kind this book is well done. The author claims chronological accuracy except with regard to the date of the first attempt to bring the

Mayflower into Plymouth harbor. The difficulties of the voyage and of the struggle for existence at Plymouth are well portrayed. Whether, as literature, the book does not suffer from the effort to stick close to history, must be left to the literary critics to judge. To the present reviewer, the book of Mr. Gregg seems to possess the merits and the defects of the historical cinemas, to which, in design and in accomplishment, it is closely allied.

St. George L. Sioussat

With Americans of past and present days. By J. J. Jusserand, ambassador of France to the United States. (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1916. 350 p. $1.50 net)

Under the above title M. Jusserand presents the American public with a series of seven studies and addresses which are dedicated in graceful fashion to the thirteen original states. The reputation of the author as a scholar, a statesman, and a master of English style will ensure the volume careful attention, which will not be misplaced. Much new and interesting material has been here collected and interpreted by M. Jusserand to whom the task has evidently been a labor of love.

The first three sections, entitled "Rochambeau in America," "L'Enfant and the federal city," and "Washington and the French," comprise nearly four-fifths of the entire volume and are, as the author suggests, compilations of various speeches delivered at different times during the thirteen years of the ambassador's mission here. They deal with the history of the official French coöperation with the American forces during the concluding years of the revolution, with the attitude of Washington toward France and his personal friendships with the leaders and with some very interesting details connected with the establishment of our national capital. The material is largely drawn from the store of Franco-American correspondence, published and unpublished, and from a number of works many of which are familiar only to historians of the period. M. Jusserand is explicit in his citations and one is much impressed with the fruitfulness of the field for further investigation.

Americans generally do not feel that Rochambeau is as romantic a figure as the gallant Lafayette but in the first article we learn how effective his force was in a military way to the final outcome because of the way it kept Clinton inactive in New York, preventing reinforcements to Cornwallis, and because of the encouragement it gave to the Americans and by the part it played at Yorktown. Stress is laid upon the operations of the French fleet under De Grasse, who is noted as "the single one of the leaders to whom no memorial has been dedicated" (p.

60). Many other slightly known figures are done a tardy justice and we are given details as to the later years of the French commander.

The space devoted to Major L'Enfant contains much information that is valuable concerning the planning of the national capital. One sympathizes with the ambitions of the engineer, regrets the neglect which he suffered, due in part to his temperamental nature, and welcomes the vindication his ideas received at the hands of the committee of 1902 which declared for a return in all respects to the original plan (p. 192).

Washington is presented in a new light for the third section is centered about his relations toward the French and his changes in view as time passed. From a distrust derived from his experiences in the colonial wars and a suspicion of French motives during the early years of the revolution, Washington seems to have come to a wholehearted acceptance of his allies and a sincere friendship for their leaders which is manifest in his correspondence. Various instances of his keen political observation are quoted and much space is devoted to an account of French tributes at the time of Washington's death.

The fourth essay, devoted to Abraham Lincoln, aims to throw new light upon French public opinion during our civil war. While it contains a eulogy of Lincoln and reviews his life, the chief stress is laid upon the real sympathy of the French people with the cause of the north, no matter what the attitude of Napoleon III may have been. M. Jusserand quotes among other things the letter of Gasparin to Lincoln (p. 289), the efforts of Frenchmen like the Comte de Paris, General de Trobriand and others (p. 291), the medal sent to Mrs. Lincoln and a host of tributes coming from all classes and factions to support his view. We must confess ignorance that such a feeling for Lincoln existed among the French people.

The last three portions are short addresses, given as delivered, upon accepting the Franklin medal, on Furness, the Shakesperean scholar, and upon "From war to peace." The last was delivered in 1910 and is almost prophetic in view of recent events.

The purpose of the volume if we may hazard a guess, is to add to the keen sympathy felt in America for France by reminding us of her part in our history and by showing how her ideals correspond with our own. This thread pervades everything and, if it is a work of propaganda, it is distinguished by good taste and fortified by fact. The author is conspicuously cordial toward England and the English leaders. He repeatedly refers to the lack of national hostility (cf. pp. 90, 94, 132, etc.), and the friendship of Rochambeau and Cornwallis (pp. 89 and 118). No Englishman comes in for criticism, not even the infamous Tarleton. Quite a contrary attitude is manifest in his reference to Frederick the

Great, whose regard for Washington is frequently asserted (p. 212); he reminds us that Prussia refused us formal aid and he indulges in sarcasm at the expense of the Hessians. The object is apparently to show France, England, and America linked together by a common ideal. One cannot help wondering at the scant attention shown to Lafayette, probably in order to bring Rochambeau into prominence. Well-written, interesting, accurate (save for the slight pro-English touch), the work of M. Jusserand cannot fail to stimulate American feeling for France.

H. R. Brush

Francis Asbury, the prophet of the long road. By Ezra Squier Tipple. (Methodist book concern, 1916. 333 p. $1.50 net)

In the year 1771, Francis Asbury was sent out by John Wesley as a missionary to America. When the revolution broke out four years later, he refused to return to England, although all the other English Methodist preachers had returned, stating in his journal, "I can by no means agree to leave such a field for gathering souls to Christ as we have here in America" (p. 126). During the course of the revolution, Asbury was continually under suspicion because he refused to identify himself with the patriot cause, and during two years remained in semi-retirement in the state of Delaware. At the close of the war, Mr. Wesley determined to set the American Methodist societies apart, and form them into a separate church. Up to this time the American Methodists had considered themselves a part of the established church, and none of their preachers had administered the sacraments, but because so many of the ministers of the Church of England had returned to England, the Methodists in America were practically without the sacraments. It was this situation which largely determined Mr. Wesley to establish a new church for America. Accordingly in 1784 he sent Dr. Coke and two others to America to oversee the establishment of the new church. The Methodist Episcopal church dates from what is known as the Christmas conference, which met in Baltimore, December 27, 1784. Here Francis Asbury was elected general superintendent for America, and it is from this conference that the rapid extension of Methodism into all sections of the United States dates.

During the past year, 1916, Methodists throughout the United States were celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Francis Asbury, to whom more than to any other is due the honor of being called the father of American Methodism. During the past year much has been written concerning Asbury, but by far the most important contribution is this volume by Mr. Tipple. There is no one better prepared to write about Francis Asbury than Mr. Tipple. Previously he has edited As-

bury's journal, under the title, *The heart of Asbury's journal*, and in the preparation of the present volume he has had access to some valuable unpublished sources in the library of Drew theological seminary, known as the Emory collection. The critical historical student might take exception to some of the footnote references, especially to those found on page 62, which refer to Ridpath's *History of the United States*, but aside from these, I have found nothing but the best and most reliable authorities quoted. The author states that "this book is not so much a biography, as it is an estimate of the man" and in the carrying out of this aim the book is eminently successful.

When Mr. Asbury was appointed general superintendent of the newly created Methodist Episcopal church, his zeal seemed to be intensified. In his journal he speaks of himself as being "always on the wing" (p. 159). He says "My horse trots stiff, and no wonder, when I have ridden him upon an average five thousand miles a year for five years successively" (p. 164). And "where did Francis Asbury not go? In what place did he not lift up the cross? He literally went everywhere. . . He went into New York state more than fifty times; New Jersey over sixty; Pennsylvania seventy-eight; Maryland eighty; North Carolina sixty-three; South Carolina forty-six; Virginia eighty-four; Tennessee and Georgia each twenty; Massachusetts twenty-three; and the other states and territories with corresponding frequency" (p. 162). No one knew the country or the people better than he. He crossed the Alleghenies eighteen times, and everywhere he went he stopped in the homes of the people. In one place in his journal he says, the people are among the kindest in the world, "but kindness will not make a crowded log cabin, twelve feet by ten, agreeable; without are cold and rain, and within six adults and as many children, one of which is all motion; the dogs too must sometimes be admitted." Under these circumstances he longs for solitude, which is not to be had except in the woods. In crossing the mountains in 1803 he speaks of seeing "men, women, and children almost naked, paddling barefoot and barelegged along" making their way over the mountains, in search of new homes in the wilderness. His annual journeys took him more than six thousand miles a year.

Asbury and his preachers brought a new gospel to the frontier. As opposed to the Baptists and the Presbyterians, they preached free grace and individual responsibility, and this doctrine fitted in admirably with the new type of democracy which was gaining headway in the west (Chapter IX, "The Methodist evangelism"). "He was on the watch every moment for a chance to preach. Preaching was his life. It mattered little whether there were many or few to hear him, he would deliver his soul and pass on. He preached to soldiers, "at the gallows to a vast

multitude," "at widow Bond's to black and white, rich and poor" (p. 215-216). In his preaching he was always serious and impressive. He speaks of one of his sermons as "long and perhaps terrible" (p. 218).

But Francis Asbury's greatest work was not as a preacher, but as a superintendent. He was primarily an organizer. He was like John Wesley in this respect. "He had a face of flint against disorder and irregularity," and it was through his tact and strict adherence to regularity, and his skill as an ecclesiastic, that the Methodist church was spared any serious schism during its earlier years. His genius for administration and his passion for order bore immediate fruit on the frontier, where the church he superintended was always an influence for order, even in the most disorderly of times.

W. W. Sweet

Life of John Marshall. By Albert J. Beveridge. In two volumes. Volume I, frontiersman, soldier, lawmaker, 1755-1788; volume II, politician, diplomatist, statesman, 1789-1801. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1916. 506; 620 p. $8.00 net)

The tall, angular, slouchily attired old man who carried the young fop's turkey home for him and who turned out to be the chief justice of the United States has never been entirely lacking in "human interest," but Mr. Beveridge is to be congratulated on his success in filling in the picture with many engaging details, drawn from a variety of sources, some of them new. No figure could be more attractive, more worthy of confidence than that which these volumes authenticate for history. The mature Marshall was a man of simple tastes and uncomplicated outlook upon life. Careless of dress, indolent of manner, actually a little lazy, and relying with well-warranted confidence upon the spontaneous powers of the best organized mind of the generation rather than upon laborious study; fond of his friends, of the social glass, of quoits on the village green, of the whist table; an acute politician, winning more votes by his personal presence than his opponents by their speeches; a moderate partisan, a federalist by principle, a democrat in his daily contacts; unswervingly loyal in his personal relations, a man with deeply burning inward fires kept controlled and serviceable by a sound nature and a level head: such is the Marshall of Mr. Beveridge's portrait, who in these two volumes is brought only to the threshhold of his real fame.

A second task which Mr. Beveridge set himself was to trace to their source those fundamental convictions — or prejudices — which furnish "the inarticulate premises" of Marshall's great constitutional decisions, especially his intense nationalism, his equally intense belief in the sanctity of contracts, and his distrust of extreme democracy. So far as the

source of these beliefs lay in Marshall's environment Mr. Beveridge has been eminently successful in his task of hunting them to earth. Where he has fallen short of success is in showing just *how* this environment impinged upon the character of his hero. This comes about because the work is too long — the first volume much too long. Environment and character are there, to be sure, but these two protagonists of the narrative frequently lose touch altogether.

This fault of the work is intimately connected with another, namely, Mr. Beveridge's anxiety as a novice to prove himself not inexpert in the accepted practices of historical scholarship. He is apt to out-Herod Herod in adducing proof for statements which no one would question and which moreover often have little direct bearing on his theme. Of a like motivation, I presume, is his elaborate reproduction in the text of his narrative of documents which had been better relegated to the footnotes. Nor has he discovered that the reprinting of the mis-spellings and mis-punctuations of such documents envelopes their statements in an atmosphere of quaintness which is anything but historical. Finally, Mr. Beveridge betrays a rather nervous diffidence in the presence of that stern arbitress of recent historical scholarship — the so-called economic interpretation of history; albeit he occasionally takes the bit in his teeth in this matter, and with refreshing results. Thus in a footnote (1: 429), which contradicts the general tenor of his discussion in the text, he admits that "the economic problem" occupied "small place" "in the minds of the foes of the Constitution" in Virginia, "in comparison with that of 'liberty' as endangered by a strong National Government." And his excellent account of the rise of parties in his second volume is commendably free of this contracting bias.

Mr. Beveridge's style is yet another hall-mark of his novitiate, being not infrequently redolent of its author's senatorial days. In the earlier chapters especially, fine writing is much too common, frankly imaginative pictures are introduced (see for example pp. 36, 37, and 89 of volume I), young Marshall's full name is rolled out with tedious reiteration. The same striving after oratorical effect also discolors to a degree the chapters on the Virginia ratifying convention, where, it would seem, a devilish cleverness of management behind the scenes alternated regularly with godlike displays of eloquence on the floor. Happily, in volume II this fault becomes comparatively negligible. Marshall is now large enough to fill the page; and as the narrative becomes more closely knit and pertinent, manner gives way to matter.

Volume II in fact is a real contribution. The account of Adams's first mission to France is the best we have; and almost as much may be said of the narrative of political developments between Marshall's return and

the election of 1800, while the chapter entitled "The man and the lawyer" is well stocked with new information. Nor is the portrait given of Marshall the only biographical asset of these pages: the gradually and skilfully filled-in picture of that curious compound of human nature which is known to history as Thomas Jefferson, though drawn with obvious effort at fairness, affords an excellent Lucifer for the federalist paradise. Also, the sketch given of the activities of Elbridge Gerry in France affords a diverting miniature of the most egregious ass of American annals. The academic reader, too, can not but be charmed by the sincere enthusiasm that pervades Mr. Beveridge's volumes for intellectual promise and achievement as it was seen through contemporary eyes. "There were giants in those days."

In short, while not free of faults, it is a work which was well worth doing, conceived and executed on a broad scale, with fine enthusiasm for the subject and admirable devotion to the truth. The task of publishers and printers has also been discharged in a most praiseworthy fashion. But three misprints have been noted: volume I, p. 257, footnote 5, where "1875" should read 1785; 1:324, where "Melancthon" appears without the "h"; 2:357, line 3, where "objections" should probably read "obligations." The index is adequate.

EDWARD F. CORWIN

Autobiography of George Dewey. Admiral of the navy. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913. Popular edition, 1916. 337 p. $1.50 net)

The post of admiral of the navy, created in 1899 for George Dewey, expired automatically upon his death this last winter, and with it vanished also a connecting link which had for an unusual period bound the present to the past. Under the terms of its creation its incumbent was to remain upon the active list for life; and it is said that from his desk in the navy department Admiral Dewey exercised continuously a moderating influence upon the impatience of officers, an educating influence upon the civilian head of the department, and a reassuring influence upon his fellow-countrymen. So long as Dewey insisted, as he did, that the navy was a credit to the United States, the public refused to take too seriously the noisy scolding and complaining of the critics of our naval establishment.

The moderator is now gone, but this autobiography, although in form only a cheap reprint of the first edition, remains a monument to the sagacity and courage without which no man could have helped to bridge the gap between wooden sailing frigates and armored steel battleships. The author wisely passes over the unfortunate but unim-

portant aberration of judgment in 1900, when for a few days he imagined that he might be a presidential candidate, and has only a kind though regretful allusion to the shift in public opinion that followed the ovation that greeted him on his return from the orient in 1899. "Had I died on the way across the Atlantic," he says, "there would have been an outpouring of subscriptions which would have promptly rebuilt the temporary arch . . . in marble" (p. 289).

The victory in Manila bay on May 1, 1899, upon which Dewey's naval fame is based, was a surprise in its completeness, but an accident only for those who were unaware of the changes that had crept over the navy in the last ten years. The oldest of the steel cruisers of the new navy had been in commission only since 1887, and the first of the battleships, the *Indiana*, since 1895. Captain Mahan's epochal work in the naval war college was still fresh in navy circles, and his tested theories were now inspiring the Spanish war operations from the naval strategy board. It was a surprise that the Spanish ships, fighting under their own forts, had no power of resistance; the Santiago fight contained a similar revelation, and only the final publication of the Spanish sources explained the causes of Spain's collapse. But it was no accident that Dewey's fleet did itself credit. For years he had been studying the field of his great success, and the reorganization of the naval establishment. And with the coöperation of Assistant-Secretary Roosevelt, who was responsible for his detail to the Asiatic station, he had at last a fleet well-armed, well-manned, and well-munitioned.

Only in the initial battle of Manila bay did Farragut's "Damn the torpedoes" spirit get a chance to show itself in the Spanish war. Dewey's brief but comprehensive instructions "to see that the Spanish Squadron does not leave the Pacific Coast, and then [to carry on] offensive operations in Philippine Islands" (p. 179), left him wide discretion as to ways and means. But so small a navy was not warranted in steaming into mined harbors controlled by permanent land fortifications, and although the navy department openly congratulated Dewey after he had won success, it sent peremptory orders to the North Atlantic squadron, under Sampson, to refrain from risking the loss of any of its major units. Schley took no risks off Cienfuegos, nor did the united squadron try to force the Santiago channel. The whole Santiago campaign might have had a vastly different course had not a realization of what Dewey escaped served to tie the hands of his eastern colleagues.

The simple narrative that Dewey gives of his relations with the German squadron during the blockade of Manila calls for a reading in the light thrown upon the situation by Thayer's *Hay*. For Dewey, the discussion was too unimportant to be stated in despatches, or brought

to worry the ear of President McKinley; and we are still in ignorance, that can be relieved only by the uncovering of the German archive, as to what was the real intent of Admiral von Diedrichs. But there is some reason to believe that Dewey's assurance, fortified by the open cordiality of Captain Chichester, nipped in the beginning a none-too-diplomatic German intrigue in the Philippines, with which Prince Henry of Prussia had clearly not been implicated a few months earlier.

The book is entitled to a specially careful re-reading, in the light of present events.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

Life and times of Booker T. Washington. By B. F. Riley, D.D., LL.D. Introduction by Edgar Y. Mullins, D.D., LL.D., president of Southern Baptist theological seminary. (New York, Chicago, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell company, 1916. 301 p. $1.50 net)

This volume sets forth the life work of Booker T. Washington in a clear and concise form. The reader of its pages will be led to understand the nature of the great task which Washington accomplished, the difficulties which he encountered, and the elements of character in the man which enabled him to rise through obstacles and adversities to the wonderful success which he attained. The pages of the book reflect to a degree, both in the introduction and in the body of the volume, a spirit of patronage and condescension, which may be entirely unconscious on the part of the writers. For the most part, however, honor is given where honor is due, and the volume shows much sympathy and appreciation of the problems, character, and achievement of the negro race, and of its possibilities as exemplified in Washington's career.

One does not find in the volume, as a matter of course, the vital interest imparted in Mr. Washington's autobiography, in his *Up from slavery*. No one should expect any biography to be so readable as a great man's own story of his life. The early chapters of Mr. Riley's volume give a valuable and somewhat philosophical discussion of the condition of the negro in the south in the decades immediately following the civil war — his poverty, his ignorance, his seemingly hopeless condition of friendlessness and debt. Young Washington represented what was quite common among his people, a condition of dire poverty and hardship. But under these hard conditions he showed a marvelous thirst for knowledge, an aspiration and ambition, and a persistency and perseverance in finding ways and means to satisfy his desires. Mr. Riley tells the story of Washington's pathway through tribulation to victory. Washington's early years in slavery, the devotion of his ignorant mother, his hardships in the West Virginia mines, his first gleams

of knowledge and of the outside world, his hard journey to Hampton, the redeeming providence that came to him in the guidance and character of General Armstrong; his early life as a teacher in his old home town of Malden; his campaigning in West Virginia for the location of the capital at Charleston; the year of his seminary life in Washington, D.C.; his recall to speak and to teach at Hampton; his assignment to Tuskeegee and his beginning there "with nothing" at the age of twenty-four (1881) against what seemed insuperable odds; how he met the "race problem" and his other difficulties; his growing success and his rise to national and world-wide fame, all these salient aspects of Mr. Washington's life are succinctly and forcibly related. The author meets the negro problem in a progressive spirit, openly combating the reactionary spirit that is still inclined to regard education as a bane to the negro race. "Nobody," says Mr. Riley, "ever saw a negro 'spoiled' by real mental development and genuine culture." The author candidly recognizes the lofty spirit and the great benefit brought to the south by a class of people who were met with cruel and unchristian ostracism in the south a generation ago, namely, the missionaries who came from the north to educate the negro after the civil war. But for them the work of Washington and Tuskeegee could not have existed. The liberal men of the south, like Mr. Riley, now recognize the obligation. The author boldly and honestly expresses his conviction that the line defining the right of suffrage should not be one of race or color, but of character. He clearly recognizes the wrongs done to the blacks in the south and speaks out manfully against them. But he believes with good reason that if Washington had made it his main purpose to speak and fight against these wrongs his work would have failed. Though Washington did not "cry aloud and spare not" against these wrongs to his race, he nowhere and at no time endorsed them.

The organizing, statesmanlike capacity of the great educator is recognised, as are also the wide influences he wielded in public speech, and the astuteness with which he met and did so much to overcome white prejudice against his people. The author makes an unnecessary apology for the luncheon episode with President Roosevelt which is called a "trifling incident" unworthy of so much ado. So it was, but it hardly seems necessary to make it appear that President Roosevelt did not intend to invite Mr. Washington for luncheon, but merely asked him to return to the president's office at the noon hour to talk over a matter of business, "and while the conversation was in progress the president's luncheon was brought to his office on a large waiter. Remarking that there was sufficient for both, Mr. Roosevelt offered to share with his caller, who could not have declined and be polite. While they went through the

business they ate the limited luncheon, after which Mr. Washington left."

Mr. Riley's book is a valuable study of a great subject. It is readable, suggestive, encouraging, productive of serious thought and purpose in meeting a serious problem. Like the faith and devotion of Washington himself this story of his wonderful life brings bright rays of hope into a social condition which, before the work of Washington and of the white men north and south who have sympathized with him and helped him, seemed hopelessly dark.

JAMES A. WOODBURN

Beginnings of Yale (1701-1726). By Edwin Oviatt. (New Haven: Yale university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1916. 456 p. $3.50 net)

Mr. Oviatt has certainly succeeded in giving us "something at least of that new realization of how Yale's beginnings came about which the author came to have in writing them." Using for the most part Mr. Dexter's *Documentary history*, he has supplemented this with research of his own and filled in the gaps with frank but plausible conjecture. An eye for local color and a keen sense of the humorous have made his narrative truly "easy-going pages."

Perhaps the most impressive feature of this story is the persistence of the idea that there should be a church college in New Haven. Conceived by John Davenport as an integral part of his church-state experiment, this idea gradually became dormant as the experiment failed and New Haven was merged into Connecticut. But as the result of "a general situation, largely theological, that had been forming during the years after 1692," the ministers of the coast towns, apparently led by James Pierpont, of New Haven, bestirred themselves, probably "somewhere between the years 1697 and 1700." The "Collegiate school" and Yale college, its successor, resulted. Saybrook was the new institution's official site, but it actually began (with one student) at Clinton and for some years thereafter led a tri-partite existence. And not until the supporters of Hartford's claims had lost a gubernatorial campaign and the popular Elisha Williams had disbanded his Wethersfield branch was the ancient desire of New Haven, backed by a solid donation, gratified. But there was rarely any uncertainty as to the policy of the school. The ministers who founded it became its first and self-perpetuating trustees. And though they sought and obtained aid both from the colony and from individuals of other faiths, notably Elihu Yale and Bishop Berkeley, it remained throughout this period a Congregational church school.

One gets the impression, too, that Yale's founders were rather aristo-

cratic. Davenport, Pierpont, and Jonathan Edwards, Samuel, Andrew, and Timothy Cutler, were connected by ties of blood or marriage; Elisha Williams came of the Cotton and Bradstreet families; and it is not improbable (though the author does not make the point) that some of "Sir" Samuel Johnson's troubles may have been due to his more lowly origin. While these men were not given to luxury or display, they lived in very comfortable fashion, Rector Pierson being quite well-to-do and fond of an "evening's sociability" over his home-made cider and tobacco. And the control which congregations may have exercised over them as ministers did not extend to their collegiate activities.

Few errors of fact have been noted. Of course (as has already been pointed out) Bolingbroke was not secretary of state under William and Mary, and the "French and Indian war" (p. 143) did not occur during this period.

Mechanically, this book abundantly maintains the high standard of the Yale press. Its lettering is good, its margins are of agreeable width, and over four hundred reproductions of autographs, portraits, maps, buildings, and historic scenes successfully reinforce the historic interest of the narrative.

C. C. Pearson

Documentary history of Yale University. Under the original charter of the Collegiate school of Connecticut, 1701-1745. Edited by Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Litt.D. (New Haven: Yale university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1916. 382 p. $4.00 net)

The two-hundredth anniversary of the removal of Yale from Saybrook to New Haven, Connecticut, was the inspiration for two important contributions to the university's history. The volume under consideration is one. The other, issued from the same press and entitled *The beginnings of Yale, 1701-1726*, was written by Edwin Oviatt and was evidently intended as a companion work; at least, it supplies much which is not to be found in the source material furnished by the present book.

No man could be better fitted than Mr. Dexter for the editing of this *Documentary History.* Born in Massachusetts, a graduate of Yale and connected with its faculty and library for half a century, he has devoted a large part of his time to the preservation and study of its records. His *Biographical sketches of graduates of Yale college, with annals of the college history, 1701-1816*, in six volumes, is a most valuable work. His *Sketch of the history of Yale university* is one of the best epitomes of its history. Besides, he has written noteworthy articles

on the same subjects that have appeared in the reviews, particularly in those of the New Haven Colony historical society. In his latest undertaking, however, we confess to a feeling of disappointment, because it is nothing more than a compilation of documents covering the period between 1701 and 1745, during which Yale was acting under the original charter of the collegiate school of Connecticut.

The histories of Yale have always been fragmentary; an unfortunately small number of them are now read by or accessible to the general public. Many have grown out-of-date, or have disappeared from circulation by reason of their scarcity. But it seems to have been generally admitted by all the writers whose works we have been able to examine that the attempts to establish a college in New Haven began as early as 1648. Hutchinson, in his *History of New England*, says that in 1647 the committee on distribution of home lots was requested "to consider and reserve what lot they shall see neat and most commodious for a college which they desire may be set up as soon as their ability will reach unto." In 1652 we find an entry on the records of Guilford that "the matter about a college at New Haven was thought to be too great a charge for us of this jurisdiction to undergoe alone." Also we know that in 1654 at a town meeting in New Haven it was propounded to know the town's mind "concerning the setting up of a colledge." The foregoing references and others to the same effect have been collected by Mr. B. C. Steiner in his *History of education in Connecticut*, published by the United States bureau of education; and Mr. Charles Henry Smith of Yale has started from these earlier dates in his article on Yale university in *Universities and their sons.* Indeed, Mr. Dexter himself, in his *Annals*, has told us that ineffective steps towards establishing a college in New Haven were taken in 1648.

Despite this fact, the editor in this work, while stating in his preface that he includes "the more important documents, known to be in existence *relating* to the history of Yale University, of a date earlier than that of the present charter, of May, 1745," begins his work with proposals for a university, which are undated, but are supposed to have been written "perhaps in the spring or early summer of 1701." He does not appear to have thought it necessary to set forth the interesting efforts of John Davenport and other early settlers to found a college prior to 1701, many of which are evidenced by the town records. Mr. Oviatt in his book has given a full account of those proceedings, and it is possible that Mr. Dexter expects his readers to search there for them, but it would have rendered his *Documentary history* more complete and entertaining had such manuscripts, or extracts therefrom, been incorporated into it. If this was not feasible, then a reference to the sources

where they could be seen might have been printed in the appendix or elsewhere in the volume.

Another feature of Mr. Dexter's book which renders it less attractive to the reader is the comparative lack of editorial comment. Nearly all the characters mentioned in the documents were persons about whom explanatory notes would have proved most entertaining, and the editor was well qualified to have furnished them. He would have simply had to draw from the rich store of information already amassed by him in previous books. But, either because he has felt that such annotations would be useless repetition on his part, or because he has assumed too great a familiarity with the subject on the part of his readers, his explanations are remarkably few and short. Nor does the editor insert any considerable extraneous matter tending to throw light on different questions involved in the establishment of the college such, for instance, as the need for it, the reasons for its location, the conflict over a site and the Episcopalian irruption. He seems to have endeavored to preserve the skeleton framework formed by the principal records, without supplying the meat and blood of supplemental knowledge, which renders a book of this sort entertaining to the average reader as well as valuable to the historian. Unless one has thoroughly familiarized himself with the times and people, he is apt to find the text of the documents difficult to follow except in conjunction with other histories.

To the student the book is useful for reference. It contains no illustrations, but is printed on good paper, in clear type, and is attractively bound. The proof-reading has been carefully done and the index is fairly well prepared. To graduates of Yale, however, we suggest that they first read Mr. Oviatt's volume, or some other work, to acquaint themselves with general conditions surrounding the origin and early development of the college. This is probably what Mr. Dexter has intended that they shall do.

HARRY BRENT MACKOY

Some cursory remarks. Made by James Birket in his voyage to North America, 1750-1751. [Yale historical publications, manuscripts, and edited texts, IV, published under the direction of the department of history from the income of the Frederick John Kingsbury memorial fund] (New Haven: Yale university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1916. 74 p. $1.00 net)

Birket sailed from St. John's Antiqua, July 26, 1750; landed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the sixteenth of the following month; and was entertained there by Mark Hunking Wentworth, a member of the most prominent family of the colony and himself one of the wealthiest mer-

chants of New England, by Jotham Odiorne who was related by marriage to the Wentworths, and by Henry Sherburne, George Jaffrey, and George Libby, all prominent in public life. On September 1 he set out by way of Hampton, Newbury, and Salem for Boston where he was attended chiefly by Henry Vassels, son-in-law of Acting-Governor Phips; and Vassels and his wife accompanied Birket to Providence, at which place he was the guest of William Ellery, the deputy governor of Rhode Island. He left Providence October 3 in company with George Mifflin and proceeded by way of New London, New Haven, Fairfield, Norwalk, Mamaroneck, and King's Bridge to New York, where he dined with John Fells and with other merchants and sea captains. From New York, the last day of October, he proceeded to Philadelphia by way of Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton. Early in January, 1751, he visited the iron works on the lower Susquehanna, and returning northward sailed from New York for Antiqua on March 16. Although entertained and attended during his itinerary by men of prominence not so much as one mention of his presence in the country has been found in any of the newspapers of the day.

His observations were for the most part those of a merchant made at close range: qualities of the soil, its products, domestic animals, ship building, ship-building timber, trade, manufactures, taverns, churches, and the situation and appearance of towns. He was interested in both Harvard and Yale; but in matters of history he was inaccurate; in matters of religious belief, tolerant or indifferent; and in matters of government, silent.

The diary is published with a brief preface signed by the well known initials "C. A. M." but without any annotations whatever. Mark Hunting Wentworth (p. 3) is printed for Mark Hunking Wentworth, Jotham Odiovne (pp. 3 and 4) for Jotham Odiorne, and Elisha Bond (p. 50) for Elijah Bond.

N. D. Mereness

Life and adventures of Colonel Daniel Boon, the first white settler of the state of Kentucky. Written by himself. To which is added a narration of his latter life until his death. Annexed is an eulogy by Lord Byron. (New York: Charles Fred. Heartman, 1916. 42 p. $3.00)

This work has been published in a very limited edition, in part for the Daniel Boone club, and in part for Heartman's *Historical series*. The book is a reprint of a work published in 1823, but it is not stated which copy of this original edition has been used.

The first part of the *Life and adventures of Colonel Daniel Boon* re-

veals a condensation of John Filson's *The adventures of Colonel Daniel Boon, formerly a hunter*, etc., which, however, retains most of the important statements of fact. Following this are first, an account of Boone's later life, and secondly, the seven stanzas from the eighth canto of Don Juan (61-67), in which Lord Byron made Boone the text for a panegyric upon the "unsighing people of the woods." The annexed account of Boone's later life exhibits two interesting variations from the usual story, stating that Boone on leaving Kentucky went to "the Tennessee Country, then almost a perfect wilderness," and giving as the date of his death in one place June, 1821, and in another June, 1822. While the accepted account relates that Boone died at the house of his son, the story as given in this work — for which the compiler refers to "a near relation of the Colonel (a resident of Cincinnati)" — tells of his death near his hunting traps.

Mr. Heartman's reprint has forty-two pages of excellent press work and paper. A reproduction of an old print forms a frontispiece.

St. George L. Sioussat

The new purchase. Or seven and a half years in the far west. By Robert Carlton, Esq. (Baynard Rush Hall) (Princeton: Princeton university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1916. 522 p. $2.00 net)

The region known as the "new purchase" included approximately the tract between the Wabash river and the "ten o'clock line," or most of central Indiana; it was bought from the Indians in 1818 by the federal government. Baynard Rush Hall, who under the *nom-de-plume* of Robert Carlton has written this entertaining account of life in the new purchase, was well fitted for his task. A native of Philadelphia, and a graduate of Union college and Princeton theological seminary, Hall came to Indiana about 1821. He lived at Glenville near the southern boundary of the new purchase until 1823, when he was elected principal and sole teacher in the new Indiana seminary located nearby at Bloomington. Enthusiastically adapting himself to his new environment, Hall taught at the seminary, served as a Presbyterian minister, and engaged in numerous other activities. After about seven and a half years in Hoosierdom he returned to the east.

In *The new purchase* Hall has presented a delightful narrative of his sojourn in what was then an American frontier. The first edition of his book in 1843, together with a reprint in 1855, has for a long time been out of print. In making possible the present reprint, Hall's alma mater has performed a distinct service for the early history of the central west. Mr. Woodburn is eminently fitted to edit this appropriate

contribution to the centennial of Indiana, for through lifelong associations he is thoroughly conversant with the traditions of the region which Hall has described. As editor he has added numerous and illuminating footnotes, and by a carefully worked out key to the different characters and places mentioned in the text, he has greatly enhanced the local interest of the book.

Intrinsically *The new purchase* has much literary merit and charm. A young and impressionable man, the author had all the keen appreciation for his new frontier home of an easterner, lured by the "land of vision." A lively sense of humor is seasoned with a dash of irony that lends a zest to the narrative. The characters are well drawn, the descriptions are vital, and nowhere does the story drag, except when the author indulges in an occasional theological propensity for sermonizing. The one real defect is the flood of satiric ridicule that is heaped upon the unfortunate beings who incurred Hall's wrath. But such outbursts are redeemed by frequent touches of a deep and understanding human sympathy.

The chief value of *The new purchase* arises from its descriptions of backwoods life, for it may well be termed the epic of the land of the Hoosiers. The picture is one of a pioneer society, intensely democratic, opposed to " 'ristocraticul and powerful grand big-bug doins," and satiated with an overweening sense of the importance of the "peepul." The crudities of the times are depicted with a delightful sense of humor. The author also exhibits a keen appreciation of the good humor, the open-hearted hospitality, the sense of justice, and the human sympathy that underlay many a rough exterior. The resourcefulness and the courage of the backwoodsman are revealed in numerous thrilling episodes. After perusing Hall's sprightly pages, the reader can readily account for the sturdy traits of the Hoosier character that have been handed down from pioneer days.

There are numerous descriptions of daily life in the backwoods. The cabin with its one room, its puncheon floor, its great fireplace, and its window usually innocent of glass, is vividly depicted. The difficulties of communication are evident in a country where the mails came every two weeks provided the water was not too high and the primitive ferries were in working order, and where the roads were mere cleared paths through the forest. The wolves, the serpents, and like inconvenient neighbors are noted along with the wonders and beauties of the primeval wilderness. Nor are the pleasures of frontier life omitted, such as the barbecue, the campmeeting, the wedding with its accompanying "shiveree," and the shooting contest. Then, too, there are frequent stories of adventure. Constantly one catches between the lines the reflection of a

true American optimism and pluck which constantly made light of the discomforts of life in the backwoods.

Of special interest are the sturdy characters, with the individualism of the frontier, that crowd these pages. Very sympathetic is the picture of Vulcanus Greatheart, "by birth a Virginian, by trade a blacksmith, by nature a gentleman, and by grace a Christian," whose skill in forging rifles and axes was equalled by his marksmanship. Another interesting character is Aunt Kitty, who was a "leetle too modest" for backwoods standards. Then there is Neighbour Ashford, the new purchase philosopher, who had proved to his own satisfaction that the earth is "as flat as a pancake," and the sun is nothing but "a great shine." Occasionally the author vents his personal spleen, as in the portraits of Insidias Cutswell, Esq., and Dr. Bloduplex, but usually he is sympathetic.

No less interesting are the accounts of journeys which Hall made through the Indiana wilderness. Among them is a trip to Vincennes across the "grassy lake of the prairie" and its "picturesque islets of timber." Another outing on horseback took him across the new purchase to the Tippecanoe battle field. There is an excellent description of the topography of the battle field and of the details of the combat. Equally well told are Hall's experiences as a "big bug" who endeavored to hold "young democrats" in a state school to scholastic standards. Ecclesiastical and political interference with the people's school is vigorously set forth. The pluck of the frontier student is reflected in Henry, who worked for one week in order to earn the two dollars necessary to help pay his tuition. Hoosier perseverance is illustrated by George, who rewrote his "piece" for the school exhibition thirty-six times.

To the general reader, as well as the student of early western history, *The new purchase* will prove of absorbing interest. Especially should the book find a place in the school library, for like Cooper's novels, it will awaken an interest that may be directed toward the more serious, and, it must be confessed, more prosaic historians.

Beverley W. Bond, Jr.

Transactions of the Illinois state historical society for the years 1914 and 1915. Fifteenth and sixteenth annual meetings of the society, Springfield, Illinois, May 7-8, 1914, and May 13-14, 1915. [Publication numbers twenty, and twenty-one, Illinois state historical library] (Springfield: Board of trustees of the Illinois state historical library, 1915, 1916. 214; 211 p.)

These volumes contain the usual matters of information relating to the society, the list of officers, the constitution, official proceedings, appeal to the public, and the secretary's report. Mrs. Jessie Palmer

Weber, the secretary, summarizes the account of each year's work and presents an encouraging outlook. In point of numbers Illinois claims the largest state historical society in the United States. The annual address for 1914 was given by Justice Orrin N. Carter, of the state supreme court, on "The early courts of Cook county." Henry A. Converse of the Sangamon county bar, has a paper on "The life and services of Shelby M. Cullom," and there are several brief and eloquent memorial addresses on Cullom, delivered on the occasion of his funeral services. W. W. Sweet, of De Pauw university, has a paper on "The Methodist Episcopal church and reconstruction," in which it is stated "without hesitancy that the Methodist Episcopal church in the South was one of the strong factors in organizing the Republican party there and is therefore, partly responsible for perpetrating carpet bag government and negro rule upon the prostrate South." J. H. Burnham tells of "The destruction of Kaskaskia by the Mississippi river;" John H. Hauberg of "Black Hawk's home country;" George W. Young of "The Williamson county vendetta;" W. H. Jenkins of "The thirty-ninth Illinois volunteers;" and the "Great whig convention of Illinois in 1840" is considered in three papers by Edith P. Kelly, Martha M. Davidson, and Isabel Jamison, in which the contributions of northern and southern Illinois to the whig "hullabaloo" campaign and the convention itself are presented. There are also papers on Fox Indians and the Seventh Illinois infantry by John F. Steward and Robert W. Campbell.

These papers contain valuable features of Illinois history. Any student interested in political and party history would be interested and well repaid by reading the papers on the whigs of Illinois in 1840. The list of delegates to the state convention is valuable and suggestive.

The *Transactions* of 1915 contain a paper on Adlai E. Stevenson, a paper on General James Shields by Francis O'Shaughnessy; and another on "The banker-farmer movement," by B. F. Harris, while there are a number of other contributions of more distinctly local interest relating to Illinois Indians, and to some patriotic societies and family histories, such as the "Warrens of Warrenville." The experiences of such pioneer families as the Warrens are typical of many and they throw light upon the times and conditions under which the west was settled. Early conditions in Quincy, 1822-1830, are also portrayed under the caption of "Historical papers, 1912," apparently contributed by Polly Sumner chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

Each of the two volumes is illustrated and contains a full index. The Illinois society shows vigorous life and public spirit in these worthy contributions.

J. A. W.

The Mississippi valley in British politics. A study of the trade, land speculation, and experiments in imperialism culminating in the American revolution. By Clarence Walworth Alvord. In two volumes. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark company, 1917. 358 p.; 396 p. $10.00)

The appearance of this work marks the close of a piece of research that has occupied the author's attention for a number of years past and that has resulted in the production of a very valuable series of publications. The general subject that has been worked out in its various aspects is the old French settlement in the Illinois country. The present work attempts something considerably more ambitious and decidedly more significant. The scope of the author's earlier studies has been widened so as to include the entire frontier of the English colonies as well as Nova Scotia, Quebec, and the great lakes region. The imperial aspects of this great west, with all its potentialities but half guessed by the generation responsible for the outcome, are admirably presented in the two volumes on the *Mississippi valley in British politics.* Thanks to the author's painstaking research we are enabled to get a clear picture of the British government in the process of evolving a colonial policy during the decade preceding the American revolution. The picture presented by the actual governmental conditions in England and by the petty cabinet jealousies and the ignoble squabbles for place and preferment forms a striking background for the course of events in America.

Mr. Alvord has been completely successful in maintaining his thesis that the Mississippi valley at a critical period in our history was again and again a determining factor in British politics. The part played by William Pitt, George III, Lord North, Shelburne, Hillsborough, Dartmouth, and a host of lesser lights is carefully dissected out of the tangle of intrigue centering at the court and we are able to pass judgment critically upon their respective contributions. Here, too, we meet among the large group of Americans the familiar figures of Washington, Sir William Johnson, Franklin, Jefferson, and Patrick Henry, playing their characteristic parts in the colonial struggle. The separate topics dealt with have more than once been presented in detail by various writers but nowhere have they been combined in a single treatment so as to bring out their relative importance in the whole scheme of colonial policy. The story of our early western land grants is somewhat familiar but here it is presented as a factor in precipitating certain cabinet crises and as an ever present element in the intrigues at the court of George III. The rather obscure schemes for land speculation have a new meaning when viewed as a part of an undeveloped colonial policy. In this connection

the proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec act of 1774 take on a significance quite apart from their bearing on the impending war.

One of the most striking features of the work is its clear demonstration of the inherent weakness of the imperial policy of England, arising from lack of political perspective on the part of her leaders and from the uncertain tenure of the cabinet positions. While it is pointed out that neither the king nor the cabinet were lacking in insight into certain aspects of colonial needs, and that the theories of many of the ministers were excellent, and their plans well laid, yet again and again some court intrigue or mere personal jealousy among colleagues would intervene to bring everything to naught and postpone indefinitely the solution of pressing problems.

While Mr. Alvord has given us not a little that is absolutely new, undoubtedly his greatest service consists in his rearrangement along new and original lines of the material that has long been passing current in the field of western history. An excellent illustration of this is to be seen in the treatment of Pontiac's war, in which it is easy to note what has been added to Parkman's account of the same period. But more than this, the whole subject of British colonial policy and the winning of American independence is presented from a new angle, with a very considerable improvement in the point of view as a consequence. It is clear, also, that there is in this work a distinct contribution to genuine national history. We have not been so far entirely successful in writing history that is above sectional narrowness. Too many of our historians have been circumscribed by their environment or by their opportunities and have failed to catch the larger vision of America's unique experiment at nation making. In attempting the problem of the western frontier in its relation to English control, Mr. Alvord was fortunate enough at the outset to discover in his own state a mass of source material that helped to reveal to him the larger aspects of the history of that oldest culture point in the middle west, the Illinois country. From this vantage ground he has thus been able to estimate properly the national significance of that mounting tide of frontier population that by 1763 had already begun to break over the crest of the Alleghenies and to flood into the plains beyond. Through the conflicting claims of the Iroquois and the southern Indians in the Ohio valley he was able to include within the scope of his investigations the work of Sir William Johnson and his southern colleagues in the same department of service. Besides this there were the complex frontier problems created by the fur trade rivalries arising from the conflict of interests between the Hudson's Bay monopoly and the free traders from Montreal and Quebec, later combining into the Northwest and XY companies. While, therefore, he has not

exhausted the materials immediately at hand, Mr. Alvord has been able to draw to a focus a number of divergent lines of research so as to throw new and unexpected light on many obscure portions of our middle west history.

Two related fields now lie open to the student who is to follow up what has been gained by still further investigation. One of these lines of inquiry may be found in the Appalachian area, where since the beginning of the eighteenth century a famous group of pioneers and Indian fighters had been gradually mustering their numbers for an advance upon the fertile areas at the west. We know relatively little of the origins or of the nature of the migration into this plateau and mountain wilderness on our colonial frontier, or of the causes that so long postponed its advance into the Ohio valley. But the method of research presented in this work and the results that have been accomplished have gone far to clear the way for such a study. The second task that seemingly lies before the student of western history is bound up with the evolution of that early trading center and frontier post of St. Louis into the metropolis of later years. These chapters in our national history that seem to follow naturally on the appearance of the present work will in turn become the starting points for other and later studies that for the most part have hardly yet been projected.

Western historians are certainly under a considerable obligation to Mr. Alvord for his present contribution. The clear-cut and incisive manner in which he has handled a difficult subject marks his initial venture into an unexplored territory as a distinct advance in the field of national history.

O. G. Libby

Wisconsin losses in the civil war. A list of names of Wisconsin soldiers killed in action, mortally wounded or dying from other causes in the civil war, arranged according to organization, and also in a separate alphabetical list. Edited by Charles E. Estabrook; Duncan McGregor and Orlando Holway, associate commissioners. (Madison: Printed by the state, 1915. 343 p.)

This compilation is an addition to the body of information published by state and patriotic societies which, if accurately and exhaustively done, is valuable both to students of civil war military statistics, and to the officials of the war department and the pensions bureau in supplementing their records.

The list of losses is arranged according to organization, is grouped according to the cause within each regiment or battery, and gives the name, rank, and place and date of death in each case, as it is found in the report of adjutant general of Wisconsin for 1865, supplemented by

"such other names as the records show should have been included" (Preface). It is not stated what these records are, or how many corrections or additions have been made, except as indicated in three footnotes which refer to a circular of inquiry of the department of interior, June 7, 1866 (p. 210); a muster roll (p. 220) and a statement that the report of one death is "unofficial" (p. 124).

A table at the end of each regimental or battery list shows how many were killed in action, and the number of deaths due to wounds, disease, or accident. Other causes, occasionally indicated in footnotes, are always included in one of these four totals, but without any attempt at consistency. Accidental deaths are sometimes included in the "disease" total (pp. 32, 104). Drowning and suicide are usually accidents, sometimes diseases (pp. 41, 57, 98, 115, 151 *et passim*).

The total losses by each of the four causes, as the tables stand without correction, show that about 20% were killed in action, 11% died of disease, 68% died of wounds, and 2% died of accident or other causes. These results, however, are to be obtained only at the expense of considerable labor in computation, for no statement of totals is given except those for each organization. A table of the "Deaths in the United States army during the war of the rebellion," which is a "Copy of a circular compiled by the officials of the war department, U.S.A.," and which classifies deaths under thirteen instead of four causes, is inserted at the end of the book under the title "Summary." A few well selected tables of results would greatly increase the value of the book. The number of officers killed can be found only by counting them up. There is no statement of the number who served in the Wisconsin forces during the war, and the percentage of deaths among them can be obtained only by comparison with other sources of information.

Errors in proof reading are numerous throughout. The comparison of a hundred names, selected at random from the alphabetical index with the regimental lists, disclosed ten discrepancies in spelling or initials, and two names not included in the lists to which reference is made. References are not to pages, but to regiments, and the reader is left to locate the name somewhere in any one of four groups extending usually over several pages.

On the whole it may be said that the *Wisconsin losses in the civil war* is an attempt to do a piece of work valuable to a limited and specialized body of students or officials who require accuracy as a prime essential, which is much marred by careless proof reading and editing, by failure to indicate sources of information, and by failure to tabulate and discuss the results.

Donald L. McMurry

Introduction to American history. By James Albert Woodburn, professor of American history and politics, Indiana university, and Thomas Francis Moran, professor of history and economics, Purdue university. (New York: Longmans, Green, and company, 1916. 308 p. $.72)

This volume is intended for the sixth grade, and with the other texts by the same authors supplies a complete course through the high school. It conforms to the recommendations of the committee of eight, being a history of western Asia and Europe from the earliest times through the period of early colonization. Particular emphasis is laid upon such elements as have affected American life most. The final chapters give an account of the European explorers in the new world. The general style suggests that considerable portions are based upon Meyer's *General history.* The anecdotal element is too pronounced in some chapters and on the whole occupies more space than the historical value of such material warrants. Moral teaching is evident throughout the book and the ethical value of events is kept strongly in the foreground.

The most serious omission is the absence of any account of the exploration and settlement of South America. Surely some account of the important Latin civilizations to the south of us is as important as the story of the herald who was appointed to see that the Athenians were not forgotten, or that of the alleged whipping of the waters of the Bosphorus.

The pedagogical machinery is moderate in amount and excellent in quality. The spelling and pronouncing lists and the suggestions for teaching in connection with each chapter will prove most useful. Tests made in an average school indicate that the vocabulary is within the comprehension of sixth grade pupils and that they find the style interesting.

O. M. Dickerson

Ancient, medieval, and modern history maps. Breasted ancient series, by James H. Breasted, Ph.D., and Carl F. Huth, Jr., university of Chicago; Harding European series, by Samuel B. Harding, Ph.D., Indiana university. (Chicago: Denoyer-Geppert company, 1916. 16 p.; 23 p. $30.00; $40.00 for loose-leaf chart heads)

This series by Messrs. Breasted and Huth comprises sixteen sheets of maps on ancient history to the barbaric invasion and twenty-three sheets covering medieval and modern history to the great war. Each sheet usually contains one or two large maps and one or two smaller insets. It is in the ancient history collection that a variation from older standards is most apparent and most gratifying. In addition to maps show-

ing the ancient empires, there are maps showing the fertility areas of the ancient trade routes, lines of Greek, Aegean, and Phoenician commerce from 1500 to 1000 B. C., and the contents of the Phoenician, Greek, and local civilizations throughout the Mediterranean world. There are also maps illustrating in their successive stages the contest between Rome and Carthage and the Roman conquest of the Mediterranean. Large sheet maps of Rome and Athens are included and the ancient series closes with a map of Gaul which in its delineations of Caesar's campaigns and battle grounds, and its diagrams of temporary and permanent Roman camps, and in the locations of tribes is reminiscent of academic studies in *de Bello Gallico*.

The modern history series in its content is more inclined to the conventional in the choice of subjects. The map of the barbarism invasions which indicates the location of the various tribes of invaders by regular blocks of color in the older Roman provinces, is of course praiseworthy. It is difficult to see why some of the maps should have been included. One wishes that the map of England detailing the marches of Harold and William and that indicating without names the location of the English monasteries had been replaced by maps of other European countries similar to the admirable ones of England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries showing the distribution of population in relation to the location of industries, and the location of coal supplies. There are similar population maps for Germany and Italy and one wishes the industrial features had been added there too. The proportion of nineteenth and twentieth century maps of Europe and its colonies, — 9 sheets out of 23, — is unusually large and commendable. The execution of the series in general is fairly good, but in one or two cases, for instance the fertility map mentioned in the beginning, it is not easy to distinguish the variations and gradations of color. Some of the material on the maps is so minute as to seem useful for the teacher rather than the class. As a whole the series is excellent in a high degree.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

The tenth annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association, held in Chicago April 26-28, must be accounted a distinct success. The program announced by the committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Way of Beloit college, attracted an unusually large attendance, which as events proved was well deserved. The formal papers set a new standard of excellence and of interest; they were most delightfully supplemented by a number of social affairs arranged by the Chicago historical society: a reception, a luncheon at the Congress hotel, and an automobile tour through the park boulevard system of Chicago.

The business meeting showed that the association is at last well on its way to a really sound financial standing, while the list of officers elected gives ample evidence that the organization is enjoying the support and coöperation of the most prominent as well as the most promising historical scholars of the middle west. St. George L. Sioussat was chosen president for the coming year, and the faithful service of Mrs. Clara S. Paine as secretary-treasurer was recognized by her reëlection to the same position. Isaac J. Cox was elected to serve another term on the editorial board; the other two vacancies occurring this year were filled by the election of Milo M. Quaife and Dan E. Clark. Orin G. Libby, Albert S. Sanford, and Homer C. Hockett are the new members of the executive committee; R. M. Tryon and Oscar H. Williams were chosen for the executive committee of the teachers' section.

Two invitations were received for the next annual meeting, from the Minnesota historical society of St. Paul and from the chamber of commerce of LaCrosse, Wisconsin. The Ohio valley historical association also invited the Mississippi valley association to attend its meeting at Pittsburgh November 30 and December 1, 1917.

The REVIEW takes pleasure in publishing a resolution passed by the association in commemoration of its first secretary-treasurer, Clarence S. Paine:

Since the last annual meeting the association has lost by death its founder and best known member, Clarence S. Paine. In the fall of 1908 it was at the call of Mr. Paine that representatives of various western historical agencies met at Lincoln, Nebraska, and started the movement which led to the formation of the Mississippi valley historical association. From that date until his death Mr. Paine was the secretary-treasurer

of the association and carried the burden of work upon his shoulders. He was more than an efficient official. His optimism and enthusiasm for the cause he had so much at heart inspired others and encouraged them to join their efforts with his. From the first Mr. Paine took his stand firmly for the highest ideals of scientific work, and it is his influence more than that of any other which has given the association the good reputation it enjoys today. Mr. Paine was a man of financial genius and for years he was the pilot who steered the association safely away from the rock of bankruptcy, which so frequently threatened it. During our long association with him, we, the members of the Mississippi valley historical association, learned to admire his ability and to love his personality; and at this first meeting since his death we take occasion to express to his wife, his family, and his state the deep sense of obligation which we owe to him, and to give voice to our sympathy in their loss which in a very particular manner we share with them.

The *Proceedings of the tenth annual meeting of the Ohio valley historical association* contains a full report of all the papers presented at Indianapolis. Inasmuch as the Indiana historical commission and the Indiana historical society had featured the meeting of the association in the program of the Indiana state centennial celebration, the subjects discussed were those relating to Indiana history.

Among the articles in the *Military historian and economist* for April are: "A prospective theory of the conduct of war," "England and neutral trade," and "Tactical lessons of the battle of Jutland."

The proceedings of the Virginia historical society are printed in the March number of the *Virginia magazine of history and biography.*

The *American economic review* publishes the *Papers and proceedings of the twenty-ninth annual meeting of the American economic association* as a supplement to the March number. Among the articles in the *Review,* is the "Theoretical issues in the single tax," by H. J. Davenport.

The *Proceedings of the American antiquarian society* for 1916 contains the following contributions: "The Mason title and its relations to New Hampshire and Massachusetts," by Otis G. Hammond; "The horn-book and its uses in America," by George A. Plimpton; "The early press and printers of Jamaica," by Frank Cundall; "Bibliography of American newspapers, 1690-1820," by Clarence S. Brigham.

The two contributions to the April number of the *Iowa journal of his-*

tory and politics are an article, "Executive veto in Iowa," by Jacob A. Swisher, and a translation by Thomas Teakle entitled the "History and constitution of the Icarian community." The latter is composed chiefly of a translation of *The history of the colony or republic of Icaria in the United States of America*, by Etienne Cabet, with additional material sufficient for a necessary background to the history of the colony in Iowa.

The two articles in the *Tennessee historical magazine* for March are St. George L. Sioussat's "Memphis as a gateway to the west: a study in the beginnings of railway transportation in the old southwest," and W. A. Provine's "Lardner Clark, Nashville's first merchant and foremost citizen."

Mr. St. George L. Sioussat has resigned his position as professor of history in Vanderbilt university, Nashville, Tennessee, and has accepted the George L. Littlefield professorship of American history in Brown university.

The *Fifteenth report of the public archives commission of the American historical association* is now reprinted from the annual report of the association for 1914. To it are added as appendixes the "Proceedings of the sixth conference of archivists" and Herbert A. Kellar's "Preliminary survey of the more important archives of the territory and state of Minnesota."

The "Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher, of Philadelphia, 1779-1781," contributed by Anna Wharton Morris, appears in the *Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography* for April.

The April number of the *Southwestern historical quarterly* contains the first installment of "The tariff history of the republic of Texas." The author is Asa Kyrus Christian, who submitted this paper in partial fulfillments for the M.A. degree at the university of Texas. Herbert Rook Edwards' article, with a bibliography, "Diplomatic relations between France and the republic of Texas," is concluded in this issue.

The Yale university press has recently issued a pamphlet entitled "The coming of Yale college to New Haven, an address delivered by Professor Williston Walker in commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the removal of the Collegiate school of Connecticut to New Haven.

The November issue of the *Minnesota history bulletin* is devoted chiefly to "Captain Potter's recollections of Minnesota experiences." The document was not written until nearly a half century after the events occurred but an attempt has been made to cite parallel accounts for the purpose of verifying the narrative. This number contains also an index to volume I of the *Bulletin*.

Editor, THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW,

SIR: — With the assent of a number of members of the executive committee of the association, I ask the assistance of the REVIEW in bringing to the attention of the members of the association and of the readers of the REVIEW generally the work of the National board for historical service, recently organized in Washington, D.C.

I am sure that every worker in the field of history has felt a desire to do something to serve the nation in the present time of stress, and has wished that there might be some method of coöperation and some medium for the interchange of ideas, but has been puzzled how to proceed. It is the purpose of the national board to try to find out what historical workers can do and to furnish a means of intercommunication as to the best ways of doing it.

While the suggestions thus far made are rather indefinite, the general purposes which the board has in mind have been stated in a circular which may be had of the secretary, Waldo G. Leland, 1133 Woodward building, Washington, D.C., and have been described with much force and interest in a letter by Mr. A. C. McLaughlin, which appeared in the *Dial* for May 17. In view of the lateness of this communication, written while the REVIEW is in press, I shall not attempt here to restate the suggestions made by the board, but shall close with the remark that the board is a voluntary and unofficial body which will, I am sure, be glad to have the assistance and coöperation of all students of history.

The following persons constitute the board: Victor S. Clark, Robert D. W. Connor, Carl R. Fish, Charles D. Hazen, Charles H. Hull, Gaillard Hunt, Waldo G. Leland, James T. Shotwell, and Frederick J. Turner. James T. Shotwell is the chairman.

Very respectfully,

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THE RISE OF SPORT

No people has passed through greater changes in a single lifetime than did Americans in the generation which saw the closing of the old frontier. Social groups that had been nearly homogeneous were broken up, and out of them were selected and combed specialized industrial colonies to be moved to town and driven before the machinery of economic change. The fathers of this generation had been a sober lot, unable often to bend without a break, living a life of rigid and puritanical decorum, interspersed perhaps with disease and drunkenness but unenlivened, for most of them, by spontaneous play. When Barnum started upon his long career as showman in 1835 he introduced Joice Heth, "nurse of General George Washington" and now "arrived at the astonishing age of 161 years;" but he was careful to add that she had been "a member of the Baptist church for upwards of one hundred years" and took pleasure in the conversation of the clergy.[1] Amusement was under suspicion of wickedness unless disguised as instruction; and sport was hard to find.

"I idled away the morning on Mr. Daniel Greenleaf's wharf," wrote Charles Francis Adams in his diary in 1843, after playing with his boys for a few hours; "perhaps this consumption of time is scarcely justifiable; but why not take some of life for simple enjoyments, provided that they interfere with no known duty?"[2] A few years later the genial Autocrat

[1] *New York Transcript*, August 8, 1835, advertisement, p. 3. The attempts to expose this hoax are in the *New York Herald*, September 8, 13, 1836, and are commented on in various editions of the Barnum autobiography. Phineas T. Barnum, *Life of P. T. Barnum* (New York, 1885); *Struggles and triumphs* (1873), 73.

[2] *Charles Francis Adams, 1835-1915, an autobiography, with a memorial address*

scolded at a portion of his fellow-countrymen: "I am satisfied that such a set of black-coated, stiff-jointed, soft-muscled, paste-complexioned youth as we can boast in our Atlantic cities never before sprang from loins of Anglo-Saxon lineage. . . We have a few good boatmen, no good horsemen that I hear of, nothing remarkable, I believe, in cricketing, and as for any great athletic feat performed by a gentleman in these latitudes, society would drop a man who should run around the Common in five minutes."[3] Farther south, or farther west, if an Adams had criticized himself or a Holmes his neighbour, the showing might, in spots, have been less doleful; but neither in east nor west did America esteem the human body.[4] "The taste for athletic sports in America is not over fifteen years old," wrote a shrewd observer in 1869.[5] In 1886 some of our journals could still find "news" in Dr. Peabody's baccalaureate upon the text, "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are."[6] But before the boys who heard this sermon reached middle life their world had changed.

On the first of March, 1909, there gathered in the White House without rebuke — almost without comment — a group selected not for purposes of state but for play alone.[7] An ambassador was there, a scout, a scientist, a soldier, and even a president of the United States, who addressed his guests as "men with whom at tennis, or hunting, or riding, or walking, or boxing, I have played; with whom I have been on the round-up, or in the mountains, or in the ranch country." Proctor's stealthy cougar, in bronze,[8] that the "tennis cabinet"[9] left behind them for their

delivered November 17, 1915, by Henry Cabot Lodge (Boston and New York, 1916), 12.

[3] Oliver W. Holmes in *Atlantic monthly*, May, 1858, p. 881.

[4] In *Sports and pastimes, a magazine of amusements for all seasons* (Boston, Adams and company), croquet, ring toss, angling, embroidery, and card and question games are described in July, 1871; and in April, 1875, dialogues, cricket, pet rabbits, magnetism, and "Silent Sam, the conjuror."

[5] *The Nation*, September 2, 1869, p. 188, made this assertion while commenting upon the Harvard-Oxford boat race which had just been rowed.

[6] *New York Tribune*, June 21, 1886, p. 2.

[7] *Ibid.*, March 2, 1909, p. 2.

[8] *Theodore Roosevelt, an autobiography* (New York, 1913), 48.

[9] There is a photograph of the famous White House tennis court, in use, in *Harper's Weekly*, March 6, 1909, p. 13; and another of the White House offices built on the same site by President Taft in *ibid.*, November 27, 1909, p. 30.

host, was a fair type of the new work and the newer play; of the art of Frederic Remington and the tales of Owen Wister, of a generation that had appraised the spiritual values of its play and that had settled itself into a new environment. Today a president dismisses an ambassador and goes off to golf, with all approving,

> "And, while studying closely his putts, to explore
> The obscurity shrouding the roots of the war."[10]

So late as Arthur's day a vacation trip to the Rockies was a luxury, if not an indiscretion.

The various stages in that disappearance of the frontier that brought one American cycle to an end have been portrayed by various scholars, and Mr. Turner's part in that portrayal is, perhaps, the most distinguished feat in American historical scholarship in the last half century. The free lands were used up. The cow country rose and fell. The social safety valve was screwed down. But the explosion did not come. The reason for continued bearable existence under the increasing pressure generated in industrial society cannot yet be seen from all its sides; but one side is already clear: a new safety valve was built upon the new society. The rumblings and premonitory tremblings were not followed by disaster. The strikes of 1877 seemed to many to presage a revolution, and the anarchistic riots of 1886 appeared to be the first blow. But American society learned to give instead of crack. Perhaps its sense of humor helped to save. *Puck* began in 1877 its career as weekly emollient, cartoonists multiplied in every editorial shop, and *Life* in 1883 found it possible to combine knight-errantry and humor. Mark Twain was at his crest of popularity; not yet a sage, but always sane. Saved by its temper from immediate explosion, American society went to work to provide new outlets.

Between the first race for the America's cup in 1851 and the first American aeroplane show of February last, the safety valve of sport was designed, built, and applied. Between the organization of the oldest of the major leagues — the National league of baseball clubs — in 1876, and the earliest golf tourna-

[10] *Punch*, January 31, 1917, p. 75.

ment in the United States, in 1894, the progress and development were rapid. Between the first meet of the League of American wheelmen in 1880, and the first national tournament of the United States lawn tennis association in 1881, on one hand, and the interdict launched in 1888 by the amateur athletic union against amateurs who dared participate in unauthorized games or meets, the growing pains of a society which was entering almost monthly upon a new pastime were mingled with the soreness of its muscles as it undertook, on ever broader scale, baseball, cricket, bicycling, tennis, and roller skating; polo, racing, coaching, field sports, and canoeing; gymnastics, curling, boxing, hunting, and archery. To enumerate them all would take the space of a sporting cyclopedia; to describe them all would emphasize the fact that in nearly every one wholesale participation and adoption came between the years of the centennial in Philadelphia and the world's fair in Chicago.[11] Together they constitute the rise of sport.

Spectators' sports found lodgment in American society earlier than did those in which participation is the price of enjoyment. Racing and boxing can be traced through the first years of the republic with a train of admirers behind each champion. In his old age Diomed, who had won the initial Derby at Epsom Downs, in 1780, came to America[12] to breed a great family of racing horses on a Virginia stock farm; other victors followed him to reinvigorate the strain, and from time to time Americans aroused one side of national pride as they endeavored to grasp the Derby stakes. Iroquois did this at last in 1881, for Pierre Lorillard,[13] his owner; and in 1907 Richard Croker's Kentucky bred Orby[14] did it again. Racing that could produce such finest flowers developed an American establishment that grew almost beyond control.

The opening of the American jockey club[15] at Jerome park, on

[11] Gladys Miller, *Certain aspects of organized recreations in the United States, 1876-1889* (Master's thesis, university of Wisconsin, 1916).

[12] Edward Spencer, "The classic English Derby," in *Outing*, June, 1902, p. 292; Francis Trevelyan, "Status of the American turf," in *ibid.*, March, 1892, p. 469.

[13] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 18, 1881, p. 263; July 9, pp. 319, 321.

[14] Photographs of Orby, Richard Crocker his owner, and "the foremost racing event of the world," in *Outing*, September, 1907, pp. 727-732.

[15] Francis Trevelyan, "The American turf. The race-courses of the east," in *Outing*, May, 1892, p. 129.

the old Bathgate farm at Fordham in 1866, was an epoch for the American turf.[16] Through the next decade it seemed as though the horse were coming to own America. Trotting for the humbler at the county fairs, and running races over the great courses near the cities, drew mighty audiences. But the spectators who had made possible this high exploitation killed it in the end. The gamblers and the cheap sports brought racing into disrepute, and before the Coney Island jockey club[17] held its inaugural meeting in 1879 the game was outlawed by conservative society. Yet its evil profits kept it alive during the eighties — through six hundred and one races run in the vicinity of New York in ninety-five days in 1888[18] — until at last the legislature and the constitution[19] were invoked against it. But Maud S. and her successors,[20] and Nancy Hanks before her pneumatic-tired sulky,[21] made a place in the American imagination that called for something else to fill it when the race course had run through its day.

Trotting and racing had gathered their crowds and stirred the blood, but they produced no sentimental symbol equal to the America's cup, with which, wrote Caspar Whitney, "there is no trophy in all the world of sport to compare . . . in point of age or distinction."[22] The American clipper ship knew no superior in the forties of the last century,[23] and one of its fleet took away the queen's cup from Cowes and the royal yacht squadron[24] in the year of the London exposition, 1851.[25] This

[16] *New York Herald,* September 26, 1866, p. 7, devotes three columns to the opening of the club, comparing its equipment with that of Ascot, Epsom, and Longchamps.

[17] *Coney Island jockey club, 1879* (pamphlet), gives an account of this new venture. Coney Island had now become famous as a New York resort, having been "discovered" about 1874 by William A. Engeman. *New York World,* January 12, 1884. The Ocean Parkway drive from Brooklyn was completed late in 1876.

[18] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* October 27, 1888, p. 167.

[19] Betting rings were abolished by the New York constitution of 1894.

[20] E. T. Riddick, "Robert Bonner's stock farm," in *Harper's Weekly,* July 23, 1892, p. 709.

[21] There is a cut of this sulky in *Outing,* October, 1892, appendix 19.

[22] *Outing,* November, 1907, p. 237.

[23] A. J. Kenealy, "The New York yacht club, a sea-dog's yarn of fifty years," in *Outing,* August, 1894, p. 388.

[24] *New York Daily Tribune,* September 8, 1851; *New York Evening Post,* September 9, 1851.

[25] A. J. Kenealy, "The racers for the America's cup," in *Outing,* August, 1893, p. 381.

feat quickened a nation's feelings on either side of the Atlantic, though no challenger came to America to take it back for nineteen years. Then, with the *Cambria* in 1870 a series of adventurers began to seek the trophy guarded by the New York yacht club, its custodian.[26] On the eve of the great war, Sir Thomas Lipton was arranging for the fourth time to try to take the prize. Dunraven had preceded him; and him the *Thistle* (1887), and the *Galatea* (1886), and the *Genesta* (1885), and the *Atlanta* (1881), and the *Countess of Dufferin* (1876), and the *Livonia* (1871), in a gallant succession of vain attempts. Four times in the eighties and thrice each in the seventies and nineties did the autumn races off New York renew the interest, with an ever-widening circle acquainted with the skipper, learned on the points of sail and beam, and ready to debate measurement, centerboard, or keel. And in the intervals between the races they could turn to wrangle over the prospects for Richard Fox's diamond belt.

This diamond belt was designed to adorn the heavyweight champion of the world, and was the donation of Richard K. Fox, editor of the *Police gazette*. It followed a precedent that had, in another sport, uncovered the financial possibilities behind the promotion of great spectacles. All through the seventies there had been occasional matches between professional long-distance pedestrians; but these had grown into disrepute through the quarrels of promoters and the trials of referees, who fell foul of the question, What is a walk? In a single issue, in 1879, the *New York Sun* noted that Miss Lulu Loomer, clad in black silk tunic and sky blue hose, was walking 3000 quarter miles in 3000 quarter hours in a public hall; that Van Ness and Belden were at work on a six-days' race in the Fifth regiment armory; and that in Cooper hall, Jersey City, a similar test was under way.[27]

Sir John Astley had already tried to reduce pedestrian chaos to matters of record by offering, in 1878, a purse of £500 and a championship belt worth £100 more to the winner of a six-days'

[26] R. F. Coffin, "History of American yachting," in *Outing*, August, 1886, p. 509. The New York yacht club was now established at Clifton, S. I., and was conducting regular regattas and fleet cruises in American waters. *Ibid.*, p. 402.

[27] *New York Sun*, February 10, 1879.

test, go-as-you-please. In the Agricultural hall at Islington this was first walked off and won by one O'Leary, a Chicago Irishman, already well-known, who now established a six-day record of five hundred and twenty miles.[28] The trophy was contested again in October, 1878, and three times in the following year. An English walker named Rowell captured it in March, 1879; Edward Payson Weston, an American, took it from him in the following June, and defended it in Madison Square Garden for six days in the following September.[29] Weston had raised the record to five hundred and fifty miles, but Rowell won back the belt this time in a field of thirteen contestants. No new record was made, but for the whole week crowds gathered round the course to smoke and bet and encourage the various entries, and similar contests continued to draw their throngs for many years. Only recently Weston, hearty still on his seventy-first birthday,[30] walked from New York to San Francisco in one hundred days, though the Astley belt has left the sporting recollection.

The Fox diamond belt indicates a revival of the manly art after two decades of well-deserved oblivion. The last great fight that Americans of the centennial decade could remember was fought in a meadow at Farnboro, near London, for thirty-six rounds, on April 17, 1860. Here Heenan, the American, and Sayers, the English champion, fought to a draw in a turf ring, with twenty-one London "pugs" as ring keepers, who let the ring break in before the American could knock out his opponent.[31]

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[28] *New York Herald*, March 18, 24, 1878, September 22, 1879.

[29] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, September 22, 1879.

[30] *Harper's Weekly*, March 27, 1909, p. 31.

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[32] The younger Bennett, consistently interested in racing, polo, yachting, and other sports, made the *New York Herald* the best source for sporting news in this period. Sketches of Sullivan are given in the issues for January 30 and February 8, 1882, and July 9, 1889.

feat quickened a nation's feelings on either side of the Atlantic, though no challenger came to America to take it back for nineteen years. Then, with the *Cambria* in 1870 a series of adventurers began to seek the trophy guarded by the New York yacht club, its custodian.[26] On the eve of the great war, Sir Thomas Lipton was arranging for the fourth time to try to take the prize. Dunraven had preceded him; and him the *Thistle* (1887), and the *Galatea* (1886), and the *Genesta* (1885), and the *Atlanta* (1881), and the *Countess of Dufferin* (1876), and the *Livonia* (1871), in a gallant succession of vain attempts. Four times in the eighties and thrice each in the seventies and nineties did the autumn races off New York renew the interest, with an ever-widening circle acquainted with the skipper, learned on the points of sail and beam, and ready to debate measurement, centerboard, or keel. And in the intervals between the races they could turn to wrangle over the prospects for Richard Fox's diamond belt.

This diamond belt was designed to adorn the heavyweight champion of the world, and was the donation of Richard K. Fox, editor of the *Police gazette*. It followed a precedent that had, in another sport, uncovered the financial possibilities behind the promotion of great spectacles. All through the seventies there had been occasional matches between professional long-distance pedestrians; but these had grown into disrepute through the quarrels of promoters and the trials of referees, who fell foul of the question, What is a walk? In a single issue, in 1879, the *New York Sun* noted that Miss Lulu Loomer, clad in black silk tunic and sky blue hose, was walking 3000 quarter miles in 3000 quarter hours in a public hall; that Van Ness and Belden were at work on a six-days' race in the Fifth regiment armory; and that in Cooper hall, Jersey City, a similar test was under way.[27]

Sir John Astley had already tried to reduce pedestrian chaos to matters of record by offering, in 1878, a purse of £500 and a championship belt worth £100 more to the winner of a six-days'

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ten years was as popular a sporting character as the world possessed. The leather football that Mike Donovan,[33] boxing instructor of the New York athletic club, had adapted to new use as a punching bag spread its vogue once it had trained this champion.[34] Audiences repeatedly crowded Madison Square Garden when Sullivan was announced to box, and the paragraphers treasured his words uttered in his cups or sober. "The worship of brute force," wailed Leslie's newspaper, had filled the boxing schools of New York. "Let prize-fighters be once more regarded as outlaws, and not as public 'entertainers,'"[35] it urged; but when Sullivan went to England in 1887, he and Buffalo Bill and the Prince of Wales competed on easy terms for space.

The reluctance of fighters to fight was well dispelled by 1887. In this year Jake Kilrain fought Jem Smith for one hundred and six rounds in France, but only to a draw which left the ownership of the new diamond belt in doubt, since this was offered for a finish fight.[36] Sullivan, who had been boxing to huge audiences in the English music halls, and who had been received by the Prince of Wales,[37] — much, it is said, to the mortification of the queen, then celebrating her jubilee, — trained now at Windsor, and in March, 1888, fought Charley Mitchell to a thirty-six round draw near Chantilly. It was a single-handed bout, for the American broke his right arm in the fifth round, and could only defend himself with his left for the rest of the fight.[38] "There is hardly a more disreputable ruffian now breathing than this same Sullivan," commented the *New York Tribune*, "but with all his brutality, his coarseness, and his vices, he certainly is not

[33] Mike Donovan, "How to punch the ball," in *Outing*, April, 1902, p. 54.

[34] A New York correspondent, after a visit to Sullivan's training quarters, described the superiority of the "leather football" over the sand pillow formerly used. *New York Herald*, January 29, 1882, p. 13.

[35] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, March 31, 1883, p. 86; November 29, 1884, p. 227.

[36] *New York Herald*, December 20, 1887; *New York Tribune*, December 20, 1887.

[37] *New York Sun*, December 10, 1887; *New York Tribune*, December 26, 1887; *New York Herald*, January 5, 1888. John Boyle O'Reilly asserted that "skill in pugilism has always been coincident with political freedom." *New York Tribune*, December 20, 1887.

[38] "John L. Sullivan . . . has faced his last opponent in the ring, and it is doubtful if he will ever again do the knocking out act." *New York Herald*, March 12, 1888, p. 4.

afraid of meeting any living man with bare fists.''[39] Early in 1889 he and Kilrain agreed to fight for $20,000, the title, and the belt; and this time there was no draw, for Sullivan battered his way to a knockout at Richburg, Mississippi, on July 8.[40] They talked of running him for congress on the democratic ticket now; but he went on a boxing tour to Australia instead, and came back to lose his title to a new winner, James J. Corbett, in 1892.

How Corbett's science won the title and maintained it until Robert Fitzsimmons ended his reign; how Fitzsimmons was finally worsted by Jim Jeffries; and he by Johnson, and he in turn by Willard would bring the boxing story down to date. But none of his successors has equalled Sullivan in his popular appeal, and it was his gold-mounted rabbit's foot, for luck, that Colonel Roosevelt carried through his African trip in 1909.[41] Sport had a new appeal to the city crowds of the eighties, and the promoters catered to it. The periodic crises of the races and the fights were interspersed by the meetings of the national game, baseball.

The major leagues and the shoal of minor leagues that today control the formal side of baseball, with permanent million dollar parks,[42] with a president of the United States to throw the first ball of a season, with over seven million paid admissions to the major leagues alone within a single year,[43] represent an institution that is far removed from the game of ball as it was played by a few private clubs after the Mexican war, and from the earliest of its organizations, the national association of baseball players, of 1858.[44] It seems to have been the civil war that brought potential nines together and nationalized the game. Men who might have joined the militia regiments for exercise or

[39] December 30, 1887, p. 4.

[40] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, January 8, 1889; *Idaho Avalanche*, July 13, 1889; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, July 9, 1889.

[41] *Theodore Roosevelt, an autobiography*, 46.

[42] Shibe Park, the home of the Athletics, and the grounds of the Pirates at Pittsburgh, both opened in 1909, are good specimens of the modern equipment. *Harper's Weekly*, May 1, 2, 1909.

[43] Arthur B. Reeve, ''What America spends for sport,'' in *Outing*, December, 1910, p. 300.

[44] H. C. Palmer, J. A. Fynes, F. Richter, and W. I. Harris, *Athletic sports in America, England, and Australia* (1889), 26.

recreation before the war played baseball around the cities, after it. The Cincinnati Red Stockings, a strictly professional team, discovered the financial possibilities of the game in 1869. A national association of professional baseball players emerged in 1871, but its base of organization was faulty, and no financially successful scheme appeared for five years more.[45]

In February, 1876, William A. Hulbert of Chicago, and A. G. Spalding, a prominent professional of Boston, having signed up a strong team for the approaching season made a workable machine for the furtherance of their profits and the game. At the Grand Central hotel, in New York, they organized the National league of baseball clubs, the parent league of today, with eight member teams: Boston, Hartford, Chicago, St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, the Mutuals (New York), and the Athletics (Philadelphia).[46] The transition from an association of players to a league or partnership of managers, gave a firm basis to the sport. It was, indeed, only a spectators' sport. With only changes in detail the scheme continues workable. A second league branched off in 1882 as the American association; a Federal league and various brotherhoods or fraternities have followed it. But baseball as a producer's business in the larger cities has not been shaken. Spalding's Chicago team won the pennant year after year. The pitched ball changed from a toss to a throw, an arsenal of mitts, shields, and masks evolved, and in 1888-1889 Spalding's baseball tour around the world introduced the full-grown national game to other countries.[47] The umpire became a recognized butt for the comic papers. And at last the sedate editor of the *Atlantic monthly almanac*, confident that all his readers can understand the lingo, adorns the opening baseball date of 1917 with the alleged oriental maxim, "There are no fans in Hell."

Baseball succeeded as an organized spectators' sport, but it did also what neither racing nor boxing could do in turning the city lot into a playground and the small boy into an enthusiastic

[45] Albert G. Spalding, *America's national game; historic facts concerning the beginning, evolution, development and popularity of baseball, with personal reminiscences of its vicissitudes, victories, and its votaries* (New York, 1911), 64.

[46] The text of the call for this meeting, and an account of its transactions are in the *Chicago Tribune*, February 7, 1876.

[47] "The return of the ball players," in *Harper's Weekly*, April 6, 1889, p. 226.

player. The cigarette pictures of leading players that small boys of the eighties collected by scores indicate at once their interests and their naughty habits. Like cricket in England, baseball became a game for everyone.

Cricket, indeed, had been played around Boston and New York and chiefly Philadelphia, since the English factory hands had brought it to Kensington and Germantown in the middle forties. The late Dr. S. Weir Mitchell remembered to have played a full-fledged game in 1845;[48] and ever after this there was at least one Newhall to play in Philadelphia,[49] and a growing list of cricket clubs. From time to time an inter-city game enlivened the mild sport; then a visit from Canadian players; then an imported English team that with eleven ordinary veterans could retire an American team of twenty-two without batting out its second innings. But in September, 1885,[50] though cricket was "still an exotic in the United States," a team of eleven Philadelphians beat eleven Britishers for the first time at their own game. The interest of the spectator was being translated into proficiency in sport.

Indoors and out-of-doors city growth and changing habits lured more men to exercise. The notion of participation for the fun there was in it, or for the physical advantage entailed, was more widely spread before the civil war than the existing records would indicate; but it was scant enough. The Young men's christian association, an importation of the early fifties, had begun to group its charges and to see the various sides of the new problem they raised. Their city buildings, undertaken in the later sixties, included room for gymnasiums[51] as well as chapels and class rooms; and their directors taught gymnastics, upon a basis resembling that of the German immigrants, exhibited through their turner societies a dozen years before.

Father Friedrich Ludwig Jahn and his gymnastic educational

[48] *Harper's Weekly*, September 22, 1894, p. 908.

[49] The numerous Newhall brothers, famous in cricket annals, are described in *ibid.*, June 22, 1889, p. 495.

[50] *Chicago Tribune*, September 18-21, 1885.

[51] *Physical education in the Young men's christian associations of North America* (1914), p. 5. An International training school for directors was organized in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1885, while a series of annual conferences of the association of general secretaries was continuous from 1871. *Louisville Commercial*, May 6, 11, 1893.

revival had done much for German nationalism and democracy before the revolutionary movements of 1848 brought it under suspicion and drove many of its leaders into more or less involuntary exile. Into America the Germans came with common resentments and with familiarity with this bond that might hold them together and cheer their hearts as they struggled against nativistic critics in a strange land.[52] Singing, playing, exercising, drinking their beer together on Sunday evenings, they had immediately started turner societies and had formed a turnerbund with more than one hundred and fifty member societies before the civil war.[53] Many of these societies marched to the front with ranks almost untouched by failure to enlist, and more than one German regiment paid for shelter and hospitality with all it had to give. In the winter of 1864-1865 the league reorganized as the Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund,[54] and since that day its athletic festivals and congresses have at once broadened the influence of comradeship and kept the German-Americans in contact with their common past. A team of Milwaukee turners invaded the fatherland in 1880 and carried off the trophies of a general meet at Frankfort-on-Main;[55] while the twenty-third festival at St. Louis[56] opened the next year with 20,000 people on the fair ground.

The growing wealth of cities, the appearance of a class of men with leisure, and the consequences of sedentary life could not have failed to develop organized provision for play nor to induce young men to start athletic clubs in increasing numbers. The greatest of the clubs was organized in 1868 in New York, and rented a field for athletic games that soon gave fame to Mott Haven, on the Harlem river. This was the New York athletic club,[57] whose growth and expansion would alone illustrate and typify nearly the whole of modern sport. For almost

[52] Marion D. Learned, *The German-American turner lyric* (Baltimore, 1897), 40.

[53] *Harper's Weekly*, September 20, 1890, p. 734.

[54] Heinrich Metzner, *Geschichte des* [*Nordamerikanischen*] *Turner-Bunds* (Indianapolis, 1874), 85; *New York Tribune*, September 12, 16, 1864; *New York Herald*, April 6, 1865.

[55] *Chicago Tribune*, *Milwaukee Sentinel*, September 11, 1880.

[56] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 25, 1881, pp. 281, 283, gives sketches of the festival; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, June 6, 1881.

[57] *Memorial history of New York*, edited by J. G. Wilson, 4: 258; S. C. Foster, "The New York athletic club," in *Outing*, September, 1884, p. 403.

twenty years it flourished on the stern diet of athletics, and only athletics. Its boathouse, its track, and its field became the center of general sport, while at its various annual games young athletes accumulated records that ought to have gladdened the heart of Dr. Holmes.

In 1876, after the New York athletic club had held its own seventh annual spring meet, it devised a novelty and held the first open amateur handicap field meeting in America.[58] Already the Intercollegiate athletic association had been organized to regulate the play of college boys, and had conducted its first games at Saratoga.[59] But the New York open games represented a new principle possible only because sport was becoming universal, and necessary because definitions and standards were so unsettled as to imperil sport itself. Out of these open games there grew, under the patronage of the New York athletic club, the National association of amateur athletics of America, an organization without a plant of its own, and aspiring to govern sport. In 1888, after a dispute in this association,[60] from which the New York athletic club had withdrawn its countenance, and which the Intercollegiate athletic association was ready to desert,[61] the greatest of the Philadelphia clubs, the Athletic club of the Schuylkill navy, took steps to create the Amateur athletic union.[62] The new union held a first meet at Detroit in September, 1888,[63] and was a success from the beginning. In its first summer, August 25, 1888, it faced the country courageously,—insolently, some thought,—and resolved that any amateur participating in unauthorized games should thereby disqualify himself as entry in games controlled by the Ama-

[58] On July 29, 1876. *New York Herald*, July 16, 30, 1876.

[59] Intercollegiate rowing, since the Harvard-Oxford race, had become a mild "mania." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 15, 1876, p. 302. On the day after the annual Saratoga regatta, July 20, 1876, the Intercollegiate athletic association held its meet. *New York Herald*, June 17, July 21, 1876.

[60] The Manhattan athletic club organized as a rival to the New York athletic club in 1878, was special patron of the National association of amateur athletics of America in its later years, and occupied an imposing house at Madison avenue and Forty-fifth street between 1890 and 1893. *New York Sun*, February 19, 1893.

[61] The resolutions embodying this desertion are in *Outing*, April, 1889, appendix, 1; June, 1889, appendix, 32.

[62] The details of the breach are in *Outing*, November, 1888, p. 168, January, 1889, p. 363.

[63] *New York Herald*, September 20, 1888.

teur athletic union.[64] This union and other governing bodies are still defining the amateur and adjusting the terms of his competitions; but this interdict of the athletic protestant, — or infidel, — is a high mark in the rising tide.

Long before the Amateur athletic union had been conceived, its parent outgrew its primitive athletic plant and, stimulated by its own needs and the rivalry of eager imitators, had come into town with a great athletic club house. In 1885, with William R. Travers as president and Herman Oelrichs as financial backer, the New York athletic club opened its own building at Sixth avenue and Fifty-fifth street; three years later it opened a country home on Travers Island; and in 1896 it moved up Sixth avenue to a larger city palace on Fifty-ninth street.[65] Meanwhile its development had been paralleled in Philadelphia by the Athletic club of the Schuylkill navy, whose rowing had grown into general athletics and produced the Arch street club house in 1889.[66] In Boston the athletic club boasted among its members Henry L. Higginson and John Boyle O'Reilly, and opened modern quarters in 1888.[67] In Chicago the building on Michigan avenue was regarded as the last word in athletic architecture when it opened in 1893.[68] In smaller towns and among poorer athletes, where marble palaces were out of question, where the Young men's christian association or the turnverein or the local school or college might be the agency, the athletic club was extending its stimulation deep into the social body.

The increasing organization of sport tells one side of the story; the invention of new activities the other. The mechanical genius of one Plimpton, about 1863,[69] made roller skating possible and bred a mania that first infected Australia, then Europe, then America, and that raged, an intermittent epidemic, for a generation. Tools of the game were cheap; skill was not hard to acquire; but the rinks in which to skate controlled the sport. The Brooklyn rink, long to be famous as a political

[64] The meeting that passed this resolution was held in the house of the New York athletic club. *Outing*, October, 1888, p. 81.

[65] M. W. Ford, "The New York athletic club," in *Outing*, December, 1898, p. 247.

[66] *New York Times*, September 23, 1889.

[67] *New York Herald*, December 30, 1888.

[68] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, July 16, 1893.

[69] *Annual cyclopaedia and register of important events of the year 1884* (New York), 737.

meeting place, was opened in 1877. On the future site of the Auditorium hotel, Chicago had one in 1880; and A. G. Spalding opened another in the same city in 1884.[70] There was a great Olympia rink in New York, on Fifty-third street, in 1885. At this time, according to one estimate, there was $20,000,000 of skating rink property in America,[71] and the capacity of these was supplemented many fold by the new concrete sidewalks and the asphalt pavements that invited the small boy to "hitch behind" and risk his neck. A six-day skating race in New York in 1885 produced a record of 1,090 miles.[72] Women and girls adopted the pastime, while their elders "viewed with alarm" the demoralization of the growing generation. Boxwood, the material for skate wheels, in the preferable three-inch growth, rose from thirty-eight to one hundred and twenty dollars a ton under the demand of manufacturers, and far-off Persia and Turkey, where this wood grew, benefited by the craze.[73]

Nearly twenty years before skating thus literally carried its devotees off their feet, another epidemic had "swept over our land," "the swiftest and most infectious" yet, croquet.[74] To the rules and definitions of this game the *Nation* devoted a long article in 1866. In England three years later, writes Alfred Austin, it was "in the heyday of its popularity."[75] Like roller skating, its paraphernalia was simple and readily set up anywhere, and as a courting game few have surpassed it. It produced in time its experts who, in 1879, gathered in Chicago at "the first national convention of croquet players ever held in this country,"[76] to debate "loose" against "tight" methods and to formulate its laws. Such a useless gathering, regretted the *Chicago Times*, was a "severe commentary upon our civilization;" but whether because of the prize tournament mallet offered by A. G. Spalding or because the game had merit of its own, croquet declined to disappear. At Norwich, Connecticut,

[70] *Spalding's manual of roller skating* (1884), 78; *Chicago Times*, May 18, 1864, p. 7.

[71] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, April 18, 1885, p. 139.

[72] *New York Herald*, March 8, 1885.

[73] *Scientific American*, March 28, 1885, p. 200.

[74] *The Nation*, August 9, 1866, p. 113.

[75] Alfred Austin, *Autobiography of Alfred Austin, poet laureate, 1835-1910* (London, 1911), 2: 1.

[76] *Chicago Times*, September 24, 1879, pp. 4, 8.

the National croquet association built its tournament grounds, and here year after year a handful of persistent players reduced the game to one of nice skill, similar to nothing less than billiards.[77] And everywhere croquet, like roller skates, became part of the education of the child.

The wooden-wheeled, iron-tired "bone-shaker" bicycle of the civil war decade brought zest to life at yet another spot. Charles de Drais[78] had experimented with his "draisena" early in the century, and Pierre Lallement[79] had built and ridden a bicycle in Paris in 1863. Thereafter where roads and nerve permitted the old high bicycle gained its advocates and, with velocipede and tricycle, tempted even an occasional girl to learn to ride. A clipping from a scrap book of 1869 celebrates the early sporting girl:

> But I am of the Yankee sort,
> A gutta-percha lady sport,
> Fair and tough, and fast and strong
> And hold to my paces all day long. . .
> Stir the dust and take the shoot,
> Pantalettes and gaiter-boot.
> Houp la! houp la!—needn't try
> To find a lovelier wretch than I.

As the seventies advanced the bicycle became a tool of delicate grace, with a fifty-one inch wheel weighing thirty pounds,[80] although the general public still found interest in articles telling how to pronounce the word.[81] Colonel A. A. Pope, of Hartford, imported several of the English machines in 1878 and then began to build his own Columbia bicycles;[82] and here and there enthusiasts began to organize clubs to ride together, and even held their race meets by 1879. Riding academies multiplied,[83] often using armories or skating rinks, and park commissioners

[77] E. S. Martin in *The Nation*, September 3, 1898, p. 862.

[78] *Wheelman*, March, 1883, p. 460.

[79] Charles E. Pratt, "Pierre Lallement and his bicycle," in *Outing and the wheelman*, October, 1883, p. 4.

[80] *Scientific American*, July 17, 1875, p. 39.

[81] *Cincinnati Commercial*, November 22, 1879.

[82] A. A. Pope, "The wheel," in *Wheelman*, October, 1882, p. 69; an early Columbia advertisement, with cut, is in *Christian union*, February 12, 1879, p. 168.

[83] *New York Sun*, January 2, 1880, p. 1, describes the opening of a new academy in the American institute building.

were exasperated by appeals to permit citizens astride their wheels to use the public drives. Horses started upon the long course of nervous education that the motor car has finished. And on May 31, 1880, there met at Newport delegates from twenty-nine bicycle clubs who there organized the League of American wheelmen and held their first parade.[84]

Bicycling is unique among the sports in the extent to which participation was on an individual basis and in the degree to which individuals joined in the national organization. The annual meets of the League of American wheelmen were of increasing interest for twenty years, both as sporting events with fast and furious racing, and as social gatherings to which members and their families went as for a sporting vacation. *Wheeling*, a monthly magazine, appeared as organ of the sport in 1882, and still continues, with enlarged scope, as *Outing*. Thomas Stevens crossed the continent a-wheel in 1884,[85] and soon after made his memorable trip recorded in *Around the world on a bicycle*.[86] There were supposed to be thirty thousand bicycles in the United States in 1885[87] and twelve thousand members of the league by 1889; and this while the old high wheel was the one most generally used.

The safety bicycle — chain driven, with wheels of equal size — appeared in the catalogs of 1887, and with the pneumatic rubber tire[88] that was soon devised, opened new worlds to be conquered. By 1898 the league had over one hundred thousand paying members[89] and women had taken their great step toward equal treatment by free participation with the men. After 1900 the league collapsed, but it had widened the effective radius of life, quickened sluggish blood for both sexes and all ages, and reawakened a love for out-of-doors that city dwellers had begun to lose.

Contemporary with wheeling was lawn tennis, fit for both

[84] *New York Tribune*, May 31, 1880; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 19, 1880, p. 261.

[85] His itinerary, via Humboldt valley, Laramie City, and the old Platte trail is in *Outing*, May, 1887, p. 187.

[86] Before appearing in book form, his journal ran as serial in *Outing*, October, 1885-June, 1888.

[87] *Chicago Tribune*, November 7, 1885, "Wheeling as a sport."

[88] W. T. Farwell, "The story of the tire," in *Outing*, January, 1913, p. 472.

[89] *Outing*, April, 1900, p. 95.

sexes, anywhere and at all ages, and invented at about the same time. In 1881 the United States lawn tennis association[90] was organized and held its first national tournament at Newport, under conditions resembling those which surrounded the Wimbledon grounds of the All England lawn tennis club, then five years old. The game was first played in America not earlier than 1875,[91] but its conquest was sweeping and complete. On private lawns, in newly-organized clubs, on the commons by the country school house, even on the unused side of at least one burying ground, the nets were stretched and the game begun. By 1890 the women had a national championship tournament of their own[92] and in another decade an American girl invaded England and there held her own against all comers. International matches were an annual feature of the game, and city, state, sectional, and national championships covered the country with their nets. Three hundred tournaments authorized[93] for 1916 by the United States lawn tennis association give a measure for the most perfect of the participating sports.

The love of outdoor sports, spreading each year into new regions and new classes worked on whatever materials it could find. Florida became a playground, opening its west coast to the rich in winter when the Plant system completed its line to Tampa in 1885.[94] Theodore Roosevelt, of an active family whose name is to be found in the initial lists of nearly every sport that I have seen, bought his ranch on the Little Missouri in the early eighties.[95] Here he rode the roundup and hunted outlaws, and less dangerous wild game, consciously building a frame to carry burdens. Here he saw the cow country in its final phase, and hence he went to write *The winning of the west.*

[90] Wright and Ditson's *Lawn tennis guide,* 1897, p. 18; *New York World,* May 22, 1881, p. 2.

[91] James Dwight, "Lawn tennis in New England," in *Outing,* May, 1891, p. 157.

[92] Miss Ellen C. Roosevelt won the first national championship on the Philadelphia cricket club grounds at Wissahickon. According to Alice Barber Stephens, as well as the illustrator for styles, girls played tennis in 1891 in long skirts, long sleeves, high collars, and trimmed hats. *Harper's bazaar,* June 6, 1891, p. 443, July 18, 1891, pp. 557, 559.

[93] *Chicago Tribune,* January 28, 1917, pt. 2, p. 1.

[94] With a connecting link in a steel steamer to run to Havana. *Chicago Tribune,* July 28, 1885; G. H. Smythe, *Henry Bradley Plant* (1898), 75.

[95] *Theodore Roosevelt, an autobiography,* 94.

In December, 1887, at a private dinner, he and his outdoor friends organized the Boone and Crockett club[96] for the study and conservation of big game, naming it for the great pathfinders for whom game was no luxury and hunting not a sport. The saving of the Yellowstone park[97] was one of the early public services of this club, the founding of the New York zoological society was another. The love of open country for hunting, camping, hiking, and the respect for common interests that all this entailed were not accidental products of our decade. They came directly from the swelling national interest.

Not every American could take time to hunt big game, or watch it, or to commune with remote nature, but the opportunity for something out of doors was demanded and provided. The rise of the country club is a feature of the later eighties. The institutions that were competent to grow into the country club where the environment was right for evolution were already provided. Here and there an older club could be made over. The old Staten Island cricket and baseball club built a new home with full outdoor equipment in 1886.[98] The Essex county hunt opened the Essex county country club in 1888.[99] The New York athletic club, always partially out-of-doors, finished its complete home and playground on Travers Island in the same year. A Boston country club, with grounds near Brookline, emerged from a racing group in 1887. But the country club that served as text for the most discussion was opened in 1886 on Pierre Lorillard's ancestral estate on Ramapo mountain under the control of the Tuxedo club.[100] At Tuxedo was a resident suburban colony club, where members could build their own cottages and use a club house more elaborate than the

[96] George Bird Grinnell, *Brief history of the Boone and Crockett club, with officers, constitution, and list of members for the year 1910* (New York [1911?]), 3.

[97] *Ibid.*, 10.

[98] C E. Clay, "Staten Island cricket and baseball club," in *Outing*, November, 1887, p. 110; *New York Times*, July 5, 1886; *New York Herald*, July 6, 1886.

[99] At Hutton park on Orange mountain. *New York Tribune*, December 5, 1887, January 3, 1888; *New York Sun*, December 23, 1887; *New York Herald*, May 6, 13, 1888, gives a description of country clubs near New York.

[100] B. L. R. Dana, "An original social experiment — Tuxedo," in *Cosmopolitan*, October, 1899, p. 547; J. N. Smith, "The Tuxedo club," in *Munsey's*, November, 1891, p. 161; *Harper's Weekly*, December 18, 1886, p. 827; *New York World*, June 2, 1886.

old casino at Newport, and with "an aggressively English air" that suggested the country life of a society that wealthy Americans liked to imitate. It was socially exclusive and highly expensive, and novel enough to furnish paragraphs for many years. It represented one of the three clear types toward which the country clubs tended to standardize for thirty years.

"Fifteen years ago," wrote Robert Dunn in 1905, "country clubs seemed fads, were confined to the East, and associated with the somewhat un-American and unrelaxed atmosphere of what one hears called 'society,'"[101] but they served a need too broad to be so circumscribed. Some were the country toys of city men, who hurried out of town when work was done, who often slept at the club house, and who were as nearly unconscious of the local world around the grounds as possible. Such was Travers Island for the New York athletic club. Others became the foci for suburban colonies. Like Tuxedo, and in simpler imitations of it, their members chose to live and rear their children within walking and driving distance of the playground; and the ladies' club house and the junior annex became as important as the club itself. Still others were acclimated in the country towns, used without pretense, recruited with little or no parade of society or exclusion, and became as true an organ of local life as the high school or the board of commerce. The community of 20,000 without a country club became an anomaly requiring explanation.

The roots of country clubs sprang from the older games, and were strengthened by tennis and bicycling that widened their opportunity and their availability. But most of all they multiplied from the impetus given by a new game that must be played over the open country if at all, the royal game of golf.

The beginnings of the game of golf, with the leather ball[102] stuffed with feathers, are doubtless based "upon the desire of the Anglo-Saxon to arm himself with a stick and drive a small round body with it,"[103] but they are lost in the antiquity that conceals, perhaps, the common parent of all games of ball. Old prints and casual references carry the game back for several

[101] "The country club," in *Outing*, November, 1905, p. 165.
[102] "The golf ball," in *Harper's Weekly*, April 8, 18, 89, p. 351.
[103] *The Nation*, August 26, 1869, p. 168.

centuries in England and Scotland,[104] but Americans are not known to have played it in the United States before the later eighties. A writer in *Harper's Weekly*, in 1891,[105] prophesied that it was likely to take foothold here, but had few facts of playing to produce. The nine hole course at Southampton, in the Shinnecock hills, was open to play in 1892,[106] while Mr. H. C. Chatfield-Taylor remembers to have played a game over a primitive private course at Lake Forest in the same year.[107] The attractions of the game distributed it from the cities out into the country, and middle age came into its own. The playing season of 1895 was memorable for the new courses over lumpy greens, and for the shoal of old clubs that added golf and new clubs that organized to play it. In Newport the casino acquired a healthy rival in the country club. Already, in 1894, five of the pioneer clubs had organized the United States golf association,[108] whose annual meetings and expanding membership brought the rules and players under firm control.[109] And the environs of the cities became embroidered with the turfs and costumes of the new adoption.

It would be easy to overstate the significance and influence of single factors in the change that has altered the old American life beyond recovery or reconstruction, but not the change itself. "The great development and wide diffusion and practice of athletic exercises among our people during the last quarter of a century (this diffusion taking place precisely among those classes where the need of it was greatest)," observed Colonel Roosevelt in 1893, "has been a very distinct advantage to our national type."[110] In proportion as inducement appeared for city

[104] *Country life in America*, May, 1902, p. 35; Andrew Lang discusses the history of the game in H. G. Hutchinson, *Golf* (Badminton library, 1902), 1.

[105] E. N. Lamont, "The royal game of golf," September 12, 1891, p. 695.

[106] *Harper's Weekly*, August 27, 1892, p. 832; cf. *Outing*, September, 1894, appendix, 173, October, 1894, appendix, 22, August 1898, p. 498.

[107] H. C. Chatfield-Taylor, "The development of golf in the west," in *Outing*, August, 1900, p. 531.

[108] The earliest American tournament was begun at St. Andrews, October 11, 1894. *New York Times*, October 12, 1894; *Outing*, August, 1895, appendix, 11, February, 1897, p. 502.

[109] For the case of Francis Ouimet against the United States golf association, see *Chicago Examiner*, January 14, 1917.

[110] Theodore Roosevelt, "Value of an athletic training," in *Harper's Weekly*, December 23, 1893, p. 1236.

folk to go afield mechanical devices speeded up their going. One decade saw the opening of the Brooklyn bridge, and the beginnings of the perennial fight for rapid transit; the next saw the electric trolley quicken the circulation on city streets and gladden the hearts of promoters of suburban real estate additions; the third is memorable for the extended use of motor cars.

Today there are a few of us who own no Ford, but all are rapidly forgetting the time two decades back when only experimental cars existed, when the debate between steam and gasoline was real, and when the horseless carriage was a carriage, not a car. In January, 1900, New York held its first American automobile show, following the several years' precedent of the bicycle shows. And since that time the physical habits of society have undergone a revolution. Part of this change is chronicled and photographed in *Country life in America*, appearing first in 1901; more of it is still a part of our unrecorded recollection. The body of man has been freed from the restrictions of space and time; his soul has occupied new realms of nature and of play. No earlier president[111] than Colonel Roosevelt would have denounced a tribe of "nature fakers,"[112] and no earlier generation would have cared or even understood.[113] Only the invention of a portable camera made it practicable for ordinary persons to see life as it really is.[114]

[111] Thomas Jefferson, indeed, while minister in France, had a costly private argument with M. de Buffon over the characteristics of the moose. Jefferson to Rutledge, September 9, 1788, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Monticello edition — Washington, 1904), 7: 137.

[112] Edward B. Clark, "Roosevelt on the nature fakirs," in *Everybody's magazine*, June, 1907, p. 770. The immediate reply of W. J. Long is in *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 23, 24, 1907; he returned indirectly to the attack in "The bull moose as a political totem," in *Independent*, July 11, 1912, p. 85. When Colonel Roosevelt walked through New Forest on June 9, 1910 with Sir Edward Grey, they identified forty-one forest birds and heard the note of twenty-three. *Theodore Roosevelt, an autobiography*, 334.

[113] The struggles of Audubon to find subscribers for his *Birds of America*, and his final resort to a British publisher, give a measure for early American interest in natural science. Washington Irving to Martin Van Buren, October 19, 1836, in *The life of John James Audubon, the naturalist*, edited by his widow (New York, 1869), 394.

[114] The followers of Daguerre made slow progress until, about 1878, the dry plate was perfected. *Outing*, December, 1889, p. 220. Immediately experimenters began to work towards series-photography and moving pictures. *San Francisco Chronicle* in *Cincinnati Commercial*, August 21, 1879. Nine years later the Eastman company

Such are the partial facts to illustrate the major currents in the rise of sport. They might be enlarged to include the college games, and football with its ups and downs. They might embrace the timely subject of marksmanship, and relate the facts about the Creedmoor range and the local and international matches of the National rifle association, which opened there in 1873.[115] They might tell of the coaching revival that paraded down Fifth avenue for the first time in 1876;[116] or of Bennett's introduction of polo[117] in the same year. They might mention the National archery association that tried to revive the Anglo-Saxon affection for the long bow, and that opened its series of national tournaments in Chicago, at the White Stockings park, before "quite a large and certainly a very select audience" in 1879.[118] They might recall the gathering of campers who had learned the charms of the Indian canoe, and formed the American canoe association at Lake George in 1880,[119] and continued for years, in camping meets, to profit by and popularize all water sports.

brought out its roll-film cameras and began to advertise "You press the button, we do the rest." *Harper's Weekly*, July 20, 1889, p. 583; *Harper's bazaar*, May 23, 1891, p. 407; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (eleventh edition), 21: 503. A photographers' association of America completed its organization and held its first national convention in Chicago in 1880. *Chicago Tribune*, August 24-27, 1880. Portraits of living game were shown at the fourth annual sportsmen's show. *Harper's Weekly*, January 22, 1898, p. 101. And a little later A. R. Dugmore could describe "A revolution in nature pictures," in *World's work*, November, 1900, p. 83.

[115] "The American Wimbledon," *New York Tribune*, June 23, 1873. General George W. Wingate, captain of the first international team, participated in the formation of a gigantic public schools athletic league in 1903. *Outing*, September, 1901, p. 616, May, 1908, p. 166. Luther H. Gulick, famous in Y. M. C. A. activities, and associate of General Wingate, became president in 1906 of the new Playground association of America, with Colonel Roosevelt and Jacob A. Riis as honorary officials. *Playground*, April, 1907, p. 7.

[116] Colonel De Lancay Lane expected to start his daily coach to Pelham Bridge on May 1, 1876. *New York Herald*, March 18, 1876.

[117] His Westchester polo club built a house at Jerome Park, and played inside the track. "Polo in America," in *Wildwood's magazine*, November, 1888, p. 10; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 24, 1876, p. 261; *New York Herald*, May 12, June 2, 1876.

[118] *Chicago Tribune*, August 14, 1879; Maurice Thompson, "Bow-shooting," in *Scribner's magazine*, July, 1877, p. 273.

[119] *New York Herald*, August 5, 1880. Judge Nicholas Longworth, of Cincinnati, first vice-commodore, offered a tournament cup to the Western canoe association a few years later. Western canoe association, *Seventh annual yearbook* (1891), 22.

They might from a different angle record the interests of collectors and owners that turned the successive buildings at Madison Square Garden into the custody of sporting shows and gave to St. Gaudens's gold Diana on the tower a real significance as goddess of the newer chase. In 1895 a series of annual sportsmen's expositions was begun, to amuse the crowds and display the dealers' wares.[120] Already other shows had prepared the way for this. Greatest of all was the horse show, that began in 1883 to aid in defining classes and improving breeds of horses, and that took at least a decade to teach exhibitors and judges genuine types.[121] There had been a dog show —first of a long series—by the Westminster kennel club in 1877,[122] on whose benches the uninspiring pug gave way to the terriers and collies[123] of later preference, and in whose chambers exhibitors debated the merits of "bat" and "rose-bud" ears.[124] A poultry show appeared in these same precincts in 1887,[125] with a toy dog show in an annex;[126] and a cat show in the spring of 1895 was "an epoch in the history of the cat in America."[127]

There can be no question as to there having been this rise of

[120] George Bird Grinnell, editor of *Forest and stream*, and an active member of the Boone and Crockett club, was connected with the management of the first exposition, May 13-18, 1895. *New York Times*, December 16, 1894, p. 20. Subsequent expositions became, to a great extent, dealers' sporting goods exhibits. *Harper's Weekly*, January 29, 1898, p. 100; March 18, 1899, p. 276.

[121] *Topeka Commonwealth*, October 23, 1883; *New York Sun*, October 23, 1883. Alexander J. Cassatt, later president of the Pennsylvania railroad, but now gentleman-farmer at Haverford, exhibited one of the first hackneys seen in America, a "general purpose" type whose period lies between the rise of the modern macadam road and the advent of the automobile. *Harper's Weekly*, April 9, 1892, p. 348; *World's work*, July, 1901, p. 973; *Country life in America*, December, 1901, p. 41.

[122] The first dog show opened Tuesday, May 8, 1877, at the Hippodrome with some 1,300 dogs on exhibition. *New York Times*, May 8, 1877; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, May 26, 1877, p. 203. In later years Madison Square Garden was utilized.

[123] J. P. Morgan's collies, American-bred at his Cragston kennels, won the honors of 1894. *Harper's Weekly*, March 3, 1894, p. 215.

[124] The introduction of the French bull-dog about 1897 raised the debate over the shape to which the ears should conform. *Harper's Weekly*, February 26, 1898, p. 214.

[125] *New York Tribune*, December 15, 22, 1887.

[126] The American toy dog club was organized to conduct this show. *New York Tribune*, November 17, 1887, p. 5; *New York Herald*, May 26, 1888, p. 3.

[127] *Harper's bazaar*, May 11, 1895, p. 380; *New York World*, May 12, 1895.

sport. It obtrudes from the sources of the eighties, and had created in the daily press the clean-cut sporting page before 1890, giving sharp contrast to the papers of the seventies where sport was only general news, and thin at that. In nearly every game we play today there is evidence that between 1876 and 1893 playing expanded on a widening scale, and organization made its government quasi-national. A new generation appeared taking all this for granted, and living the rounded life unconscious of a change.

It was the open frontier that kept America young during its first century of national existence. Year after year the continuous pressure from the newer states, noisy, ill-informed, but irrepressible, had driven congress and the nation along the path of liberalism. The free ballot, the public school, the state university had kept America the land of opportunity; and however men despaired in their public utterances, their inner souls were conscious of this spark of youth and life. When the frontier closed in the eighties the habit of an open life was too strong to be changed offhand. The search for sport revealed a partial substitute for pioneer life. City congestion stimulated the need at this immediate moment, but without the cities the transition must any way have occurred. Baseball was already adopted in the small towns; the country club has produced its most numerous and typical examples away from the large cities and even in the remoter west whence the frontier has barely disappeared.

But the causes of the rise of sport, whether in the needs of city life, or in the automatic adaptation of a society whose old safety-valve, free land, was closing down, or in the aptitudes of a community inured to frontier conditions and now deprived of them, are of slighter consequence than its results upon America. No one can probe national character, personal conduct, public opinion of today without bringing out their difference from that which formerly prevailed. The hysteria of the period of the Spanish war and of Cleveland's Venezuela episode has sobered into better deliberation and balance, far enough from the ideal, but notably of higher tone. The moral indifference to methods of achievement, bred somewhat in our own

great war and dominant when men smiled at the cipher despatches or the star route frauds; or printed in their advertising pages the lying romances of quack doctors and patent medicines, is giving way to a real concern for honest methods; and those who would not of themselves reform are being squeezed by sheer force of public disapproval into a reluctant degree of compliance with the rules. Personal behavior, too has changed. A cleaner living and a lessened indulgence in strong drink come with the sharpened intellect and the acuter soul. We know that we shall live to see a dry America, and one of equal rights for all. And who shall say that when our women took up tennis and the bicycle they did not as well make the great stride towards real emancipation; or that the quickened pulse, the healthy glow, the honest self-respect of honest sport have not served in part to steady and inspire a new Americanism for a new century?

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SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEAD AND ZINC MINING REGION OF THE DRIFTLESS AREA WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS UPON JO DAVIESS COUNTY, ILLINOIS[1]

The upper Mississippi river lead and zinc mining region (figure 1) in the driftless area is a small geographic unit with a variety of internal and external relations, and therefore the

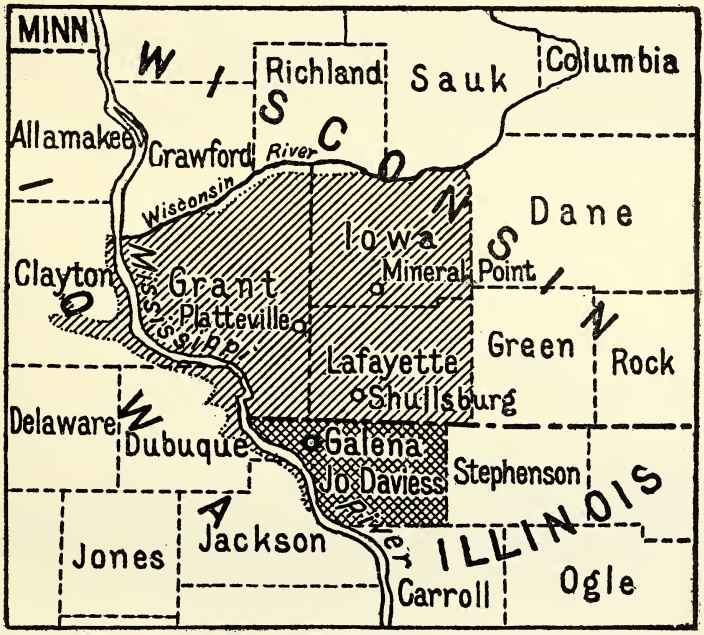

Figure 1. Map showing the position of Jo Daviess county in the lead and zinc district of the upper Mississippi river

region has afforded the setting for several eras of life development. It is the purpose of this paper briefly to sketch the environment and the life of these eras as being mutually interde-

[1] The above article, which is published by permission of the Illinois state geological survey, is based in part upon six weeks of field work in the region discussed and upon a master's thesis: "Settlement and development of Jo Daviess county,"

pendent and to emphasize some of the geographical influences which have affected the history of the region. The story will be confined largely to Jo Daviess county, Illinois, since this district has been studied in detail as being typical of the region as a whole.

Scarcely anything in detail is known concerning the life in the region before the coming of man, and little during the era of Indian supremacy. Later, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the lead mineral attracted the whites from great distances, thus initiating the present era which has had three periods of development. The result was an early settlement of the region by a heterogeneous population, whose first interest was mining. During this mining period, intercourse was chiefly with the south because the country was located on the Mississippi river; hence its early population and institutions show a strong southern influence. But after 1832 the Hudson river, the Erie canal, and the great lakes directed eastern and New England emigrant farmers into the region, and it passed into its mining-farming period. The inrush of farmers was followed by a gradual and substantial development in agriculture. The immigrants impressed upon the region eastern and New England institutions, which were modified, however, by the new conditions. After 1845 the lead-mining activities of the region began to decline. This decline brought about the farming-mining period, which has

written by the author for the university of Chicago, 1913. In addition the following sources have been used: *Niles' Weekly Register; Merchants' magazine and commercial review; DeBow's review; Galena Gazette, Galena Advertiser, Miners' Journal; Chicago Daily Journal*; United States geological survey, *Publications*; Illinois state geological survey, *Publications*; United States *Census reports*; State historical society of Wisconsin, *Collections*; Wisconsin academy of sciences, arts and letters, *Transactions*; George W. Hawes, *Illinois state gazetteer and business directory for 1858 and 1859* (Chicago, 1858); John M. Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois* (Jacksonville, Ill., 1834); [Samuel A. Mitchell], *Illinois in 1837* (Philadelphia, 1837); *History of Jo Daviess county, Illinois* (Chicago, 1878); William J. Johnston, *Sketches of the history of Stephenson county, Ill., and incidents connected with the early settlement of the northwest* (Freeport, Ill., 1854); Sidney Breese, *The early history of Illinois, from its discovery by the French, in 1673, until its cession to Great Britain in 1763* (Chicago, 1884); Alexander Davidson and Bernard Stuvé, *Complete history of Illinois from 1673 to 1884* (Springfield, Ill., 1884); William V. Pooley, *The settlement of Illinois from 1830 to 1850* (Madison, Wis., 1908); Harlan H. Barrows, *Geography of the middle Illinois valley* (Urbana, Ill., 1910); Donald McLeod, *History of Wisconsin from its first discovery to the present period* (Buffalo, 1846); Augustus L. Chetlain, *Recollections of seventy years* (Galena, Ill., 1899).

continued to the present. The opening of the great lakes and Erie canal routes in the thirties and the advent of the railroad into the county in the fifties caused the Mississippi river traffic of the region to decline, and thereafter intercourse was chiefly with the east. Then followed, as a result, a few decades in which the population increased. But since 1880 the county has suffered a slow decrease in numbers, largely owing to a further decline in its lead mining, to the rugged topography of the driftless area, and to the increasing competition of newer and better agricultural regions. Now, the county is seeking a new adjustment in American life, and this adjustment promises to be more permanent than the preceding ones. The future economic development of the region depends chiefly on its agricultural resources, and subordinately upon the development of its zinc mines.

Although excavations in ancient mounds found in the county south of the Galena river on the bluffs of the Mississippi have brought to light evidences of a prehistoric race, possibly the mound builders, little can be said about their life and culture, and it is necessary to pass at once to the Indian era.

Although the history of the Indians in the region is shadowy, it lends support to the theory that the Mississippi valley was too open to migrations of the tribes to favor the development of a high type of civilization. The vulnerable nature of the area is shown by the succession of contending human forces that have swept across the stage with almost kaleidoscopic effect. The French found easy access into the upper Mississippi by way of the great lakes and the rivers. They found that the county was a part of the land of the Illinois Indians, whose domain extended roughly from the Fox to the Mississippi rivers in southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois. These Indians were a tribe of the Algonquian family, whose territory, under an incoherent sway, extended from the east shore of Newfoundland to the Rocky mountains and from Churchill river to Pamlico sound, except that in the eastern part of this area, along the Mohawk river, there was a region occupied by the Iroquoian tribes. Presently the latter, issuing from their base, which was physically a strategic one, drove the Algonkins from Ohio and Indiana, where the open nature of the land afforded little means of defense, and

pursued them westward, until, protected in the rear by the Mississippi river and aided by the French, on their left flank, the Algonkins held firm. In this general withdrawal the Fox and the Sauk Algonquian tribes deserted their old forested home, which was probably located about Saginaw bay, and established themselves in the region about the Fox river and lake Winnebago. There presently they obtained control of the important Fox-Wisconsin portage trade route by means of forts, which were advantageously located on escarpments caused by outcrops of Niagara limestone over Hudson river shale.

In their newly occupied territory the Foxes, by exacting tolls from Indian and French traders, and by other objectionable acts, incurred new hostility. Finally, they and their Sauk allies were severely defeated by their enemies on the north and east, and both tribes retreated westward, retiring into the domains of the Illinois. Presently they encountered and defeated the Illinois, and occupied a large part of their land, including what is now Jo Daviess county. The Illinois had also suffered from the Sioux and other tribes to the north of them. Following the ejection of the Illinois, the Fox and Sauk shared with the French in ruling over the lead and zinc mining region. Presently, in the struggle between France and England for dominion in America, the British won the region from the French, only to lose it in turn to the colonies in the revolutionary war. Not until the war of 1812, however, were the British definitely driven out by the Americans. In 1804 a band of the Sauk, without consulting their allies, ceded a portion of the mineral lands to the United States government. As a result of the friction which arose from this transaction, some of the Sauk and Foxes moved westward. Then part of the Winnebago, from near Green bay, squatted on the mineral lands. Later American aggression in the region resulted in the Winnebago war of 1827 and the Black Hawk war of 1832, which forced all the Indians in the region to retire west of the Mississippi. From this summary of race movements it is clear that the area was greatly influenced by its central position and lack of natural protective boundaries.

Jo Daviess county, in the Indian era, lay in the southern part of the driftless area, but its eastern margin had a fringe of

glacial drift. The rocks were sedimentary and dipped generally and gently to the southwest, in which general direction also the surface sloped gradually. Loosely speaking, Galena limestone was the dominant outcropping rock in the northern part, Maquoketa shale in the middle, and Niagara limestone in the south. Stratigraphically the Maquoketa shale lay between the other formations and was above the Galena limestone.

The topography was that of a maturely-dissected upland plain, probably a southern extension of the Lancaster peneplain of Wisconsin, but possibly a structural plain composed of the surface of the resistant Galena limestone and overlain in part by remnants of shale. Above this plain, a series of flat-topped and steep-sided mounds and ridges known as the Niagara escarpment rose 60 to 200 feet, and below this plain stream valleys had been cut to a depth of 60 to 225 feet, with flood plains 500 to 1500 feet wide. The relief of almost every square mile was 100 feet. The northern part of the plain was young.

The soil on the Niagara limestone mounds was residual, thin, and cherty; that on the Galena limestone surfaces, less thin and less cherty; and that on the limestone escarpments, very thin. The slopes of the Maquoketa shale, being gentle, had the thickest residual soil of the region. The flood plains enjoyed a fertile, alluvial loam. Near the Mississippi front the soil was sandy and wind-blown.

The climatic environment is summarized briefly. The mean temperature for the winter was 21 degrees Fahrenheit; for spring, 48; for summer, 72; for autumn, 51; for the year, 48. The maximum range of temperature was likely to be from 106 degrees to minus 32 degrees. The mean precipitation for the winter was 4.5 inches; for the spring, 9.5; for summer, 12.3; for autumn, 8.7; for the year, 35.0. The average number of inches of snow for the winter was 27.1; for spring, 9.3; for summer, 0; for autumn, 2.7; for the year, 39.1. Not more than 12 inches of snow were likely to fall within twenty-four hours. The average relative humidity for winter was 80.5 per cent; for spring, 71.5; for summer, 71; for autumn, 75.5; for the year, 75. During the winter 53 per cent of the total amount of sunshine possible in the latitude of the county was received; in spring, 57; in summer, 66; in autumn, 55; throughout the year, 55. The direction

of the prevailing wind was northwest. It was frequently interrupted by cyclonic storms.

The drainage was adequate and dendritic. In general, the stream valleys were in a stage of youth (narrow and deep), or maturity (broader). Springs were plentiful at the contact of the impervious Maquoketa shale below the porous Galena limestone; and in general there was a plentiful supply of water except on the top of the Niagara escarpments. The Mississippi river and the Galena river, together with its larger tributaries, were navigable for the Indian canoe.

The natural resources available to the Indians were somewhat varied. Lead occurred near the top of the Galena limestone, and zinc 240 feet below, near the base of the formation. Since the rock dips to the southwest, the zinc was therefore exposed at or near the surface in the northern part of the mining area, and the lead in much the same way in the northern part of the county. But the lead was overlaid by a varying amount of eroded Maquoketa shale in the middle portions of the county (except where exposed by stream erosion), and by the Niagara mounds as well in the south. Traces of silver occurred with the lead. Early descriptions of the flora of the region speak of abundant plant life. A hardwood forest, covering from one-tenth to one-fifth of the area, was located chiefly on the mounds, the steep slopes, and along stream courses. The rest of the area was chiefly in "oak openings" and more extensive prairie tracts. According to early descriptions, from one-third to one-half of the land was fit for some sort of agriculture. Early writers speak of a fair abundance of fish, but omit much detail concerning the animal life of the country.

Amidst such scenes lived the Indians. Their numbers and distribution cannot be stated accurately. The population of all the Illinois was estimated in 1750 to be between 1,500 and 2,000. But by 1775 they had been almost exterminated. In 1650 the Foxes were thought to total about 3,000; but by 1805 they were reduced to about 1,200. The Sauk were somewhat more numerous. The Winnebago were reported to number 1,800 in 1750. Some idea of the distribution of the Indians of the region can be obtained from figure 3. In general the Fox tribe occu-

pied the Rock river area. It has been stated for Wisconsin that "considerations of food supply, means of transportation, and of defense in time of war, caused the principal Indian villages to be located at such key points as portages, the mouths of rivers, and on important lakes and bays."

The material culture of the Sauk, Foxes, and Winnebago has been described as being typical of the woodlands, with some intrusive features from the plains. Probably this fusion was a result of their change in abode from the wooded region about the great lakes to the semi-prairie lands of the mineral country. In summer they lived in permanent villages, and cared for their crops; in winter they lived a semi-nomadic life, hunting wild game.

The presence of lead was long known to them and it is estimated that they did some mining a century before the arrival of the Europeans. But there is little evidence concerning their use of it, until the introduction of firearms by the French. The latter learned of the deposits probably as early as 1658. The position of the lead near the surface of the ground and near the top of the Galena limestone made shallow mining possible over large areas, and thus permitted Indian operations. The aborigines skimmed only the surface as a rule, loading the ore at the bottom of the inclined shafts into deerskin bags and hoisting or dragging it to the surface by means of thongs of hide. The lower work was performed almost entirely by old men and squaws. With the coming of the French, the new use of the mineral by the savages in warfare and hunting, both for bullets and as currency, gave the lead an increased value to the Indians. Moreover, the whites taught them less crude methods of mining, and bought mineral of them. Under the direction of the Europeans, therefore, mining by the Indians developed more rapidly; in 1810, for example, they produced 400,000 pounds of lead. In the war of 1812 they aided the British by mining lead for them. There is even an official statement of 1811 to the effect that the Foxes, Sauk, and Iowa of the mining region had largely abandoned the chase in favor of mining. But in the aggregate, the production of lead by the Indians always remained small. It should be kept in mind, however, that although the Indians made but small use of the mineral quantitatively, its presence was

fatally important to them in that it hastened their expulsion from their land by the covetous whites.

Prior to the coming of the whites, hunting and fishing were the chief economic activities of the Indians, especially the Sauk and Foxes, who came from the woodlands of the east. They must be credited with having made considerable use of the soil, however, for agriculture was followed actively and was second only to the chase. In 1634 Nicolet found the Indians in Wisconsin cultivating large fields. The Sauk and Foxes had large farms along the Wisconsin, especially in the fertile Sauk prairie (Prairie du Sac), while the Winnebago tilled the land along the Fox river and lake Winnebago, cultivating some 3,000 acres, for example, near one village of 500 inhabitants. Later, these tribes cultivated some of the land within Jo Daviess county. The chief crops consisted of corn, tobacco, melons, pumpkins, beans, and squashes; wild rice was also important, and wild fruit. Horses and cattle were unknown; but the buffalo was a source of food.

Manufacturing by the Indians was of the home type. While in the eastern wooded area, they had used canoes and dugouts, but they learned to make the bull-boat on coming out upon the plains. They made their own clothing, tools, and arms. But they soon learned to get many of these things, including mining equipment, from the whites. In 1815 there were twenty Indian furnaces near Galena.

Their commerce was extensive, because of the network of waterways available, but not bulky, because they had nothing but man power for transportation. Their trade consisted chiefly of furs, lead, and tribal specialties. The chief routes were the Mississippi, the Fox-Wisconsin waterway, and the great lakes. Well-known rendezvous were Prairie du Chien, Mackinac, and Green Bay. Early in the eighteenth century lead became a regular article of commerce between the Indians and the French and Canadian trappers and traders. A peck of ore was worth a peck of corn in Indian trade. Presently Galena became the permanent trading post within the region, since it was located near the head of the navigation of the Galena (Fever) river, the principal tributary to the Mississippi from the mining region. The earliest route of export for the lead was northeast to Mont-

real and Quebec, so long as the French controlled the region. After the French and Indian war, the product was shipped down the Mississippi.

In the interaction between the Indians and their environment, it is to be noted that the savages affected their surroundings but little; they took meager toll, and they gave little in return.

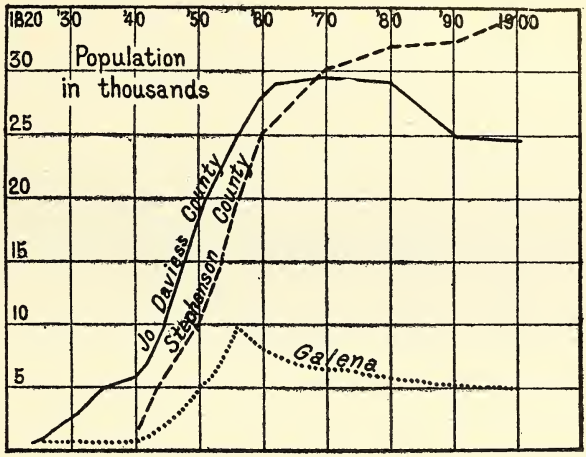

Figure 2. Graph showing the comparative growth in population of Galena, Jo Daviess county, and Stephenson county.

With the advent of the whites there came pronounced changes in the life scenes of the region and their physical setting. The new culture displaced the older, and modified the bio-geography and physiography of the region, as well as itself being modified by all three. On the basis of the use made of the natural resources there have been three periods in the era of development of the region by the whites. While the lead was essentially the sole resource being exploited, there was a period of typical mining life (1800-1832). Presently, agricultural and other resources were tapped; although the lure of the mineral wealth remained dominant, agricultural and manufacturing activities began to compete with the purely mining interests. This stage constituted the mining-farming period (1832-1850). Finally, the agricultural resources became the most valuable, so that the county came to be a region of farmers, with a sprinkling of miners, manufacturers, and others. Thus began the farming-mining period, which has continued to the present time.

The minerals were the natural resource which first attracted the whites to the region. A Frenchman, Nicholas Perrot, was probably the first white man actually to see the lead mines about Galena, in 1690, and he may be considered as their European discoverer. During the next fifty years a number of French expeditions were sent into the area to explore for precious metals, rumored to be abundant along the Mississippi river; but none were found. Hence the European commercial world lost interest in these attempts, and in the region. One prospector, however, presently attained success, namely Julien Dubuque, a French-Canadian, who somehow maintained friendly relations with the Indians and mined profitably in the lead mines of the neighboring Iowa district about the site of present-day Dubuque. But after Julien Dubuque's death in 1810 the Indians obliterated all marks of his operations. On the whole, little mining was done in the region by either the French or the English.

Both the French-Canadians and the Indians were hostile to the early American prospectors: the French because they desired to maintain the monopoly of the lead trade, and the Indians because the Americans were aggressive and threatened to dispossess them of the region. But geographic conditions favored the Americans, for the Mississippi route, used by the Americans, was more direct than the French-Canadian route by way of the great lakes, and the Americans were the more numerous. Following the government purchase of part of the Galena mining region in 1804, many prospectors came to the district. The close of the exploring epoch and the beginning of active, systematic mining on a large scale was marked by the arrival of Colonel James Johnson early in 1823, who came with soldiers, supplies, competent miners, and 150 slaves.

The mining period had now been launched, and in a few years "this sequestered spot literally swarmed with (10,000) miners, smelters, merchants, speculators, and gamblers of every description." They came from all over the United States, especially from the south, and from Europe. The growth in population of Jo Daviess county (established in 1827) is shown in figure 2; the distribution of the early settlers is shown in figure 3.

The new inhabitants made greater use than had their predecessors of the natural resources, especially of the lead. Figure

Figure 3. Map of the United States lead mines on the upper Mississippi river, 1829, based upon a map in State historical society of Wisconsin, *Collections*, 11 : 400.

4 gives the output of the lead in the whole mining region, of which area by far the most productive part was the district between Dubuque, Galena, and Schullsburg. At times as much as nine-tenths of the lead mined in Illinois came from an area enclosed in a circle having a radius of four miles, with its center a little northeast of Galena. The value of the lead taken from

the mines of the upper Mississippi between 1821 and 1865 was estimated at $40,000. Since the mineral was near the surface, sinking the shallow shafts was "as simple a process as the method of digging wells," and therefore mining was carried on by individuals rather than by companies. The miners drew heavily upon the timber to aid their operations. They also en-

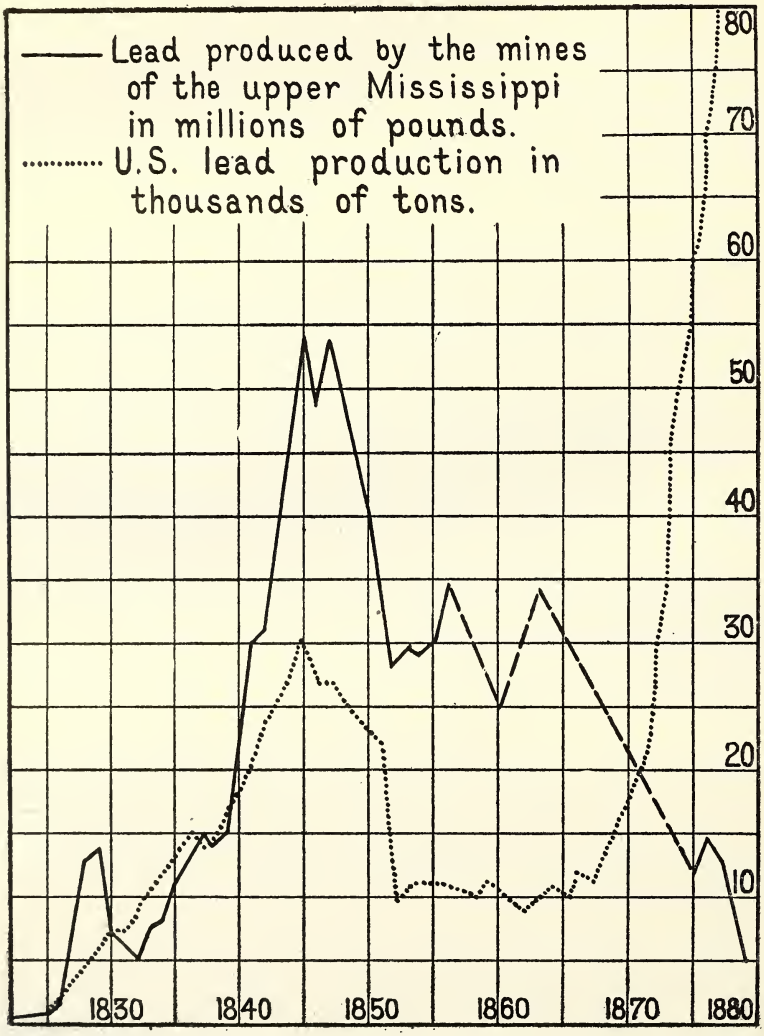

Figure 4. Graph showing the comparative production of lead in the United States and in the upper Mississippi district. The broken line indicates uncertain data.

couraged farmers to settle in the region to ensure a sufficient food supply, but in this they were at first only partly successful. Smelting was the only important industrial occupation.

The possession of mineral wealth made the securing of transportation especially important for the Galena district. The ore was taken to the smelting centers, and the lead hauled to Galena over steep, winding roads to be exported. Efforts to reach the outside world overland began in 1825, when Kellog made his trail from Peoria to Galena. Presently wagon roads were also opened to Chicago and Milwaukee. But owing to the high cost of land transportation, and the advantages of the Galena-Mississippi waterway, these land routes were far inferior to the Galena and Mississippi rivers. Therefore the region faced south commercially. The first steamboat came to Galena in 1822, and regular steamboat traffic was established in 1827.

Lead was the chief commodity of export, and food and manufactured goods constituted the leading imports. The natural advantages which had made Galena an important Indian trading post now caused it to become the emporium of the region.

During this period the environment was fully as important in affecting the life of the region as in Indian days. For example, the number and movements of the heterogeneous, adventurous, mining population fluctuated with the varying successes in the "diggings." Led on by his passion, the hopeful miner, digging in his dark, crooked hole, was always sure that "he was nearing it now," that the "lucky day" was not far off. The seasons also had a direct effect in that during the winter the population of Galena was increased considerably by restless, unemployed rivermen who engaged in steamboating during the summer. Another influence was the nature of the topography of the site of Galena. The foot of the town was located on an alluvial terrace, the rest along the bluffs of the caverned Galena limestone. As a result, the streets were in contour, and the shifting inhabitants were crowded into narrow quarters. Therefore many of them lived in clefts and caves in the rock. Again, since nearly all the imports had to come up the river from St. Louis, household and personal effects were reduced to those of the most essential nature. The isolation of the region rendered federal authority weak; hence social and political relations were primitive, gambling was common, and the "law of honor" prevailed.

But locally organized justice, though rude, was quick, so that claim jumping was infrequent and unruly characters were often expelled roughly from the town. It is further important to note that the settlers were isolated among the Indians, and consequently were in constant danger of sudden attack. Its exceptional resources gave the region at times international importance, and bestowed upon it for a considerable period great local importance in the west; its exceptional opportunities attracted many desirable men: bankers, merchants, politicians, and lawyers; but they also invited adventurers from far and near. Three incidents are chosen to illustrate the heterogeneity of the population. In 1829, a minister, Erastus Kent, asked to be sent to a place "so hard that no one would take it," and was sent to Galena. Yet in this frontier district, Greek and Latin were being taught in Gratiot's Grove; and the wife of Alexander Hamilton came to visit her son, a common miner who like the rest was wont, in the spring months, to wade knee deep in mud on the clay streets of Galena. As has already been suggested, however, the predominant characteristics of the institutions and of the people were southern, as might be expected in view of the fact that the economic relations of the region were chiefly with the south.

The white inhabitants influenced their environment more than the savages did. For example, they greatly changed the biogeography by reducing the forests, by exploiting the fish and

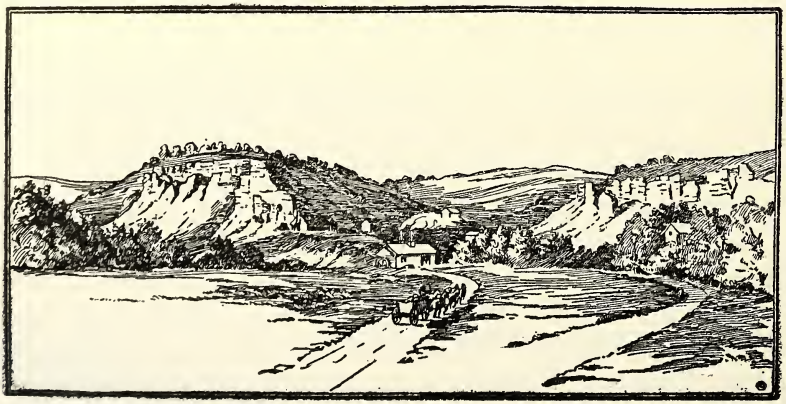

Figure 5. Sketch of a scene in early days of Jo Daviess county: lead-bearing rocks and furnace near Galena.

game, and by introducing domestic animals and plants. Their numerous shallow diggings affected appreciably the topography and the drainage of the land. Furthermore, their own presence, as a group, constituted an important new factor in the environment of the region.

But a change presently took place in the life of the region, for farmers came in large numbers to settle and possess the land. A quarter of a century was to pass, however, before they could dominate the region. As early as 1828, farmers were daily settling in the vicinity of Galena, and before the Black Hawk war a few people had settled in secluded ravines along the Chicago-Galena route. After the close of this war, which advertised the region and resulted in the removal of the Indians, the immigration of the farmers assumed large proportions. The magnitude and rate of the inflow is suggested by figure 2. Between 1830 and 1860, except during a lull brought about by the panic of 1837, farmers came pouring in; for instance, in the year 1839, they paid from $300,000 to $400,000 in "proving up" their preëmption rights. The majority of the newcomers were not from the south, as had been the early miners, but came rather from the middle and eastern states, especially from New England and New York.

Even though the mineral products continued to outvalue all others during this period, our interest now shifts to agriculture, since it was destined to dominate the region eventually, and since it marked the advent of a closer relation between life and environment than in the case of the mining industry, which was merely extractive. During this time a description of the country states that the western and northwestern townships were "generally timbered, hilly, rocky, and even bluffy;" that the eastern and northeastern ones were "generally prairie with rich, warm, deep soil," though towards the center and south there was undulating country with scrubby timber; that the central townships were "generally uneven and partly timbered;" and that the southern tier was "uneven with some prairies." In 1850 (near the close of the period) some 198,150 acres within the county, out of a total area of 398,720 acres, were classed as farm land. Of these 60,311 acres, or thirty per cent, were

classed as improved. Agriculture first became important in the region in 1829. By 1840, there were 876 farmers in the county as compared to 617 miners. In 1842 the region began to export breadstuffs. Products of the farm outvalued the mineral produced in the county certainly as early as 1860, probably as early as 1855, possibly even earlier. Corn and wheat were the chief crops; the other common products were hay, potatoes, oats, rye, barley, and flax. The rugged topography encouraged cattle raising, which soon became important. In the early days the prairie portions were avoided by the settlers.

The new culture introduced manufacturing on a small scale into the region to meet the most pressing needs of the pioneer settlers, in particular wood and flour. The first sawmill in the county was established in 1827, and the first gristmill a year later. Fortunately there was an abundance of small water power sites for these small establishments. Figure 3 gives the location of the early smelters and mills. Although manufacturing in the county had the advantage of an early start, it did not develop steadily in early times, and was essentially local, involving (1) commodities which, because of the expense or other difficulties of transportation, could not be brought profitably into the district, but for the making of which raw materials were at hand, and (2) commodities for which the raw materials were in excess in the region. Manufacturing was handicapped in several ways. Capital and labor for such purposes were scarce, being attracted chiefly to agriculture and mining. There was also a lack of adequate power; the water power sites were small, coal was not readily accessible, and timber fuel soon was practically exhausted, so that it was being imported as early as 1842. Another influence against industrial development was the fact that the processes of manufacturing lead were not well known in the region, so that the finished product was not much less bulky than the metal, the market for either of which was far to the east. The region, further, was shortsighted in depending entirely on wholesale trade. The following summary shows the modest rank of manufacturing in the county for 1860. By 1858 Galena had become the chief manufacturing center of the county, owing to its population, and its commercial and mining importance.

Manufactures of Jo Daviess county in 1860

Products	Number of establishments	Hands employed	Value of products
Flour and meat	11	27	$272,979
Lead smelting	5	39	254,900
Agricultural implements	4	41	55,710
Carriages	9	32	41,515
Clothing	2	45	37,000
Provisions, pork, etc.	2	11	35,711

As in the mining period, the commercial intercourse of the region continued to be largely with the south, with the same results. The scale was merely larger. This period formed the epoch of the supremacy of the steamboat on the Galena river, 1835 to 1855; the decade 1840 to 1850 marked the climax, when boats from Galena touched at all important points between St. Paul and New Orleans. The following table summarizes the history of the steamboat in the county.

Arrivals of steamboats at Galena, 1823-1848

Year	1828	1830	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1848
Arrivals	99	50	153	182	350	308	275	300	350	350 -400	268

Since this decade marked the zenith of lead production within the region, it also marked the zenith of its external commerce, and therefore the climax in the history of its principal city, Galena. In 1840-1850 the "Lead Mine City" was held to be the most important metropolis of the northwest. Often as many as twelve or fifteen steamboats were seen at her wharves at one time.

Environment played an important rôle in the life of this pioneer period. (1) It had much to do with the distribution of the people. The outcrops of impervious Maquoketa shale under porous Galena limestone determined a horizon of springs. This horizon in many instances can now be traced by the location of the abandoned pioneer cabins, which were distributed near the springs. Other important factors which influenced the distribution of the people were the lead, the terraces, streams, productive soil, and existing towns. (2) Isolation decreed that the settlers should have only the bare necessities of life. Rude huts of rough-hewn logs were the rule. Clapboard doors, clay chimneys, and puncheon floors were in harmony with the homespun

garments. (3) Though the county was still isolated to a large extent there were movements on foot to bring it into contact with and under the influence of an ever widening environment. The extensive lead trade, connecting Galena with St. Louis, New Orleans, and New York, tended to bring the conveniences of civilization into the region at a relatively early stage. (4) The county was experiencing the influence of both the north and the south. The northern strip of Illinois had been taken from Wisconsin and added to the former state to make it a "northern" state, with a frontage on lake Michigan. Roads were being pushed westward from Chicago in 1829, and from Milwaukee in 1839, and were endeavoring to dispute the commercial supremacy of the Mississippi river route. The Illinois-Michigan canal diverted eastward some of the lead trade. The vote of the lead townships ordinarily was that of the south, of the non-lead communities that of the north, thus indicating the principal source of the miners and the farmers, and the influence of the mother land. (5) Within the region the rough topography was exacting a heavy toll in time, toil, and money, from the farmer, the miner, and the trader. (6) The greater rise in population occurred in the lead townships. (7) The miners refused to sell their lead for paper money during the early mining period, and as a result, English gold flowed into the region. Therefore, it is said, the panics of 1837 and 1857 were felt less severely here than in many other places. On the other hand, the element of chance in mining increased the evils of speculation to an even greater degree than elsewhere along the American frontier.

Not only did the environment affect the life of the pioneers; in turn the mining-farming life reacted upon its surroundings more effectively than had any previous life in the region. For example, the virgin land was transformed into farms. A government report for 1844 states that the forests of the county had been badly damaged by fire, that the uplands had largely been cleared for agriculture, but that the bottoms had so improved in timber growth that there was perhaps more timber in the county than ever before. No reforestation was then in progress. Further, careless and ignorant methods of agriculture on the steep slopes initiated soil wash, floods, and the silting of the Galena river. Again, there was a great waste in mining, esti-

mated at $50,000. Chiefly because of the activity of this region, the United States began to export lead in 1841, and ranked first in its production in 1845. Finally, within the region there was coming about a blending of northern and southern influences, and the production of a new type of social environment.

But now changes of great importance for the region were at hand. The lead mines became somewhat exhausted; furthermore, the Galena and Chicago Northwestern railroad (note the relative importance of Galena and Chicago as shown in the position of the two words) reached Galena in 1855, and was extended northwestward; other lines followed soon. There were three main results: there was a final, complete settlement of the county; the region came to face east commercially and no longer south; and the area no longer stood out as an isolated unit, but became absorbed in the quickening life of the Mississippi valley and of the nation. The farming-mining period had arrived.

With this rapid settling of the upper Mississippi valley, the establishment of intimate communication between Jo Daviess county and its wider environment, and the waning mining fortunes, there followed in the county a brief epoch of rapid increase in population, then an epoch in which the numbers remained essentially stationary, and lastly the present epoch in which the population has been slowly decreasing as the county adjusts itself to its wider environment.

Since 1860 the mining industry in the county, though fluctuating, has been declining in relative importance. This has been due largely to the exhaustion of the lead mines in the driftless area, to competition of greater mining sections without this area, to speculation, and to the fact that in the county the zinc ore is deep beneath the surface. Mining has now sunk to a position third in importance, ranking below agriculture and manufacturing. Recently the zinc industry in the driftless area has been improving in a measure, but the area of noted improvement is farther north than Jo Daviess county, for north of the county the zinc is near the surface, whereas within the county it is deeply buried and beneath the ground water level.

Agriculture has ranked first in the county since the beginning of the farming-mining period. In general the crops are those of pioneer days, produced on a larger scale. Owing to poor crop

rotation and the competition of the wheat fields of the north and west, wheat has declined relatively. As agriculture in the region gradually adapts itself to the ruggedness of the topography and the pressure of better endowed competing cereal lands, forage crops and animal industries, particularly dairying, are gaining in importance.

That the physiographic characteristics of the driftless area are still a potent economic factor is indicated by the following comparison. Jo Daviess county is essentially a region of stream erosion. Stephenson county, adjoining on the east, is similar, except that its pre-glacial topography is masked by glacial deposits. Stephenson county has had a greater amount of improved, but a smaller amount of unimproved farm land per square mile; a greater value for its agricultural machinery per farm acre; higher priced land; and a greater variety of crops; and it has produced more per farm acre than Jo Daviess county. Furthermore, the population of Stephenson county has continued to increase, while that of her neighbor has been decreasing for more than thirty years. These figures imply that Stephenson county has been able to sustain a larger population than Jo Daviess county, and that as a whole, Stephenson county is the richer economically. But it does not follow that some of the better farms of the former have not been as productive as those of the latter. Nor does it follow that Stephenson county is the happier economically for the individual.

The influence of topography, soil, and accessibility to market on the economic life of the region is reflected in the present value of land in various parts of the county. In the vicinity of Elizabeth and Galena, where the maturely dissected, resistant Galena limestone presents a rough topography, land sometimes sells as low as forty dollars per acre, a price which also is characteristic of the broken upland of the Niagara limestone in the south and southeast parts of the county. Some of the bluffs and the sandy bottoms along the Mississippi river have sold recently for twenty-five to thirty dollars per acre. Near Stockton, a thriving city, the rough Niagara limestone ridges are said to command sixty to seventy dollars per acre, whereas the gentler Maquoketa slopes are worth one hundred dollars. In this vicinity one hundred sixty dollars per acre is paid for farms on the flat

upland covered by glacial deposits. One parcel of this land is said to have sold for three hundred dollars per acre. Factors other than those named help to determine land values in the county; but in a general way the preceding figures illustrate the variations which are found in different geographic divisions of the region.

The general development of manufactures within the county during the period is summarized in the table below. Flour and gristmill products, largely for home use, have been most important. The meat packing industry, stimulated by the growth of animal industries in the region, once led; but that business has now been absorbed by Chicago and other centers. The outlook for extensive manufacturing is not good.

Growth of manufacturing in Jo Daviess county

Year	Number of manufacturing establishments	Wage earners (employees)	Capital invested	Gross value of products
1860	69	266		$ 620,860
1870	133	786	$ 830,375	1,252,515
1880	194	925	1,695,299	1,790,197
1890	113	757	861,756	979,225
1900	194	526	1,036,498	1,071,353

The greatest factor in the economic history of the county for the period has been the commercial change. When the county had exhausted its special endowment of lead and when good railroad communications had been established between it and surrounding regions now well settled, it began to face the crucial test of mobile commerce, which tends to bring out the truth concerning the natural endowment of a region and the capacity of its people. Facilities for communication tend to unmask the true nature of a region somewhat as intimate acquaintance reveals the individual, and somewhat as the city tests the immigrant from the country. Along the more important economic results of this change brought about by the railroads were the following: (1) This region as a part of the northwest, became at last bound firmly to the eastern and northeastern states commercially; these trade relations were cemented more closely because the railroad facilitated the immigration of easterners. In commerce the region now faced east instead of south. (2) Agriculture was helped by the better facilities for transportation,

and this in turn reacted favorably upon the other industries of the region. But on the other hand the agriculture and other industries of the region had to face the keen competition of other regions in many respects better endowed economically. The cheaper the transportation, the closer the competition. Therefore presently the county had to retrench and readapt itself. (3) The decline in the river transportation, for which Galena was peculiarly well situated, together with the falling off in the production of lead, initiated the slow decline of that city; this is shown in a general way by figure 2. As the emporium of the region, Galena had depended almost entirely upon her wholesale trade. Freeport, Warren, Apple River, Scales Mound, and Mineral Point were now situated almost as advantageously, with reference to the railroad, as was Galena, and all absorbed some of her trade, as did Chicago and Milwaukee. As a result Galena came out of the financial depression of 1857 no longer the metropolis of the northwestern part of the state and much of the driftless area, but merely as the leading city of Jo Daviess county. The decline in the importance of Galena also tended to decrease the importance of Jo Daviess county as the center of mining activities. (4) On the other hand Galena and the whole region began economically to grow more varied and symmetrical, and less provincial, than before.

The economic response of the region to what may be termed its broader hinterland environment is seen in the history of land values. In 1850 farm land in Jo Daviess county was worth $6.60 per acre. With the steady rise in land values in the United States land values in the county have risen, the figures being $34.00 in 1900 and $55.29 in 1910.

Finally, in considering the reaction of the environment upon the work-a-day life of the people, it is significant that the mining townships are now economically inferior to the others notably in general land values, and in per capita personal property and real estate.

Only a few of the social and political aspects of this period can be noted here. As a consequence of the strengthening of its relations with the east and the north and of the immigration from those regions, the county, like the state of Illinois, cast its fate with the north during the civil war. This helped the north-

west to send a vast amount of foodstuffs to the eastern states during the war, and to receive manufactures from the eastern factories.

In response to the economic changes which have been discussed, and also as a result of the fact that one man with improved farm implements can now cultivate more acres than formerly, there has been a decline in the population of the county, especially in the rural districts. It is instructive to note that the greatest decline has been in the lead producing townships.

It is pointed out by some that the inhabitants of the lead townships have been slow to adjust themselves to changing conditions, and that "the greater the importance of lead mining in the early days, the more marked the decline and stagnation of the later periods." It would be difficult to say to just what extent the results noted are due to the former presence of the ore, and to what extent they should be attributed to the rugged topography of the lead region with its underlying Galena limestone. But the mellow spirit of Galena with its gray bluffs, terrace-like streets, quaint stone houses, and old men meditating upon the glories of the past, is in striking contrast to the modern, mercenary atmosphere of active Stockton, which is not in the mineral region. It is interesting to note incidentally that there are more foreign born in the lead townships than in the others.

The present culture has affected its environment more than did any of the preceding stages. Figure 2 shows the change which has come about in the population. In 1850, some fifty per cent of all the land was in farms and about fifteen per cent of all the land was improved; in 1910, the respective figures were ninety and four-tenths and sixty-four percent. The average size of the farms has been increasing, and tenant-farming has become more general. The value of farm machinery per farm acre in 1850 was forty-eight cents; in 1910, one dollar eighty-four cents. The number of domestic animals, and the variety of domestic plants, has been steadily increasing.

Probably the most striking effects of the present culture upon the environment are seen in the deterioration of the soil, increased erosion, silting of the water courses, and the neglect of

forestry. Within recent times, efforts have been made to better these conditions, but thus far these efforts have been only partly successful.

The social institutions and conditions now differ from those introduced by the immigrants who came in turn from the south, the east, and the north. Each group has been modified by adjustment to its physical and social surroundings and by changes within itself.

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SPANISH INFLUENCE IN THE WEST DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION[1]

Once in possession of the French posts of the northwest at the close of the French and Indian war, British authorities sought to extend their supremacy over the entire Mississippi valley. To accomplish this, Spanish influence had to be overcome. The trade of the Missouri river centered at St. Louis. Notwithstanding the protests of English officials and the decrees of Spanish governors, traders from that post pushed their way up the Ohio, the Wabash, and the Illinois and trafficked with the Indians of the Wisconsin and the Fox rivers. French traders from the Illinois posts carried their packs of furs across the river to trade with their friends in St. Louis or transported them down the river, a trip of twelve days by flatboat, to the New Orleans market. Even British traders from Fort Pitt and West Florida were drawn to New Orleans owing to the better prices paid there for furs than in the regular English markets. It was estimated in 1771, that peltries worth between seventy-five and one hundred pounds sterling were exported annually from that port chiefly to France.

At the time, this trade was the one important factor in the development of the west. A British officer, in a report of 1768, declared that a settlement "will never happen with any advantage to England until we can procure the Ideal Island of Orleans. . . Could we find passage for even small craft to go to the sea, the country of the Illinois would be worthy of attention, but had we the Island of Orleans, that country would in a very short time I believe be equal to any of our colonies."[2] But even with this obstacle to the establishment of English commercial supremacy, the decade preceding the outbreak of the

[1] Read at the joint meeting of the American historical association and the Mississippi valley historical association, Cincinnati, Ohio, December 29, 1916.

[2] Clarence E. Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1763-1764* (Washington, 1908), 141, note.

revolution were critical years for Spanish influence in the Mississippi valley.

Plans for the capture of these Spanish possessions in the event of war were fully discussed by British authorities. The two countries seemed on the verge of war in 1770 on account of the dispute over the Falkland islands, and General Gage, commander of the British forces in America, was ordered to take steps preparatory to an attack on New Orleans.[3] With the ultimate capture of the entire province of Louisiana in mind, mobilization of troops at New York was begun early in 1771. But the king of Spain, before hostilities were actually opened, acquiesced to the terms submitted by Great Britain.

The contest for the commercial control of Louisiana grew more intense in the years directly preceding the opening of the revolution, with the odds greatly in favor of British traders. According to the report of a Spanish officer, in 1776, the commerce of the colony amounted to six hundred thousand dollars annually.[4] Only some fifteen thousand dollars of this amount represented the commerce of the six or eight vessels operated by royal permission. In spite of the vigilance of the governor, Spanish planters secured their necessities from the "floating stores" and the other ten or twelve English boats continuously on the Mississippi. Influenced by this trade and by the coming of the tories, driven from the colonies, Manchac and Baton Rouge developed with such rapidity that they threatened to overshadow New Orleans and become a menace to Mexico. In order to offset this influence, it was advised that Spanish merchants should be granted freedom of trade as at an earlier period; that an army should be maintained which would be adequate not only to defend Louisiana but in case of necessity fur-

[3] Arthur Hassall, *The balance of power, 1715-1789* (New York, 1896), 327, 328. These islands were seized by the British in 1766. In 1770, a Spanish force expelled the small English garrison and took possession of Port Egmont. The downfall of Choiseul dissipated any hope of French aid. King Charles III agreed to restore the British garrison but he still clung to the claim of sovereignty over the islands. Secret dispatch of Lord Hillsborough to General Gage and reply thereto, in Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1763-1764*, 182-184.

[4] Don Francisco Bouligny's memoir on the commerce and population of New Orleans and Spanish Louisiana, in Alcée Fortier, *History of Louisiana* (New York, 1904), 2: 24-47.

nish reinforcements for Mexico and Havana; and that forts should be built on Spanish territory opposite the mouths of the rivers flowing into the Mississippi. The positive advantages accruing to Spain from the completion of these projects would be: the control of the navigation of the Mississippi; the securing possession of Mobile and Pensacola which were dependent on the returns from illicit commerce; and the consequent increase of income for the royal treasury.

The appeal for assistance in a letter of May, 1776, from General Charles Lee who spoke for the Virginia committee of safety was, therefore, not unwelcome to Unzaga, the governor of Louisiana. The arguments presented were well calculated also to win favor from King Charles III and his advisers for the cause of America.[5] Should Great Britain succeed in subjugating the colonies, Lee wrote, her army and navy would be free at any moment to take possession of Mexico and Cuba. With America independent, Spanish possessions, it was maintained, need not fear attack. Great Britain, alone, would be incapable of raising sufficient troops for attempting such a conquest, and the superiority of her fleet would soon be reduced by the loss of America. Great Britain reunited to America would be more dangerous to Spain than one of the two if they remained separated. "Nor need there be any apprehension that the colonies having once established their independence would molest any other power for the genius of the people, their situation, and their circumstances engage them rather in agriculture and a free commerce which are more important to their interests and to their inclination." The articles which it was hoped would be supplied by Spain were guns, blankets, and medicinal drugs, especially quinine.

A plan to secure gunpowder from New Orleans was conceived by Captain George Gibson of the Virginia line. Bearer of the letter from General Lee, Captain Gibson accompanied by Lieutenant William Linn and fifteen other men in the guise of traders set out from Fort Pitt July 19, 1776. Arriving at New Orleans, their letter was entrusted to Oliver Pollock, who, acting as the agent of Virginia, succeeded in concealing their identity from

[5] This letter of General Lee accompanied one sent by the governor, dated September 7, 1776. *Archivo general de Indias*, Seville, *Estante* 87, *cajón* 1, *legajo* 6.

the numerous British spies. To no other man could this mission have been entrusted with greater promise of success. As a trader in Havana for five years, he had become proficient in the use of Spanish and won the friendship of the leading officials, among them Don Alexander O'Reilly, governor general of Cuba. During the year 1768, Pollock located in New Orleans. On August 17 of the following year, General O'Reilly, with three thousand troops, appeared before the city and demanded that the command should be surrendered by the French governor. The formal surrender took place the next day. To capture a town of three thousand with an overwhelming force proved an easier task than it was to supply the troops with necessary provisions. Flour quickly rose to twenty dollars a barrel and was obtained with difficulty at that price. At the time, Pollock possessed a boatload of flour which he proffered to the general on his own terms. Pollock was paid fifteen dollars a barrel for his flour, and for his act of generosity he was granted freedom of trade in Louisiana as long as he desired.

In April, 1776, Pollock's efforts with Governor Unzaga to secure Spanish protection for some American vessels against their seizure by a British sloop of war on the plea that they were in a neutral port proved unavailing. To what extent the governor was influenced by the contents of General Lee's letter can only be conjectured but he finally permitted the sale of ten thousand pounds of powder to Pollock.[6] Pollock himself believed this changed attitude to be, in part, a result of the declaration of independence.[7]

Lieutenant Linn, with forty-three men, set out from New Orleans September 22, with a cargo of ninety-eight kegs of powder, nine thousand pounds, in barges. The expedition reached Wheeling the following May, at a time when that post and Fort Pitt greatly needed the powder for protection and to further their dealings with the Indians.[8] In October, Captain Gibson, who had been imprisoned by decree of the governor, in order to quiet the suspicions of the British consul, was permitted to embark for Philadelphia on a vessel despatched by Pollock.

[6] Eighteen hundred dollars were paid for the powder.

[7] Papers of the continental congress, 50: 51 ff., under date October 10, 1776.

[8] One means of gaining the friendship of the Indians was through the distribution of powder. They had been told by the British that the colonists had none.

He took with him the remainder of the powder in carefully concealed packages.

Don Bernardo de Galvez, who succeeded to the government of Louisiana in January, 1777, belonged to an influential Spanish family.[9] He was twenty-nine years of age and was noted for his energy and ambition. Governor Unzaga presented Pollock to his successor as a "faithful and zealous American in whom he might repose implicit confidence."[10] Governor Galvez at once tendered his services to Pollock and assured him that he would go every possible length for the interests of congress. He declared that the port of New Orleans would be open and free to American commerce and to the admission and sale of prizes made by American cruisers.[11] American trading vessels upon arrival at the mouth of the river were seized as Spanish property in order to protect them against British vessels of war. Seizure of an American schooner provoked an order for the capture and confiscation of all British vessels between the Balize and Manchac. Aid to American troops, in goods and money, was tendered in the event of an expedition for the capture of Pensacola and the British posts on the Mississippi. Pollock urged action by the American government and suggested that blank commissions should be sent for enlisting troops in New Orleans.

Governor Galvez refused the demand made by the governor of Pensacola for the surrender of Pollock. He hastened to begin correspondence with Colonel George Morgan who was stationed at Fort Pitt. Morgan had already submitted to Galvez a plan for the conduct of the war in the west, should France and Spain

[9] His father was viceroy of Mexico and his uncle, José de Galvez, was secretary of state and president of the council of the Indies.

[10] Oliver Pollock to the president of congress, September 18, 1782. Pollock papers, library of congress.

[11] By an order of the king of Spain, in spite of the suggestion that treating Americans as rebel subjects of a friendly power would be pleasing to the English king, American vessels were permitted to enter the ports of Spain. "These same Americans will be admitted to the ports of Spain although they present themselves with their own banner, distinct from that of Britain." This was based on a royal order of September 20, 1776. By a royal order of October 23, 1776, American privateers were permitted, in case of necessity, to bring their Portuguese prizes to New Oreans, but no other trading was to be allowed. Bernardo de Galvez to José de Galvez, March 21, 1777. *Archivo general de Indias.* Transcript in Ayer collection, Newberry library, Chicago.

make common cause against Great Britain and Portugal; his scheme comprised the capture of Niagara and Detroit and the seizure of Mobile and Pensacola.[12]

It was clear to Galvez, as it had been to his predecessor, that British plans contemplated an attack on Louisiana, and one of his earliest communications urged as a means of defense that the Indians should be won over to the side of Spain; this plan could, he thought, be easily accomplished because of the Indians' former subjection to France.[13] By means of gifts, friendly visits, and promises, rapid progress was made towards the accomplishment of this object. Shortly after, he requested that two frigates should be sent at once to defend the Spanish possessions against British aggression, which had reached "a point of intolerable insolence difficult to be borne by a man of honor."[14] Among the "infinity" of insults which could not be recounted, he specified the following: that the English had plundered Spanish dwellings along the river and fired on the inhabitants; that a Spanish and a French vessel had been fired on and after capture were detained for periods of thirty and twenty-four hours, the communications under the seal of the governor having been read; and that boats loaded with pitch at New Orleans had been seized as contraband.

In meeting the demands of the inhabitants for reprisal, Galvez ordered the capture of vessels engaged in carrying on illicit commerce, and eleven were seized in one night.[15] British armed vessels appeared at New Orleans with the demand that the captured vessels and crews should be released. Hostilities seemed about to open but the British withdrew when Galvez showed no disposition to yield.[16] Two of the vessels interned were owned

[12] George Morgan to the governor of Louisiana, April 22, 1777. Copy in Illinois state historical library.

[13] Galvez to José de Galvez, January 28, 1777. *Archivo general de Indias,* Seville. A year earlier, Governor Unzaga had been directed to specify to the Spanish court what were his means of defense against an attack. In reply, he showed how inadequately Spanish possessions were protected by troops and fortifications and submitted evidence which seemed to point to a design on the part of the British to seize Louisiana. Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1903), 3: 101, 102.

[14] Galvez to José de Galvez, May 6, 1777. *Archivo general de Indias.* Transcript in Ayer collection.

[15] Galvez to Torre, captain general of Cuba, May 6, 1777. *Ibid.*

[16] "I received them with match-rope in hand in order to prevent any violence." *Ibid.*

by Americans but they were released secretly upon the request of Oliver Pollock. The nine others were confiscated and their cargoes were sold as contraband. At that time, owing to a shortage in food, there was considerable sickness at Pensacola. Galvez sent a gift of one hundred and fifty barrels of flour to relieve the distress and this act of generosity settled the controversy.[17]

Although the immediate cause for dispute was adjusted, Galvez continued to call for armed vessels and means for strengthening the fortifications at New Orleans. Other causes for strained relations continued to develop. The English governor at Pensacola protested against the sending of arms and ammunition up the river under the protection of the Spanish flag.[18] A Spanish mail boat was attacked while ascending the river, presumably by a British armed sloop; English subjects were forbidden to transact any business within the Spanish colonies while French commercial relations were extended so much that two French commissioners stationed at New Orleans in commenting on the concessions declared that "the whole trade of the Mississippi is now in our hands."[19]

Meanwhile, Major Cruzat at St. Louis was directed to carry out the decree of the king whereby British influence might be overcome through inducing Canadian families and other immigrants to found towns in Louisiana. To each of these families was to be assigned a small plot of ground, the necessary utensils for tilling it, and supplies for the first year at the expense of the royal treasury, forty thousand dollars having been appropriated for these purposes. As an added inducement to agricultural colonists, the Spanish government agreed to purchase their entire crop of tobacco. By thus fostering the growth of tobacco, the government hoped to accomplish two objects: revenue could be secured through the duty imposed on the sale of this product in the Mexican provinces; and the monopoly of the tobacco trade held by the English and the Dutch in the French markets could be overcome.[20]

By July, 1777, the request embodied in the letter of General

[17] Galvez to José de Galvez, September 15, 1777; December 30, 1777. *Ibid.*

[18] Governor Peter Chester to Galvez, March 7, 1777. *Ibid.*

[19] These commissioners were Villars and Favre d'Aunoy. Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, 3: 118.

[20] *Ibid.*, 3: 107.

Charles Lee bore fruit and there were deposited at New Orleans, subject to the order of Virginia, two thousand barrels of gunpowder, a quantity of lead, and a large amount of clothing.[21] A year earlier the Duke de Grimaldi, Spanish prime minister, under the influence of Vergennes, induced Charles III to duplicate the secret loan of one million livres made by France to America. A continuation of the war would enable Spain, it was believed, to attack Portugal while Great Britain was unable to come to the rescue.[22] She awaited the opportunity, also, to take Gibraltar. The efforts of Benjamin Franklin won the favor of Count d'Aranda, Spanish ambassador at Versailles; but King Charles III refused to declare openly for the American cause. On January 2, 1777, the committee of secret correspondence notified Franklin of his appointment as commissioner, by congress, to negotiate a treaty of friendship and commerce with Spain.[23] Some days earlier, congress had instructed Franklin that the United States was prepared to assist Spain in an attack on Pensacola providing that port and the Mississippi river should be open to the Americans.

Before receiving these messages, however, the American commissioners in Paris had authorized Arthur Lee to go to Madrid to solicit an alliance with Spain.[24] Although the gift of one million livres was unknown to the commissioners, the Spanish court had in other ways shown a spirit of friendliness. American vessels were permitted to enter Spanish ports for supplies and repairs and American privateers were free to dispose of their prizes in certain Spanish ports.[25]

On February 18, Grimaldi had been succeeded as Spanish

[21] Dr. Bancroft to Paul Wentworth, May, 1777, in Benjamin F. Stevens, *Facsimiles of manuscripts in European archives relating to America, 1773-1783* (London, 1889-1898), 151.

[22] Francis Wharton, *The revolutionary diplomatic correspondence of the United States* (Washington, 1889), 2: 282.

[23] *Secret journals of the acts and proceedings of congress from the first meeting thereof to the dissolution of the confederation by the adoption of the constitution of the United States* (Boston, 1820), 2: 42.

[24] Franklin was unable, because of his age, to undertake the journey. A. Lee to Richard Henry Lee, October 4, 1777, in Stevens, *Facsimiles of manuscripts in European archives relating to America*, 269; Franklin's *Writings*, edited by A. H. Smyth (New York, 1905-1907), 7: 32.

[25] Wharton, *The revolutionary diplomatic correspondence of the United States*, 2: 295.

prime minister by the Count de Florida Blanca. With his advancement, the outlook for open aid to America by Spain was greatly lessened. To the new minister, it was evident that should Spain assist in securing independence for the British colonies, Spanish rule in America would be likewise endangered. Spanish domination of trade with her colonies would be impossible with a vigorous nation developing as their neighbor. Moreover, alliance with America would mean war with Great Britain and the Spanish navy, army, and treasury were in no condition to offer adequate defense against an attack by the greatest maritime power of the day. Assurances were given the British authorities that no American representative would be received in Madrid. In keeping with his promise, Arthur Lee, before his arrival at the Spanish border, received a message to the effect that he should not proceed to Madrid but that a conference would be granted him at Burgos.[26] Here, on March 4, Lee was met by Grimaldi and was informed that the Americans would find deposited at New Orleans and at Havana stores of clothing and powder which their ships might secure, that supplies were also being collected at Bilboa for shipment to America.[27] In vain Lee argued that the time was opportune for the immediate interposition of Spain and France, for if Great Britain should again be united to America by conquest or conciliation, he said, she "would reign the irresistible though hated arbiter of Europe." The reply setting forth the reasons for delay seemed satisfactory to Lee for he returned to Paris convinced of the sincerity and good wishes of the Spanish government.[28]

Aid continued to be given surreptitiously to the Americans by the Spanish government. The firm of Joseph Gardoqui and sons, operating at Bilboa, served as the chief agents for assisting America. Funds were collected at Madrid by Diego Gardoqui and forwarded to Arthur Lee who, in turn, gave his orders

[26] Jared Sparks, *The diplomatic correspondence of the American revolution* (Boston, 1829-1830), 1: 400.

[27] Wharton, *The revolutionary diplomatic correspondence of the United States*, 2: 280.

[28] Grimaldi said to Lee: "You have considered your own situation and not ours. The moment is not yet come for us. The war with Portugal — France being unprepared, and our treasure from South America not being arrived — makes it improper for us to declare immediately. These reasons then will probably cease within a year, and then will be the moment." *Ibid.*, 2: 282, 283.

for goods to the firm at Bilboa. Transactions were on a cash basis for the Gardoquis drew on Lee's bankers for payment.[29] During the year 1778, America secured in this way 18,000 blankets, 11,000 pairs of shoes, 41,000 pairs of stockings, and shirtings, tent cloth, and medicines in great quantities.[30] Besides, an extensive private commerce was carried on by American merchants in Spanish ports. British representatives strove unsuccessfully to prevent this trade.

The fate of the west was largely dependent on the generosity of Governor Galvez and the liberality of Oliver Pollock. By the end of the year 1777, Galvez had aided the Americans by sending arms, ammunition, and provisions to the Mississippi posts and the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia to the amount of seventy thousand dollars.[31] Early in 1778, without direct sanction from his government, he determined to grant financial assistance to America.[32] There can be no doubt that Spanish officials were prompted to this seemingly generous conduct through the hope of ultimate gain for Spain. Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, well understood what arguments would be most forceful. As the price of assistance, he presented to the governor of New Orleans the advantages which would accrue to Spain through the control of the trade of the southern states and the deprivation of their "ancient and natural Enemy the English of all those vast supplies of naval Stores and Many other Articles which have enabled them to become so powerful on the Seas." Again in possession of Pensacola and St. Augustine they would be able, he thought, to enjoy a great part of the trade of our northern states. To facilitate intercourse by way of the Mississippi, he proposed to establish a post at the mouth of the Ohio.

In acknowledging the aid already received, Governor Henry also pleaded with the governor of Cuba for further assistance.[33] "We are well acquainted," he wrote, "with the Honour, Spirit, and Generosity of the Spanish nation and should therefore glory

[29] Wharton, *The revolutionary diplomatic correspondence of the United States*, 2: 308.

[30] Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (New York, 1912), 3: 284.

[31] Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, 3: 113.

[32] May 6, 1778. Royal approval was granted. Galvez to José de Galvez, August 25, 1778. *Archivo general de Indias*, Seville.

[33] Letter of Patrick Henry, October 18, 1777. Copy in the Virginia state library.

in an intimate Connection with it—For I suppose, I need not inform your Excellency, that these States are now free and Independent, capable of forming Alliances and making Treaties. I think the Connection might be mutually beneficial, for independent of the Beef, Pork, live Stock, Flour, Stores, Shingles and several other articles with which we could supply your Islands, we have vast quantities of Skins, Furs, Hemp, and Flax which we could, by an easy inland navigation bring down the Mississippi to New Orleans from our back country, in exchange for your Woolens, Linens, Wines, Military Stores, etc."

Colonel George Morgan suggested to Governor Galvez that he should grant permission to use New Orleans as a base from which an attack might be made on Mobile and Pensacola.[34] The effects of the conquest by the Americans of the British posts east of the Mississippi river had already been considered by the Spanish government and secret royal orders were sent to Galvez which bore marks of the "generosity" of that court.[35] In case the Americans seized these possessions, and desired to deliver them to his majesty, Galvez was instructed to receive them in trust. English officials were to be assured that they would be more secure under Spanish control than "under their enemies risen in rebellion." It is probable that Florida Blanca in this way hoped to complete the plan which was more definitely defined by him in his offer the following February, to serve as mediator. The United States was to be confined to the Atlantic seacoast, Great Britain was to be given the valley of the St. Lawrence, and Spain was to retain the Mississippi valley as far east as the Alleghany mountains.[36]

As a promise for the fulfillment of this scheme, the attitude of Governor Henry must have been satisfying to Spanish officials. "And were you once restored to the possessions," he wrote, "you held in the Floridas (which I sincerely wish to see, and which I make no Doubt these States would cheerfully contribute

[34] George Morgan to the governor of Louisiana, April 22, 1777. This was forwarded to Spain along with a letter from the governor, dated August 9. Copy in the Illinois state historical library.

[35] Orders of August 15, 1777. Galvez to José de Galvez, December 30, 1777. *Archivo general de Indias.* Transcript in Ayer collection.

[36] Florida Blanca to Grantham, British minister to Madrid, February, 1778; Wharton, *The revolutionary diplomatic correspondence of the United States,* introduction, 1: 87.

to accomplish) the advantage to us both in a Commercial View would be greatly increased. The English, indeed insinuate that it would be impolitic in your nation to assist us in our present Situation, but you are too wise not to perceive how much it is their Interest that you Should be imposed upon by this Doctrine and how much more formidable they must be to you with the assistance of America than without it; and you must be too well acquainted with the Nature of our States to Entertain any Jealousy of their becoming Your Rivals in Trade, or, overstocked as they are with vast tracts of Land, that they should ever think of extending their Territory.''[37]

Three months later, however, in making application for a loan of 150,000 pistoles, Henry suggested that West Florida should be annexed to the United States.[38] Such a cession, he argued, would be the means of cutting off the supplies of lumber and provisions procured from the Mississippi region by the British West India settlements and thus would prevent the progress of their rivalry to the Spanish colonies. These proposals were received with favor by Galvez who submitted them to his government.[39] It cannot be stated definitely that Governor Henry contemplated carrying out this project through the expedition under George Rogers Clark but it is certain Clark thought of it as an object to be accomplished.[40] The special messenger by whom Henry forwarded this letter to New Orleans confirmed his view. Congress should send a force, three hundred men being sufficient, to capture Natchez and Manchac for in the event of war between Spain and England the Spaniards would immediately take possession of these posts.[41] An expedition sent to take possession ''of that immense County'' had been recommended some months earlier by Oliver Pollock.[42] This could be accomplished by a

[37] Patrick Henry to the governor of Cuba, October 18, 1777. Copy in the Virginia state library.

[38] January 14, 1778. Draper manuscripts, 60 J 363, 364.

[39] *Ibid.*, 58 J 103-112.

[40] Oliver Pollock urged on Clark the necessity for opening the communication by the Mississippi and taking possession of the country before war should be declared between Great Britain and Spain, ''by which the latter will save us that trouble and in Consequence we will loose a valuable conquest which might now be easely Obtained.'' August 20, 1778. *Ibid.*, 48 J 34.

[41] David Rogers to Patrick Henry, October 4, 1778. Copy in the Illinois state historical library.

[42] The suggestion was made in May, 1778.

small force aided secretly by Governor Galvez and by a great many loyal Americans of that region.

During the spring Galvez sent a special commissioner to Pensacola to demand prompt redress for the depredations which British raiders were making on the Mississippi. He welcomed, therefore, the arrival of Captain James Willing at New Orleans, who came with a force of fifty Americans. Willing was commissioned to procure the supplies deposited at New Orleans and bring them up the river to Fort Pitt.[43] With an increased force of men and assisted by other leaders, secured by Oliver Pollock, a number of British vessels in the river were seized and transferred to the American service and Natchez and Manchac were captured.[44] The crops and stock of British planters were destroyed, houses burned and slaves carried away.[45] Most of the planters crossed the river and took refuge under the protection of the Spanish flag but some of them were taken and held as prisoners of war. This stroke cut off the supplies of lumber and provisions which had formerly been shipped from these posts to Jamaica and Pensacola.

Galvez was satisfied that he had performed his full duty as a representative of a neutral power in issuing a proclamation granting protection to the refugees. Towards the close of April, three British armed sloops appeared before New Orleans and threatened to make reprisals on the town unless the prizes and all Americans were delivered to them. Certain of the inhabitants were warned by their friends in Pensacola to quit the colony in order to escape the storm which was about to break.[46] Galvez replied to their demands that he could only refer the request to his court.[47] While the evidence that the British were maturing plans to attack him was becoming more certain, Galvez learned of the success of George Rogers Clark. This, he de-

[43] John Hancock, president of congress, to Galvez, October 24, 1777. Papers of the continental congress. Willing also brought the commission by which Oliver Pollock was appointed agent of congress.

[44] The prizes were estimated to be worth £40,000. Oliver Pollock to a special committee of congress, April 1, 1778. Pollock papers.

[45] One hundred slaves were taken and sold by Oliver Pollock for £140.

[46] April 27, 1778.

[47] Galvez to José de Galvez, March 24, 1778. *Archivo general de Indias.* "In this Situation he laughed at their Haughtiness and despised their Attempts and in short they returned as they came." Oliver Pollock to a committee of congress, May 7, 1778. Papers of the continental congress.

cleared, would prevent the English from carrying out their plan against the Spanish possessions, for they were themselves compelled to fortify Natchez and Manchac against attack.[48]

Without money for the support of his army Clark began, after the capture of Kaskaskia, to issue bills of credit on Virginia in exchange for provisions. These were satisfactory to the merchants and traders, for they were received and paid at their face value in silver by Oliver Pollock, at New Orleans. In a letter of July 18, Clark said to Pollock: "I have succeeded agreeable to my wishes, and am necessitated to draw bills on the state and have reason to believe they will be accepted by you, the answering of which will be acknowledged by his Excelly. the Governor of Virginia."[49] Large batteaux rowed with twenty-four oars, loaded with goods sent by Pollock, under the protection of the Spanish flag, slipped past Natchez, then under the control of the British, and in from eighty-five to ninety days arrived at St. Louis or the Illinois posts. Full credit was given by Clark to Pollock for this assistance, by which he was able to hold the Illinois country. "The invoice Mr. Pollock rendered upon all occasions in paying those bills," Clark declared, "I considered at the time and now to be one of the happy circumstances that enabled me to Keep Possession of that Country." During September, 1778, goods were sent by Pollock to Clark, amounting to seven thousand two hundred dollars. The following January five hundred pounds of powder and some swivels were received by Clark from the same source. By February 5, 1779, bills were drawn on Pollock by Clark amounting to forty-eight thousand dollars. Of this amount, ten thousand dollars were paid by Pollock after he had disposed of his remaining slaves at a great disadvantage.

By July, 1779, however, Pollock had so far exhausted his credit that in meeting an order from Governor Henry for goods amounting to ten thousand dollars, he was forced to mortgage a part of his lands. He had at that time paid bills drawn on the state amounting to thirty-three thousand dollars. The flour and meal which had been promised him had not been forwarded.

[48] Galvez to Torre, September 2, 1778. *Archivo general de Indias.* These captured British posts were left unprotected by the Americans and early in July were again in the possession of the British.

[49] James A. James, *George Rogers Clark papers, 1771-1781* (*Illinois historical collections*, vol. 8 — Springfield, 1912), lxvii.

"Being already drained of every shilling I could raise for the use of yours and the rest of the United States," he wrote, "I went first to the Governor of this place, and then to every merchant in it, but could not prevail upon any of them to supply said goods, giving for their reason the few goods they had were imported, would in all probability become double the value of what they were just now, particularly at this juncture, as war between Spain and Great Britain was daily expected, and the little probability there was of getting paid from your quarter in any reasonable time, by depending only on the Letter of Credit and Mr. Lindsay's contract. In fine finding it impracticable to obtain any by that means, and at the same time being fearful of the bad consequences that might attend your being disappointed in those goods, I have voluntarily by mortgaging part of my property for the payment at the latter end of this year, purchased the greater part of them from a Mr. Salomon; you have therefore invoice and bill of loading amounting to 10,029 dollars I Rial."[50]

While borrowing money on his own credit, Pollock, in order to encourage the shipment of arms, Indian goods, rum, sugar, and other articles to the Illinois country, and in order to encourage cargoes in exchange, made up of deerskins, beaver, otter, and flour, while at the same time keeping up the credit of the continental currency, continued until July, 1779, to pay "Bateauxman and Traders silver dollars for Paper Currency Dollar for Dollar."

Twenty-five thousand dollars' worth of the bills drawn by Clark were under protest at New Orleans. They were issued in favor of a number of the inhabitants of Illinois. These drafts had been received by the French merchants and traders in preference to the continental money which had recently appeared in the west in small quantities. Continental currency had been used but little in the west previous to the expedition against Vincennes. The confidence of the people in the government, together with the efforts of Pollock, sustained this money at par when it had so far depreciated in the east as to be worth only twelve cents on the dollar.

While the British authorities were partially aware of the attitude of Spain towards the colonists, they waited for some more

[50] Draper manuscripts, 49 J 60.

overt act.[51] "Though I have no doubt this minute of the existence of a Spanish as well as a French war," Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton wrote on January 24, 1779, "yet I have, as yet, no accounts by which I may venture to act on the offensive against the subjects of Spain, which I ardently desire, as there would be so little difficulty of pushing them entirely out of the Mississippi."[52] Three objects, among others, which it was hoped to accomplish by Hamilton's expedition were: (1) to erect a fort at the junction of the Mississippi and the Ohio which was to constitute a "bridle" on American trade; (2) to get control of the mouth of the Missouri with the hope of underselling the Spaniards and thus gaining the favor of the Indians of that region; and (3) by dislodging the "rebels" from the Illinois to regain the Mississippi trade which otherwise, as an English official expressed it, would be completely "knocked up";[53] and at the same time contribute to the security of the Floridas.[54]

For Spain, the prize ultimately sought was not the trade of the Mississippi alone, so generously proffered by Governor Henry, but the possession of the entire valley. This object in view, a treaty between France and Spain was agreed upon in April, 1779. The formal declaration of war against Great Britain quickly followed; and in July of that year Governor Galvez was authorized to attack Natchez and other British posts on the west bank of the Mississippi.

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[51] *Canadian archives report, 1882*, 25; *Collections and researches made by the Michigan pioneer and historical society* (Lansing, 1892-), 9: 344.

[52] *Ibid.*, 9: 477.

[53] *Ibid.*, 9: 371.

[54] Draper manuscripts, 58 J 2.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN CANADA, 1916-1917

The dominion archivist, Mr. Arthur G. Doughty, who by the way now carries the honorary title of colonel, is at present in Europe making a careful survey of documentary material relating to the European war in so far as it relates to Canada and her effort in the great conflict. The dominion government has created what amounts to a national historical commission, although not at present so designated, which is charged with the duty of making "a complete survey of all the war activities official and semi-official of Canada" which it is hoped will provide "a complete and comprehensive key to all classes of public war records, to all the departments, branches, offices, agencies and localities where they originate and where they are to be found, and to the nature and inter-relationships of all the activities in the course of which they are produced." It is not the intention to attempt to collect these records, but inasmuch as they are accumulating in vast quantities, and their preservation will be a pressing duty immediately after the conclusion of the war, Mr. Doughty and those associated with him in the survey are to ascertain what measures have been taken to keep the records intact. Reports are to be made to the government from time to time. Those engaged in the survey are at present working in two groups, one under the direction of the dominion archivist, examining all the sources of material in Europe, and the other, under the supervision of Mr. Adam Shortt of the historical manuscripts commission, performing a similar duty in Canada. The Canadian war records office, under the direction of Lord Beaverbrook, is engaged in the collection of material relating to Canada's part in the war, and has the special duty of obtaining for Canada a series of war films of the activities of the Canadian army.

ACQUISITION OF MATERIAL

Since the publication of the last survey the dominion archives have obtained from the public record office in London transcripts of a number of valuable documents, as well as a collection of the

Shelburne manuscripts from Lansdowne House, and a series of documents from the British museum. Transcripts of records from the *archives nationales* in Paris have also been secured covering the years 1717 and 1763-67. Among many other interesting papers recently acquired for the archives from various sources on this side of the Atlantic are journals and other papers relating to the western fur trade, transcripts from the court house of Montreal covering various periods during the French régime, transcripts of the Lafontaine papers, a series of documents relating to Nova Scotia 1755-59, photostats of the Chalmers collection in the library of congress, consisting in part of correspondence between Governor Lawrence and General Monckton relating to the Acadian expulsion, and photostats of the O'Callaghan papers in Washington, consisting of letters from William Lyon Mackenzie, Louis J. Papineau and other leaders in the rebellions of 1837-38 in Upper and Lower Canada, to O'Callaghan, who seems to have had one of those amiable personalities which sometimes serve as a connecting link for a number of otherwise antagonistic elements. The archives have also acquired a series of letters and papers relating to Papineau from a Mr. Chapman of New Zealand.

The archives departments of the four western provinces of Canada are all doing quiet work in the collection and preservation of historical documents, but inevitably anything like an aggressive policy involving the expenditure of considerable sums of money must wait until after the war. In Saskatchewan the provincial archivist is carrying on the task initiated last year of obtaining from every city, town, and village in the province authoritative accounts of the beginnings and early development of each community. The material so obtained is being carefully classified and analyzed, and in the course of a year or two the archivist expects to embody at least some of the results in the form of a *Report*. Information regarding the rebellion of 1885; the various tribes and their relations with the whites from the days of the early explorers and fur traders down; and the romantic and stirring history of the royal north west mounted police, is constantly being added to the archives. A number of valuable documents bearing upon the history of the Blackfeet, and the taking possession of the western prairie by the mounted

police in the seventies, have been procured from the widow of the late Sergeant-Major Spicer, who was twenty-nine years in the force, most of the time in the Blackfeet country. An interesting project that the archivist has had in hand for some time is the collection of autograph letters and documents of men and women directly or indirectly associated with the history of Saskatchewan.

The archives department of British Columbia has similarly been adding to its documents of the fur trading era. Notable among the recent acquisitions are a number of records bearing on the founding and early days of Fort Victoria, several journals and logs of early trading expeditions along the northwest coast, and a mass of material illustrative of the activities of the Hudson's bay company in the west. The archivist has done a particularly valuable piece of work in collecting the old departmental records of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, for these documents are indispensable to an accurate knowledge of colonial administration. Interesting sidelights on the same subject are afforded by a collection of personal and family letters written in colonial days by the late Sir James Douglas, K.C.B., formerly governor of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. Besides the manuscripts mentioned, the additions to the archives include a large number of engravings and photographs of pioneers and early scenes. A systematic effort is being made to photograph the historic landmarks of the province, especially the remains of the farms and establishments of the old Hudson's bay and Puget sound agricultural companies.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES, GUIDES, AND CALENDARS

An important bibliographical publication was omitted from last year's survey of historical activities in Canada. The dominion archivist issued as an appendix to his *Annual report* for 1915 a "Catalogue of pamphlets, journals and reports in the public archives of Canada 1611-1867." This catalog lists nearly three thousand printed documents relating to the history of Canada, probably the most complete collection in its particular field. It is accompanied by a very full index and a large number of facsimiles of title-pages. A small edition of the catalog was also issued in separate form, but is now out of print.

The late F. A. McCord compiled a *Hand-book of Canadian dates* many years ago. It was published in 1888 and has long been out of print. In spite of its many limitations, this little book of reference was so useful to students that it has been hoped that someone would be unselfish and persevering enough to make it the basis for a more complete work. This has now been done by Francis J. Audet, of the Canadian archives, whose *Canadian historical dates and events 1492-1915*, a volume of about 250 pages, will take its place as a standard book of reference on Canadian history. As chief of the index division of the archives Mr. Audet had exceptional opportunities for not only correcting many errors that had crept into previous books, but also for including in his own work a great deal of historical data not elsewhere available.

The forthcoming *Final report on the Lake of the Woods reference*, now in press for the International joint commission of the United States and Canada, will contain a very complete bibliography of the Lake of the Woods region, including its exploration and early history, the fur trade, and later development. Reverend Father Hugolin has issued another volume of the bibliography of publications of the Franciscans in Canada, *Inventaire des revues, livres, brochures et autres écrits publiés par les Franciscains du Canada de 1890 à 1915*. Two recent bibliographies of the works of French-Canadian historians are *Carnet bibliographie des publications de M. l'Abbé Auguste Gosselin*, and the bibliography appended to M. Malchelosse's biographical sketch of Benjamin Sulte, *Cinquante-six ans de vie littéraire*. There is in preparation an elaborate catalog in several volumes of the collection of pictures relating to the history of Canada, made by the well-known Toronto collector, John Row Robertson, and now in the Toronto public library. Mr. Robert J. Long of East Orange, New Jersey, who is by birth a Nova Scotian, is preparing a *Bibliography of Nova Scotia* which will include about one thousand names of authors and four thousand titles. The bibliography obviously aims at completeness rather than selection. At the same time an astonishing number of comparatively well-known writers first saw the light in the Canadian province down by the sea.

PUBLICATION OF SOURCE MATERIAL

While the dominion archives is still busily engaged in the collection of documentary material relating to the history of Canada, it has been unable to do much in the way of publication since the issue of the last *Report* referred to in the survey for 1915-1916. In addition to other difficulties, the archives staff is at present very short-handed, several members being on active service in connection with the war. The preparation of material for the forthcoming *Report* has been so seriously delayed that it is impossible at this time to give even an outline of what the *Report* will contain, beyond the statement that it will probably include a collection of documents supplementing the ordinances published last year. The archivist intends to republish within the next few months the first two volumes of *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada.*

The Ontario bureau of archives has been very active during the year and has to its credit two volumes of great historical value. One brings the publication of the journals of the legislative assembly down to the year 1824, and the other, complementary to it, the journals of the legislative council, and completes the manuscript series of the Upper Canada journals, as from 1825 down printed copies, though rare, are accessible and obtainable. The series of Ontario archives *Reports* begun in 1909 covers the proceedings of both branches of the legislature of Upper Canada from 1792 with the exception of those for a few of the intervening years, the originals of which are missing. The series consists of seven volumes which contain data of the utmost importance and value in connection with the early history of Ontario, and are proving a veritable mine of unworked ore to the student as well as to the general reader. The two latest volumes deal with a period of great interest in the legislative history of Upper Canada and contain a good deal of information regarding the trade relations between Ontario and Quebec, that even at this interval of time is not lacking in interest. The volume devoted to the journals of the legislative assembly is unusually large and is furnished with an exhaustive and excellent index, for which the reader will feel grateful. It is understood that the bureau has material for about five vol-

umes in hand ranging over a variety of subjects, which will appear in due course.

The archives department of British Columbia has several bulletins now in the printer's hands, and others in the course of preparation. These include a series of letters by Sir James Douglas; papers relating to the convening of the first house of assembly in 1856; the journal of the trading ship *Ruby*, Captain Charles Bishop (1794-96); and the journal of Dr. Archibald Menzies, surgeon and naturalist to Captain George Vancouver's expedition of 1792-95 and one of the first trained observers to report upon the fauna and flora of the northwest coast.

A certain amount of source material has been published in the transactions of various Canadian historical societies. Among others may be noted a reprint of "The constitutional debate in the legislative assembly (Upper Canada) of 1836," with an introduction by William Renwick Riddell in the *Papers and records* of the Lennox and Addington historical society, volumes VII and VIII; "Gleanings from the sheriff's records" in the *Transactions* of the London and Middlesex historical society; a collection of documents published under the general title "Family history and reminiscences of early settlers" in the *Publications* of the Niagara historical society; and two documentary articles in the *Annual report* of the Thunder Bay historical society, "Fort William's early newspapers," and "Fort William in the middle of the XIX century." A good deal of valuable material relating to the early history of Canada is also contained in the first three numbers of the *Manuscripts from the Burton historical collection*, collected and published by C. M. Burton of Detroit and edited by his daughter, M. Agnes Burton.

MEETINGS AND PUBLISHED TRANSACTIONS

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the Royal society of Canada was held in Ottawa May 22, 23, and 24, 1917. Special attention was given to the subject of confederation, the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the Canadian dominion falling on the first of July of this year. The Royal society and the Universities' association of Canada, which was meeting in Ottawa at the same time, joined in a confederation dinner, at which addresses were given by the governor-general, the Duke of Devon-

shire, Sir George Foster, Rodolphe Lemieux, and several other men prominent in Canadian public life. Papers dealing with various phases of confederation were read before both the English and French sections of the society. The presidential address before the former section was by George M. Wrong, of Toronto university, on "Fifty years of federation. A look backward and a look forward." Other papers on the same subject were: "The federation principle as applied to the empire" by Adam Shortt; "The feeling at present on confederation in Nova Scotia" by Archibald MacMechan of Dalhousie university; "Difficulties with Newfoundland" by J. W. Longley; "Some origins of the British North America act" by W. R. Riddell; "Draft of an introduction to confederation and defence. A jubilee study, 1867-1917" by Lieutenant-Colonel William Wood; "A. T. Galt's 1858 draft of the confederation constitution" by O. D. Skelton, of Queen's university. The president of the French section, A. D. DeCelles, librarian of parliament, gave a paper on "Coup d'oeil sur la province de Québec, lors de son entrée dans la confédération." Other historical papers read before the English section were: "The contest for the command of lake Ontario in 1814" by Brigadier-General E. A. Cruikshank, completing his documentary history of this phase of the war of 1812-14; "The conflict of educational ideas arising out of the war" by President Falconer of Toronto university; "The pioneers of Jasper Park," an historical account of exploration and the fur trade in the northern Rockies, by D. B. Dowling of the Canadian geological survey; "The loyalists of Pennsylvania" by W. H. Siebert, a continuation of his series of papers on the loyalists; "Loyalists in arms" by Archdeacon Raymond, a sketch of some of the British American military corps serving on the side of the crown in the revolutionary war. Among papers read before the French section were: "A Chicoutimi et au Lac Saint-Jean à la fin du XVIIe siècle" by Monseigneur A. E. Gosselin; "Notes sur le Conseil d'Assiniboia et des terres de Rupert" by L. A. Prud'homme; "France et Canada, 1775-1782" by Benjamin Sulte; "Deux essais d'histoire: (a) La fée du château de Ramezay, récit héroi-fantastique canadien; (b) En marge de l'histoire du Canada: La Nouvelle France à l'arrivée de Frontenac (1672)" by Louis-Raoul de Lorimier; "Arrêts,

édits et autres documents les plus anciens de Montréal'' by E. Z. Massicotte; ''Essai généalogique et historique sur la famille d'Aillebout'' by Aegédius Fauteux; ''Les Soeurs de Sainte-Anne à Vaudreuil, 1848-53'' by Abbé Elie Auclair; ''Les officiers d'état-major des gouvernements de Québec, Montréal et Trois-Rivières sous le régime français'' by Pierre-Georges Roy; ''Coup d'oeil sur l'histoire de la philosophie traditionnelle au Canada'' by Monseigneur L. A. Paquet; ''Armoiries et balsons'' by Victor Morin.

The *Proceedings and transactions* for 1916, third series, volume x, were issued in the spring of the present year, and contain the papers read at the thirty-fifth meeting of the Royal society, as listed in the survey of last year.[1]

The *Annual report* of the Ontario historical society for 1916 contains the proceedings of the society for that year, as well as the reports of the various affiliated societies, and of the historic sites and monuments committee. The *Papers and records*, volume xiv, contains the following papers: ''Robert (Fleming) Gourlay'' by W. R. Riddell; ''The heraldry of Canada'' by George S. Hodgins; ''An election without politics'' by J. Davis Barnett; ''Arrivals and departures of ships at Moose Factory'' by J. B. Tyrrell; ''Captain Robert Heriott Barclay'' by Miss A. Blanche Burt. Volume xv, to be issued in August, contains the following papers: ''Canadian history as a subject of research'' by Clarence M. Warner; ''The Ridgeway semi-centennial'' by Justus A. Griffin; ''Robert (Fleming) Gourlay: reminiscences of his last days in Canada'' by Mrs. Sidney Farmer; ''Military register of baptisms for the station of Fort George, Upper Canada, 1821 to 1827;'' ''The last of the La Guayarians (Wellington county, Ontario) by the late C. C. James. A resolution of appreciation of the services of the retiring president, Clarence M. Warner, was adopted at the annual meeting. Mr. Warner, who has not only been one of the most active members of the Ontario historical society but also organized the Lennox and Addington historical society, has lately moved to Boston, where among other activities he has accepted the honorary position of curator of Canadian books in the Harvard university library.

The eleventh annual meeting of the Champlain society was

[1] *Ante*, 3: 208.

held in Toronto in the autumn of 1916, and the twelfth annual meeting in the same city in May, 1917. The *Eleventh annual report* has been published, and the *Twelfth annual report* will be issued probably before this survey appears. In spite of peculiarly difficult conditions due to the war, the society has managed to complete and issue to its members the third and final volume of Knox's *Journal*, edited by Arthur G. Doughty, and David Thompson's *Narrative*, edited by J. B. Tyrrell, the explorer of northern Canada, who it will be remembered also edited the Champlain society's edition of Hearne's *Journey*. Because of the practical impossibility of getting paper in England, where the publications of the society are printed, it is unlikely that any volumes will be issued this year, although several are in the printer's hands.

The Lennox and Addington historical society (Napanee, Ontario) has issued a double number, the seventh and eighth volumes of its *Papers and records* in one, containing a reprint of the "Constitutional debate of 1836" already noted. The second volume of the *Papers and addresses* of the Kent historical society (Chatham, Ontario) contains papers on "The Presbyterian church in Chatham" by P. D. McKellar; "Our storied past" by Katherine B. Coutts; "The Twenty-fourth regiment of Canadian militia" by Major James C. Weir; and "Municipal government in the county of Kent" by John A. Walker. The meeting of the Niagara historical society (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario) in October, 1916, marks the completion of the twenty-first year of the society's activity. Its *Publication* number 28 is devoted to historical reminiscences, noted elsewhere. Among the papers published in part 7 of the *Transactions* of the London and Middlesex historical society (London, Ontario) are: "Pioneer politicians" by C. T. Cameron; and "Bench and bar in the early days" by the late D. J. Hughes. To the *Sixth annual report* of the Thunder Bay historical society (Port Arthur, Ontario) Peter McKellar contributes two papers consisting mainly of documentary material, and A. L. Russell is credited with "A brief history of Port Arthur harbour." The third and fourth *Annual reports* of the Waterloo historical society (Kitchener, Ontario) contain papers by James H. Coyne on "The Indian occupation of southern Ontario;" by James E. Kerr, "Sketch of the life of William Dick-

son;'' by A. R. G. Smith, ''Early history of Haysville and vicinity.'' A number of papers were read before the Elgin historical and scientific institute (St. Thomas, Ontario) during the last twelve months, but although of an historical nature, they all relate rather to the European war than to Canada. The same comment may be made as to papers read before several other of the Canadian historical societies, the members of which are in fact throwing so much of their energies into the various departments of war work that little time remains for the consideration of Canadian historical problems. The Lundy's Lane historical society (Niagara Falls, Ontario) has had in preparation for the past two years an ecclesiastical history of the Niagara district.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Among articles of an historical nature in the various magazines, the following may be noted as relating to Canada:

Canadian magazine (Toronto): ''The lost state'' by E. Green, and ''John Henry the spy'' by C. H. Blue, both relating to incidents in the war of 1812-14; ''Another patriot general'' by W. R. Riddell; this, like the article by G. C. Wells noted in last year's survey,[2] relates to the rebellion of 1837-38; ''First Canadians in France'' by F. M. Bell; ''Seigniories of the Saguenay'' by H. Simard; ''As others saw us'' by L. J. Burpee; ''Pioneer Canadian women'' by E. P. Weaver.

University magazine (Montreal): ''Trans-Pacific trade with Russia'' by L. D. Wilgress; ''The testing of democracy'' by J. O. Miller.

United empire (London): ''Canada and the West Indies'' by Evan Lewin; ''The necessity for a common imperial economic policy'' by B. H. Morgan; ''Imperial alternatives—alliance or union'' by J. W. Barrett; ''The integration of the empire'' by Sir H. Wilson; ''The empire and armageddon'' by W. Lang.

Bulletin des recherches historiques (Beauceville, P.Q.): ''Jean Deshayes, hydrographe du roi'' by P. G. Roy: ''Notes et documents nouveaux sur le fondateur de Montréal'' by E. Z. Massicotte; ''La Saint-Joseph'' by Benjamin Sulte.

La Nouvelle France (Quebec): ''La province de Québec et

[2] *Ante*, 3: 211.

la minorité anglaise'' by Thomas Chapais; ''Un précurseur de la Trappe du Canada'' by Abbé Lindsay; ''Les Capucins en Acadie, 1632-54'' by Brother Alberic.

Revue canadienne (Montreal): ''Crimes et peines sous le régime français'' by P. G. Roy; ''Le projet d'union de 1822'' by J. H. Lapointe; ''Thomas Storrow Brown'' by John Boyd (Brown was one of the leaders of the rebellion of 1837 in Lower Canada, now the province of Quebec); ''Les bibliothéques canadiennes'' by A. Fauteux. One may also mention here ''L'intérêt sociologique de notre histoire au lendemain de la conquête'' by Léon Gérin, in *Revue trimestrielle canadienne.*

Several articles in English and United States periodicals, bearing upon Canadian history, may also be noted: ''Tercentenary of the establishment of the faith in Canada'' by A. T. Sadlier, in *Catholic world*; ''Growth of nationalism in the British empire'' by George M. Wrong, in *American historical review*; ''Great Britain's bread upon the waters: Canada and her other daughters'' by W. H. Taft, in *National geographic magazine*; ''Language issue in Canada,'' in *Literary digest*; ''Canada and the United States'' in *Pan American magazine*; ''Canada faces new problems'' by P. T. McGrath, in *Review of reviews*; ''Sir John A. Macdonald'' by the Marquis of Aberdeen and Temair, in *Outlook*; ''The Doukhobors in Canada'' by Elina Thorsteinson, in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review;[3] and the following among many relating to Canada's participation in the European war: ''Why Canada is at war,'' in *Quarterly review*; ''Canada's two years of war and their meaning'' by P. T. McGrath, in *Review of reviews*; ''What Canada has done'' by W. R. Givens, in *Independent.*

MONOGRAPHS AND GENERAL TREATISES

Probably the most important book of the last twelve months relating to Canadian history is E. M. Saunders' *Life and letters of the Right Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.*, in two volumes. A shorter biography is J. W. Longley's *Sir Charles Tupper*, in the *Makers of Canada* series. As Tupper's political life opened many years before confederation (1867) and extended down to the beginning of the European war, and as he was for more than

[3] *Ante*, 4: 3-48.

half a century one of the leaders in Canadian public life, these authoritative biographies are invaluable to the student of Canadian history, especially in conjunction with the two volumes of his political reminiscences mentioned in the survey for 1914-15. Both Saunders and Longley were on intimate terms with Tupper for many years, the former as a political friend and the latter on the opposite side of politics. *Sons of Canada: short studies of characteristic Canadians* by August Bridle, sufficiently explains itself. One of the most attractive, as well as most authoritative books of the year is Arthur J. Doughty's *A daughter of New France*, an account of Madeleine de Verchères and the old régime in Canada. The edition is limited to one hundred and thirty-five copies, and the entire proceeds have been given to the Canadian Red Cross society. The frontispiece, a view of the old windmill at Verchères, is from a painting by H. R. H. the Princess Patricia. There are four other illustrations in color, reproduced from water color paintings, three by C. W. Jeffreys and one by George A. Reid. Other books of the past twelve months are W. R. Riddell's *The constitution of Canada in its history and practical workings*;[4] a new edition of Sir C. P. Lucas' *Canada and Newfoundland*; Louise S. Hasbrouck's *La Salle*; R. B. Deane's *Mounted police life in Canada*; G. Sellar's *True makers of Canada; confederation and its leaders* by M. O. Hammond; a second volume of *Canada in Flanders* by Lord Beaverbrook, better known as Max Aitken; *Two years of war: as viewed from Ottawa.* This is a special issue of *The civilian*, giving some account of the war work of the civil service of Canada, 1914-1916. *The federation of Canada, 1867-1917*, consists of a series of lectures delivered in the university of Toronto in March, 1917, by George M. Wrong, Sir John Willison, and Z. A. Lash, K.C. *The new era in Canada*, edited by J. O. Miller, consists of a series of essays dealing with the upbuilding of the Canadian commonwealth by Stephen Leacock, Sir Edmund Walker, George M. Wrong, Sir Clifford Sifton, and other well-known Canadians. Editors, authors, and publishers give all profits to the Canadian Red Cross. One may note here also James Woodsworth's *Thirty years in the Canadian north-west*; Colonel William Hamilton Merritt's *Canada and national ser-*

[4] To be reviewed later.

vice; and Walter A. Riddell's *Rise of ecclesiastical control in Quebec.*[5]

Among books in the French language may be noted *La colonization du Canada sous la domination française* by Abbé Ivanhoe Caron; *Tableaux synoptiques de l'histoire du Canada 1500-1700* by Father Le Jeune, of the university of Ottawa; *Vie de Mgr. Langevin* by A. G. Morice; and *Trois légendes Franciscaines de l'an 1629, par le Frère Gilles* by Père Hugolin.

The war has stimulated interest in all questions affecting the relations of Canada and the other self-governing dominions to the mother country. Out of this interest have grown such recent works as C. H. Currey's *British colonial policy, 1783-1915*; A. B. Keith's *Imperial unity and the dominions*; A. E. Duchesne's *Democracy and empire*; W. B. Worsfold's *The empire on the anvil*; Percy and Archibald Hurd's *New imperial partnership*; Lionel Curtis' *Problem of the commonwealth*; and another volume, under the editorship of Mr. Curtis, *The commonwealth of nations.*

A publication of special interest to students of the exploration period in the Canadian west is L. A. Prud'homme's memoir on "Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de La Vérendrye, 1685-1749," published as volume v of the *Bulletin* of the historical society of St. Boniface, Manitoba. Chester Martin's *Lord Selkirk's work in Canada* deals in a scholarly way with the beginnings of Manitoba. F. W. Howay of New Westminster, British Columbia, has issued a pamphlet on the *Fur trade in north western development.* Two important articles on the history and exploration of one of the great northern rivers of Canada flowing into Hudson bay are Frederick J. Alcock's "The Churchill river" and J. B. Tyrrell's "Early exploration of the Churchill river," both reprinted from the *Geographical review* (New York). Another notable reprint from the same periodical is Otto Klotz's "History of the forty-ninth parallel survey west of the Rocky mountains." L. J. Burpee's "Restrictions on the use of historical material" is a reprint from the *Annual report* of the American historical association.[6] That indefatigable worker, Judge Riddell, has recently published *The legal pro-*

[5] To be reviewed later.

[6] To be reviewed later.

fession in Upper Canada in its early periods, and a pamphlet enlarging upon certain aspects of the subject *The first law reporter in Upper Canada and his reports.* Rev. E. J. Devine S.J., is the author of a series of pamphlets dealing with the lives of five of the Jesuit martyrs in Canada, *John de Brèbeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Anthony Daniel, Charles Garnier*, and *Nöel Chabanel.*

A work of unusual interest to students of the beginnings of English-Canadian history is Clarence W. Alvord's *The Mississippi valley in British politics.*[7] The western American historical societies and other similar agencies are publishing in their annual publications a great deal of material that is of value in connection with the study of Canadian history. In this connection may be noted *The new régime, 1765-1767*, edited by C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, as volume XI of the *Illinois historical collections* of the Illinois state historical library;[8] *Frontier advance on the upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, edited by Louise P. Kellogg, *Collections* (volume XXIII) of the State historical society of Wisconsin;[9] "British policy on the Canadian frontier, 1782-1792: mediation and an Indian barrier state," by Orpha E. Leavitt in *Proceedings* of the State historical society of Wisconsin;[10] "The loyalist refugees of New Hampshire" by W. H. Siebert, in *Bulletin* of the Ohio state university; and articles in the *South Dakota historical Collections*, volume VII, by Doane Robinson and Charles E. DeLand, and in the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW by Mr. Orin G. Libby, Mr. Robinson and Mr. DeLand, on certain points in connection with the western explorations of La Vérendrye.[11] Two books bearing upon the history of British Columbia are *In the wake of the war cause* by W. H. Collison, and *Up and down the North Pacific coast* by Thomas Crosby.

The following doctoral dissertations relating to Canadian history have either been published during the past twelve months or are in preparation: *Historical antecedents of the unicameral system in New Brunswick* by J. E. Howe; *The Canadian consti-*

[7] Reviewed *ante*, 4: 131-133.
[8] To be reviewed later.
[9] Reviewed in this number.
[10] Reviewed *ante*, 3: 557-558.
[11] *Ante*, 3: 143-160, 368-399.

tutional act of 1791 by J. S. Custer; *History of the Canadian grain trade* by W. C. Clark; *The westward movement in Canada* by G. C. Davidson.

MARKING OF HISTORIC SITES

The *Annual report* of the Historic landmarks association of Canada, 1917, contains an important list, with notes, of "Some historic sites in Canada and Newfoundland." Attention is also particularly drawn to the notable event which took place on September 1, 1916, when H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, as governor-general of Canada, relaid for the new parliament buildings at Ottawa the same foundation stone originally laid on September 1, 1860, by his brother, the late King Edward VII, then Prince of Wales. The report of the committee on historic sites and monuments of the Ontario historical society, in the *Annual report* for 1916, records the marking in various ways of a number of historic sites in the province of Ontario. Good work is being done in this direction by many of the historical societies throughout Canada. One of the more ambitious projects is that carried out by the Women's Wentworth historical society of Hamilton, Ontario, which has succeeded in purchasing the site of the battle of Stoney Creek in the war of 1812, including the Gage homestead, headquarters of the American staff during the battle. An incident worth noting is the adoption by congress in February, 1917, of a resolution expressing the appreciation of the government and people of the United States of the erection by the people of Thorold, Ontario, of a monument to certain soldiers of the United States in the war of 1812.

The Ontario historical society is now waging a gallant fight for the preservation of old Fort York. In 1909 after a prolonged public discussion and negotiation the historic property was granted to the city of Toronto in trust and on condition that "the site of the old fort . . . shall as far as possible be restored to its original condition . . . and shall be preserved and maintained in such condition forever." It was provided that the grant should become null and void if the city failed to carry out the conditions. It appears that the city has violated the terms of the grant by the construction of a car line which

cuts into the ramparts in two places. The historical society is prepared to fight the city and hopes yet to preserve the integrity of the old fort.

Reference has already been made to the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Canadian confederation by the Royal society of Canada. In spite of its preoccupation with the war many Canadian public bodies have found time to pay fitting tribute to the fathers of confederation and their handiwork. On February 7 a resolution was passed in the senate and house of commons for the appointment of a joint committee to consider and report on the matter of an appropriate celebration. As a result of this committee's deliberations, the dominion government issued a topical pamphlet, *The jubilee of confederation*, comparing and contrasting the Canada of 1867 with the Canada of 1917. The government also issued a proclamation inviting churches, sabbath and day schools, colleges, municipal authorities, Canadian clubs, and other associations, to coöperate in the working out of fitting commemorative services for the day. The provincial authorities were requested to arrange for a special celebration of the anniversary at the capitals of the several provinces. Appropriate memorial services were also to be held in London and Paris. Provision was made for the issuance of a commemorative postcard and postage stamp with appropriate design and legend representative of the work of the fathers of confederation. The dominion government itself on July 2 (the first of July falling on Sunday) arranged a ceremonial service in Ottawa, at which the governor-general dedicated a stone carrying an appropriate inscription, in the central stone column upholding the roof of the great entrance hall of the new parliament buildings.

ETHNOLOGICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK

In his *Summary* report for the year 1916, Mr. E. Sapir, head of the division of anthropology of the geological survey of Canada, notes the fact that no further work has been possible in the preparation of anthropological exhibits because of the fact that pending the completion of the new parliament buildings the senate and house of commons are occupying the Victoria memorial museum and the hall of Canadian anthropology has had

to be closed for the present. A great deal of valuable ethnological and archaeological material relating to the Eskimo has been received from Mr. E. Jenness, the anthropologist of the Canadian arctic expedition. The Eskimo collection is a very extensive one and illustrates every aspect of the life and customs of the natives of Coronation gulf and neighboring regions. The museum has also secured a number of ethnological specimens from various sources, including Penobscot wampum colors from the far east and Lillooet and Tilgit specimens from the extreme west. The division of anthropology has also added materially to its phonograph records. The field work included the collection of French-Canadian folklore, two volumes of which have been prepared for publication. Among the manuscripts received are the following: manuscript book belonging to Cowichan Prophet, British Columbia; "Time perspective in aboriginal American culture" by E. Sapir; "Tsimshian and Iroquoian phratries and clans" by C. M. Barbeau; "Tahltan and Kaska tales" by J. A. Teit; "Malecite ethnology" by W. H. Mechling; "Dakota ethnology" by W. D. Wallis. Since the publication of the last survey the following anthropological publications have been issued by the geological survey: *Iroquois foods and food preparation* by F. W. Waugh, and *Time perspective in aboriginal American culture* by E. Sapir. The following memoirs have been completed for publication: "Tsimshian and Iroquoian phratries and clans" by C. M. Barbeau; "Social and religious customs of the Ojibwa of southeastern Ontario" by P. Radin.

The archaeological exhibits have been more fortunate than those relating to anthropology, the hall in which they have been arranged not being needed for the purposes of parliament. An interesting development in this department is the loan to the ceramic laboratory of the mines branch of a selection of specimens illustrating aboriginal Canadian ceramics to aid that branch in designing pottery made from Canadian clay, as part of a movement to promote the clay industries. The field work included the examination of Iroquoian village sites in Ontario. The monograph on the "Archaeology of Merigomish harbour, Nova Scotia" has been completed by Harlan I. Smith, the archaeologist of the museum. The cataloging of the archaeological

specimens has been brought up to October, 1916, and considerable additions have been made to the card bibliography of the archaeology of Canada.

During the year C. M. Barbeau contributed to the *Journal* of *American folk-lore* a very interesting article on "Contes populaires canadiens," and to *Le parler français* (Quebec) "Les traditions orales françaises au Canada."

Lawrence J. Burpee

International Joint Commission
Ottawa, Canada

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Further Pamphlets for the Canada-Guadaloupe Controversy

Clarence W. Alvord has recently published a valuable bibliography[1] upon the pamphlet warfare over the Canada-Guadaloupe controversy during the seven years' war. The compilation was begun in 1911 subsequent to the meeting of the American historical association at Buffalo in that year. With the assistance of W. L. Grant of Queen's university and of G. P. Winship of the Carter Brown library, it has attained to sixty-five titles. These are distributed among the seven collections of the Boston Athenæum, library of congress, Carter Brown library, Canadian archives, Harvard college library, the British museum, and the University of Illinois library. One or two of the sixty-five titles Mr. Alvord traces through references or through booksellers' advertisements, and these he has listed as "not seen."

There is in the McGill university library a very large collection of seventeenth and eighteenth century pamphlets under the general name of the Redpath tracts (over 1,200 bound volumes, averaging from eight to ten pamphlets each). The collection contains ten of the titles Mr. Alvord enumerates, some of which he has listed as "not seen." It contains in addition twelve more new titles and hitherto unlisted titles. These, added to the sixty-five already found, will bring the bibliography to a total of seventy-seven.

The titles duplicated are — following Mr. Alvord's enumeration — numbers 2, 10, 13, 17 (five different editions), 21, 26 (two different editions), 27, 28, 45, and 51.

Since numbers 10, 13, and 48 are listed as "not seen," the following notes may be of interest:

Number 10 contains a brief statement in three sentences that opinions differ as to the retention of Guadaloupe (Canada not mentioned).

[1] Clarence W. Alvord, *The Mississippi valley in British politics* (Cleveland, 1917), 2: 253-264. See review by O. G. Libby, *ante*, 4: 131; also review by C. E. Fryer in *Review of historical publications relating to Canada* for 1916, p. 36.

Number 13 contains one paragraph only on the subject, and this to the extent of attributing the success of the British arms in Canada to divine aid. It should therefore be omitted from the final list.

For number 48 there is an almost parallel title as follows: A Letter to the Right Honourable Earl of Halifax etc. on the Peace. London, Printed for J. Newberry, at the Bible and Sun in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1763. (38 p.) It is an extravagant eulogy of George III.

It may be remarked that number 27 appeared originally as two separate parts:

1. A Postscript to the Consideration of the Present German War. (Not dated, and intended for the second edition.) 18 p.
2. Additions for the Sixth edition of the Considerations on the Present German War. (Not dated.) 64 p.

Number 60 was advertised under two other titles also:

1. A Review of the Present Ministry from the Resignation of Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple to the Signing of the Definitive Treaty, April 2, 1763. Printed for G. Kearsly, in Ludgate Street.
2. The Review of Lord Bute's Administration. Printed for J. Almon, opposite Burlington House, Piccadilly. 1763.

The new titles that may be added to the published bibliography are:

I. A Letter to a Noble Lord etc. By an Englishman. London, Printed for G. Kearsly at the Golden Lion in Ludgate Street. 1760. 45 p. (Argues against giving up Canada in preference to Guadaloupe. Would retain all conquests.)

II. The Conduct of the Ministry Impartially Examined. And the Pamphlet entitled Considerations on the Present German War Refuted from its own Principles. London, Printed for R. Griffiths in the Strand, 1760. 56 p. (Argues in favor of a European war, and against conquests in the East and West Indies.)

III. A Full and Candid Answer to a Pamphlet entitled Considerations on the Present German War. Printed for J. Pridden, at the Feathers, near Fleet Bridge etc. 1760. 86 p. (Tries to depreciate the value of American and West Indian conquests.)

IV. A Letter to the Right Honourable W—— P——. By a

Citizen. London. Printed for A. Henderson, in Westminster Hall. 1761. 24 p. (This evidently occasioned number 29 in Mr. Alvord's list. It argues against a war with Spain and depreciates the value of possible conquests of Spanish territory.)

V. A Letter from the Anonymous Author of the Letter Versified to the Anonymous Writer of the Monitor. London. Printed for W. Nicoll, in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1761. 35 p. (Writes in support of Mr. Mauduit the author of Considerations on the Present German War.)

VI. A Letter to His Grace the Duke of N********. on the Present Crisis in the Affairs of Great Britain, containing Reflections on a late Great Resignation. London. Printed for R. Griffiths, in the Strand. Not dated. 48 p. (Quite valuable. Argues for Canada, the West Indies and an attack upon Louisiana; explains the divisions in the cabinet over retaining Canada, revealed by M. de Bussy's visit.)

VII. Letter to Her R——l H——s the P——s D—w—g—r of W——— on the Approaching Peace. With a Few Words Concerning the Right Honourable the Earl of B—— and the General Talk of the World. London. Printed for S. Williams, at the Circulating Library in Ludgate-Hill. 1762. 59 p. (Would retain all conquests.)

VIII. Reflections on the Domestic Policy Proper to be Observed on the Conclusion of a Peace. London. Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand, 1763 (but written October, 1762). 94 p. (Would retain all conquests, but deems Canada and continental settlement more worth while than Guadaloupe and the sugar trade.)

IX. A Few Thoughts of a Candid Man at the Present Crisis, In a Letter to a Noble Lord Retired from Power. London. Printed for J. Hinxman, at the Globe in Paternoster Row, 1762. 112 p. (Attributed to Dr. James Marriott of Doctors Commons. Is against a peace on mercantile principles only, but would retain Canada for its lumber, fisheries, etc.)

X. An Appendix to the Review of Mr. Pitt's Administration by the Author of the Review. London. Printed for J. Almon, opposite Burlington House in Piccadilly. 1763. 40 p. (P. 37 states that Mr. Pitt sacrificed Guadaloupe to redeem Hesse.)

XI. The Opposition to the Late Minister Vindicated from

the Aspersions of a Pamphlet entitled Considerations on the Present Dangerous Crisis. London. Printed for W. Bathoe, near Exeter-Change in the Strand. 1763. 45 p. (States the Canada-Guadaloupe question was an embarrassing one in 1760 and 1761, but at the final negotiations for peace the circumstances of the belligerents had altered the controversy.)

XII. An Address to the People of Great Britain and Ireland on the Preliminaries of Peace, Signed November 3, 1762, between Great Britain and France and Spain. London. Printed for Messrs. Whiston and White in Fleet Street, and E. Dilly in the Poultry. 1763. 24 p. (Argues against Guadalupe as contrary to the original purpose of the war, but strongly in favor of Canada.)

One or two of these pamphlets are eloquent in their prophecy of the ultimate value of the Ohio-Mississippi country, and of what were termed the "French settelments." They supplement and confirm all that Mr. Alvord writes concerning the school of imperialist thinkers who argued in favor of America as a field for continental colonization.

C. E. Fryer

French colonial question, 1789-1791. Dealings of the constituent assembly with problems arising from the revolution in the West Indies. By Mitchell B. Garrett, Ph.D., acting professor of history, Saint Lawrence university. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: George Wahr, publisher, 1916. 167 p. $1.25)

As stated in the preface, former writers on the French colonies in the West Indies have not given a clear and accurate account of the "efforts of the national deputies at Paris to understand and redress the colonial grievances." By a painstaking study of the records of the constituent assembly the author of the present volume has attempted to supply the deficiency.

In chapters one and two the colonial factions and grievances are set forth. The whites of the French West Indies were divided into three classes: planters, government officials, and *petits-blancs*. Planters for the most part lived in the colonies, yet a wealthy minority resided in France as absentee landlords. Of this number one hundred and fifty sat in the constituent assembly as national deputies. The government officials were a "lot of arbitrary soldiers, supercilious bureaucrats, and pedantic lawyers" sent out by the king. The *petit-blancs* were "small traders, adventurers and nondescripts in the cities and slave overseers and mechanics in the country," many of whom were of "shady character and noted for their brutality, their lawlessness and their hatred of the colored race." The colored population was also divided into three groups: mulattoes, free blacks, and slaves. The mulattoes numbered about 45,000 as compared with 83,000 whites. Some of them were educated and wealthy, but all were treated by the whites as social inferiors and not admitted to the learned professions. To escape this color distinction many mulattoes made prolonged visits in France. The free blacks were poor, ignorant outcasts, disliked by both mulattoes and whites. The number was small and the rôle played by them insignificant. The slaves were mere chattels, but they outnumbered the free population five or six to one.

The mother country gave her dependencies military protection for which she claimed a monopoly of the colonial trade. The whole exterior régime caused the planter no end of annoyance, as did also the interior régime, in the hands of a civil and military bureaucracy at the head of which were the governor and intendant. These men were given consider-

able power and patronage which the planter claimed they greatly abused. As a result of these conditions the planters were discontented. They desired local self-government, a voice in the administration of the exterior control and a modification of the navigation acts. The problem that confronted them was how to bring about these changes and at the same time guarantee the existence of slavery and the slave trade. Already the mulattoes were demanding the abolition of the "aristocracy of color" and the slaves, since the founding of the *Société des amis des noirs* in Paris in 1788, had a champion for their cause beyond the sea who was working for the abolition of the slave trade and the gradual emancipation of the slaves. The remaining four chapters are devoted to the struggle carried on by these different factions both in the colonies and in France.

This study of conditions of affairs in the French West Indies is of value only to students of the period of the French revolution. So much knowledge is presupposed that those unfamiliar with the men and events of the time would derive but little benefit from reading it. For the special student, however, there are some well organized details not to be found elsewhere so well presented in secondary accounts.

N. M. Miller Surrey

José de Gálvez, visitor-general of New Spain (1765-1771). By Herbert Ingram Priestly, assistant curator, Bancroft library, University of California. [University of California publications in history, volume V] (Berkeley: University of California press, 1916. 448 p. $2.75)

The latest addition to the *University of California publications in history* fully maintains the high standard of that series and proves an admirable companion volume to the previous numbers by Smith and Bolton and a necessary supplement to Chapman's *Founding of Spanish California.* It is, therefore, doubly welcome as evidence of fruitful coöperation and earnest of further productiveness.

The introductory chapters, forming about a third of the book, are of more than passing interest. The biographical sketch of Gálvez, with many regional and personal details, is, in a book of this sort, as unexpected as it is helpful. The chapter devoted to "The historical background" gives a very necessary setting for those that are to follow. It is well to emphasize, as the author does, the growing influence of France, during the eighteenth century, in Spanish councils, largely at the expense of England, and the necessary emphasis upon fiscal reform for the sake of increasing the national revenues. In this task of guiding the policy of Spain commercial agents played a greater part than regular

diplomats, although an occasional incident, such as the dispute over the Falkland islands and Honduras, which are briefly mentioned, gave the foreign offices of all three nations sufficient concern. But it is chiefly the desire to improve administration at home and in the colonies that makes necessary the visitation of José de Gálvez. Mr. Priestly does well to note that this impulse for reform did not originate with Charles III, but was characteristic of the Bourbon régime before him, although that enlightened despot fostered its most striking development.

The chapter on "The administration of New Spain" presents a concise but valuable summary of political conditions in New Spain at the middle of the eighteenth century. Despite its brevity the author also takes pains to touch upon some social and economic conditions that have a direct bearing upon his subject. The chapter on "The origin and character of the general visitation" is necessary and illuminating. From it we learn something of the functions and powers of previous visitors-general, as well as the instructions that determined the policy of Gálvez during the years 1765-1771.

This lengthy introduction is space well utilized in preparation for the visitation proper. For nearly three decades no visitor-general had been sent to New Spain and reforms in its fiscal administration, in keeping with the system already established in the mother country, seemed absolutely necessary. Gálvez represented the dominant French influence that had already achieved results in Spain and was well fitted by training and character to undertake this unwelcome task and push it to a definite conclusion in her most productive colony. This task involved unremitting toil, persistently followed in spite of interested factional opposition, bodily infirmity, and terrifying physical obstacles. Sonora and Lower California needed his presence as well as Vera Cruz, Jalapa, and Mexico City. He must assist in suppressing insurrection and in visiting punishment upon the disaffected, even though he had to defer, while thus engaged, his wider plans for fundamental reforms. His activity on the northern frontier led to the extension of settlement in Alta California, a more careful delimitation of the presidial line in New Mexico and Texas, and more consistent efforts to pacify the barbarous Indians. Ultimately his measures resulted in the establishment for the entire northern area of a *commandancia general*, partially independent of the viceroy. His efforts to establish a tobacco monopoly, to introduce commercial reforms at Vera Cruz and Acapulco, and to guard more carefully the collection of internal revenues and the administration of municipal corporations involved greater difficulties, because of concerted personal opposition, but ultimately reached partial fruition in the system of *intendencias*, later established throughout New Spain. The critics of

Gálvez claim that he was harsh and vindictive toward his opponents, and unnecessarily cruel in suppressing malcontents, and Mr. Priestly coincides with this view. But the visitor's main purpose was to increase the revenues of the crown by checking graft and preventing waste in the public service. He did not aim to improve the methods of legal procedure or to correct the more glaring social and economic abuses that affected New Spain. The discontent excited by his severity came to a head a generation later in the wars of independence, but in the interim the revenues of New Spain were more productive than ever before in their history. For this reason Gálvez is accounted one of the two most efficient colonial administrators of the Bourbon régime.

A long closing chapter on the *Real Hacienda*, both before and after the time of Gálvez, serves the double purpose of summarizing the fiscal side of his work and of explaining in some detail the various sources of royal revenue from the colony and the method by which it was collected and transmitted to Spain. While this chapter has fewer references to manuscript sources than the others, it shows careful study of the best authorities and affords a welcome summary of this difficult field. In general, Mr. Priestly has handled his sources well and presents his conclusions tersely and clearly. He gives a complete bibliography and a full usable index. A portrait of Gálvez and a view of his birthplace, with several reproductions of contemporary maps, comprise the illustrations. The sketch map at the close of the volume contains too few names to be thoroughly useful. One may criticise his use of italic type, or his failure in a few instances to use it, but the author himself has already disarmed this criticism. Altogether he is to be congratulated for having produced a useful and readable study in Latin American institutional history.

I. J. Cox

Cotton as a world power. A study in the economic interpretation of history. By James A. B. Sherer, Ph.D., LL.D., president of Throop college of technology. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes company, 1916. 452 p. $2.50 net)

Mr. Sherer tells us that some years ago, while reading Frank Norris's novel *The octopus* the thought occurred to him that the epic of the wheat was of no more interest than the story of cotton, "the new golden fleece." The result is a neat and attractive volume in which the author has sought to tell with some literary embellishment the history of cotton from its earliest antiquity to the present day.

Perhaps there was little opportunity in one small volume to bring out much new material on so large a subject, but at any rate Mr. Sherer has

given us for the greater part nothing but a compilation from the standard authorities. The book is in no sense a contribution to the history of the subject, and even as a summary it falls far short of Mr. B. Hammond's classical *Cotton culture and the cotton trade.* It is only fair to state, however, that it was evidently not intended to compete with such books as Hammond's, but was written for the general reader whose patience is short and who must have his history served with a literary flavor. For even the casual student of industrial history there is nothing new. Only the most elementary facts are to be found concerning the discovery of the cotton plant, the introduction of the fibre into the commerce of Europe, the early history of weaving, the industrial revolution in England, the beginning of cotton planting in America, Whitney's gin, the development of cotton culture and of its handmaiden slavery, of cotton milling in New England, of the part played by cotton in secession and the war, and the cotton famine in Lancashire. There is no wandering from the well-beaten track. Yet it was a part of the author's declared purpose "to suggest its [cotton's] wholly unappreciated effect on the history of the United States" (p. 5).

In the later chapters, approximately one-fourth of the book, there is a very inadequate account — perhaps necessarily so — of cotton culture in the "new south," with some reflections upon social conditions and problems in the cotton belt, a somewhat better summing up of the growth of southern cotton mills, and a general survey of the staple as a factor in world trade before and after the outbreak of the world war. Although he still relies for statements of fact chiefly upon the work of other men, in these chapters the author gives freer play to his own opinions and he is to the same degree more interesting. The fact that he is southern born and reared has perhaps enabled him to write with full appreciation of the southern point of view, as it may also account for the charm and interest which his subject has for him. The reader is likely to be puzzled to discover the relevancy of the final chapter, "Evolution and human welfare," wherein our historian turns philosopher and moralist and argues that the old belief that continual strife and the survival of the strongest is the law of life must give way to the newer conception of "integration" as the guiding factor in the life of nations as of plants and animals.

The conscientious reviewer in scanning the pages closely for errors finds few of any kind and none of serious consequence. The citations to authorities are sometimes made carelessly and here and there an inference more often than a statement of fact seems overdrawn or unwarranted. The book is well written and is likely to have a large popular audience. Its short chapters, which average something less than four

pages, should appeal especially to those readers whose intellectual wings are trained only to short flights. The volume is not overburdened with statistical tables, but those which are needed are usually found in the right place. The appendix comprises about thirty-seven pages of literary *curiosa*, statistics, and bibliography. The index is satisfactory.

CHARLES W. RAMSDELL

Caribbean interests of the United States. By Chester Lloyd Jones, professor of political science, University of Wisconsin. (New York: D. Appleton and company, 1916. 379 p. $2.50 net)

This volume is not a history of the American tropics, nor is it a mere travelogue interspersed with random statistics. It is an illuminating study, based partly on personal observation, of some social and economic phases of present day life in the Caribbean. Occasionally the author touches upon political conditions when necessary to explain the purport of his economic data. In his hands the Monroe doctrine seems almost wholly an economic policy; American intervention becomes the certain forerunner of commercial prosperity.

The facts presented appear to justify this economic emphasis. Certain tropical products, notably the banana and other fruits, have given a new emphasis to international trade in Central America and the West Indies. Older products such as sugar, coffee, and tobacco have assumed a new importance with greater political stability and the influx of foreign capital. New and improved facilities for transportation have rendered these products and other resources more available and at the same time, as in the case of petroleum, more desirable in themselves. To crown all the completion of the Panama canal promises, with the restoration of normal conditions, to break up the commercial isolation that for half a century has retarded progress in the American Mediterranean.

Two chapters are devoted to the general importance of the Caribbean and the development therein of American influence. Then follows a discussion of the political and commercial conditions in the various European colonies, of which those of Great Britain are the most important. The Danish West Indies have changed their nationality since the appearance of the book and Mr. Charles H. Sherrell would have us believe that a like change would benefit the other remaining European dependencies, their present owners, and the United States. At any rate the author is content to make it appear that our country is bound to get the lion's share of profit from them all, as well as from the independent republics and protectorates of the region. A mutual dependence between American capital and staple agricultural products has produced wonderful effects during the past twenty years and these factors seem destined to exert a more profound influence in the immediate future.

Mr. Lloyd's chapters dealing with Cuba, Porto Rico, San Domingo, and the two northern republics of South America briefly review the salient facts of contemporary politics, as does the longer chapter on Central America. More important, in this respect, are the chapters dealing with the revolt of Panama and the later controversies over tolls and the fortification of the canal zone. The arrangement of arguments pro and con upon these two controverted issues is helpful, and likewise the summary of our strained relations with Colombia. The author closes with eight general chapters in which he shows the economic dependence of the Caribbean area upon outside capital, the international importance of trade in its leading products, especially oil and bananas, and the desirability of its chief harbors as naval bases, especially since the completion of the Panama canal.

The emphasis upon material resources may seem to render the book an exposition in "dollar diplomacy," but its arrangement and its few political discussions will be of assistance in organizing the recent history of a region whose chance records have proved so difficult to annalist and teacher. Those who give courses in American diplomacy or in the history of Latin America will value the work for supplementary reading. Enough statistical information appears to meet the demands of classes in commercial geography. The frequent citations to source material, including consular reports, a classified bibliography that is up to date in both its book lists and periodical literature, and a map showing in detail the entire area add further to the serviceableness of the volume. It is worthy of a place along with the works of Bonsall, Hill, and others, who in recent years have followed Froude into the American Mediterranean.

I. J. Cox

Japanese conquest of American opinion. By Montaville Flowers, M.A. (New York: George H. Doran company, 1917. 272 p. $1.50 net)

Montaville Flowers, of Monrovia, California, an orchardist and Chautauqua lecturer, has very decided views concerning the Japanese people and the undesirability of admitting them to residence in any white man's land. He therefore believes that the agitation and resulting legislation in California was absolutely wise and proper and he is convinced that the American people east of the Sierra Nevada mountains are either uninformed or grossly misinformed on this subject. This misinformation is due, in his opinion, to the pernicious activities of certain Japanese and American agencies. The former are the Japanese writers and press bureaus, the latter are the American peace societies, the Federal council of churches, and such individuals as Sidney L. Gulick, Hamilton Holt, Lindsay Russell, Francis G. Peabody, and the late Hamilton Wright Mabie. Realizing and fearing "the unmeasured power of money and

influence'' of these agencies he has written *The Japanese conquest of American opinion* to open the eyes of his deluded countrymen and set them right on all the points of this great problem.

His book is a typical example of special pleading. It is based on no adequate knowledge of the Japanese, his principal authorities on Japan being Samuel Blythe, Thomas F. Millard, Carl Crow, and Jefferson Jones. The discussion of the situation in California contains quite misleading accounts of the ''school boy'' episode and the passage of the alien land law. Any argument which suits his end is advanced. Thus, on page 131, there is an attack on a Japanese professor in an American university which is manifestly untrue and which is based on the statement of ''a sweet-minded young lady.'' Again, the economic argument for Japanese immigration is clinched by the reported statement of a Japanese farm hand: ''Me make much money in California in one month as me make home, in Japan, in five years.'' On the other hand the writings of Mr. Gulick and Mr. Millis are waved aside. Mr. Millis not only lived and taught in California but he was employed by the immigration commission to investigate immigration and industries in the west, yet Mr. Flowers does not hesitate to assert: ''There are on the Pacific Coast a hundred thousand men and a hundred thousand women whose education, experience and honour entitle their opinions, each one, to equal consideration with his. . .'' It would be a waste of time and space to consider Mr. Flowers' book further. His method will not appeal to any thoughtful reader, and few will accept many of the conclusions at which he arrives.

PAYSON J. TREAT

Breaches of Anglo-American treaties. A study in history and diplomacy. By John Bigelow, major U. S. army, retired. (New York: Sturgis and Walton company, 1917. 248 p. $1.50 net)

In the early years of the century, when the Hay-Pauncefote treaty was under heated discussion, — and yet more recently, when the Panama tolls were in dispute, — the United States was repeatedly charged in the British press with lacking the sense of honor that holds a nation to its treaty obligations. Even so fair-minded a man as Sir Harry Johnson wrote that treaties bind the policy of the United States only ''as long as they are convenient.'' Students of American history know that in the matter of treaty enforcement the United States has sometimes acted equivocally, and that at times it has been plainly remiss. The accusation, however, was so sweeping that many persons must have felt its essential injustice, or at all events must have been set to wondering whether a close examination of the facts would sustain it.

Major Bigelow's *Breaches of Anglo-American treaties* is the out-

come of an inquiry into this matter, undertaken specifically to ascertain the relative trustworthiness of two great nations "as indicated in their intercourse with each other." The aim is innocent enough; the conclusions arrived at, though in no wise startling, are of interest; and in these days of deep concern about moral values in international affairs it seems entirely natural that the motives and actions of nations should be dissected, weighed, and cataloged as good or bad. Yet there is something about the assumption on which Major Bigelow proceeds that grates on the historian's sensibilities. Everybody knows that there have been breaches of Anglo-American treaties. Every person well enough informed to be interested in Major Bigelow's book knows that for these breaches both nations have been deeply responsible. It seems a work of no great value to measure degrees of guilt, to balance off infringements against one another, and to try to determine which nation's good works can be made to tip the scale. The project is perhaps saved by the author's care in the use of his materials and by his effort to be entirely fair. Yet it rings of the mechanical, the quantitative.

Major Bigelow finds that between 1783 and 1913 some thirty compacts that may be considered treaties were concluded between the two powers; that of these, eight, — including practically all the agreements of first importance, ending with the treaty of Washington in 1871, — were violated by Great Britain; that four, i.e., those of 1783, 1795, 1818, and 1819, were violated also by the United States; that, with the possible exception of the treaty of 1819, the United States violated these four only after Great Britain had done so; that no treaty between the two nations "appears to have been violated by the United States alone;" and that whereas the United States has paid five and a half million dollars to Great Britain as indemnities, Great Britain has paid to the United States upwards of twenty-nine millions. The conclusion is that the United States "has more than a safe balance of good faith to its credit."

The author makes no pretense to the use of new materials, and his book can hardly be considered more than an accurate compilation of well-known facts. Illustrative fragments of diplomatic correspondence are printed in appendices. The bibliography shows no principle of arrangement, and two of the three maps are worthless.

FREDERIC A. OGG

Studies in the problem of sovereignty. By Harold J. Laski, department of history, Harvard university, sometime exhibitor New college, Oxford. (New Haven: Yale university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1917. 297 p. $2.50 net)

This monograph consists of a series of articles, previously published in periodicals, all of which illustrate the theme that the absolute concep-

tion of sovereignty is inadequate. Mr. Laski's philosophical theory of sovereignty is developed in the opening chapter, in which he confesses his attitude to be pragmatic and his philosophy to be pluralistic. In philosophic monism he finds the origin of the conception of the sovereignty of the state as developed by Hobbes, Hegel, and John Austin, a conception which he believes suits better the unity of the human mind than the variety of historical facts. "The will of the State," he says, "obtains preëminence over the wills of other groups exactly to the point where it is interpreted with sufficient wisdom to obtain general acceptance, and no further." (p. 14) That the doctrine of absolute, indivisible sovereignty has had an important effect in the hands of Bismarck and other state builders is not denied, but the effect is not regarded as fortunate.

The detailed discussion is devoted to three illustrations of the struggle between church and state in the nineteenth century, "the disruption," "the Oxford movement," and "the Catholic revival." Mr. Laski is concerned with the theory of the contending parties rather than with the historical details of these movements. In all of them he finds the central motive to have been the demand of the church for a sphere of autonomy beyond the control of the state, carried in the Catholic revival by some to the extreme claim of the middle ages, that the church is supreme.

In a final chapter the opinions of DeMaistre and Bismarck are discussed as embodying the absolute conception of sovereignty in reference to church and state respectively, and in two appendices Mr. Laski briefly develops his ideas of federalism and centralization in relation to sovereignty, to which he gives a real meaning by defining its exercise as "an act of will, to do or to refrain from doing" (p. 270).

By bringing historic example to demonstrate the barrenness of the dogmatic conception of sovereignty, and the shallowness of the philosophy which puts the state in a class by itself, differing essentially from all other societies, Mr. Laski has made an important contribution to political theory. His historical view shows a broad perspective and also a mastery of detail. The footnotes indicate a familiarity with the medieval literature of the church and state conflict as well as the controversial literature of the nineteenth century.

Mr. Laski has nothing to say of a "sovereignty" beyond the state. In this field such books as Westlake's *Principles of international law*, and Hill's *World organization and the modern state* have elaborated the criticisms of absolute sovereignty suggested by the present work. Undoubtedly the tendency of political theory is to recognize a greater autonomy in associations above and below the state at the expense of the "sovereignty" of the state, thus attaining through federalism the unity

which has been found such a desideratum for law and order, without impairing the variety which progress demands.

QUINCY WRIGHT

Addresses on government and citizenship. By Elihu Root. Collected and edited by Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott. (Cambridge: Harvard university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1916. 552 p. $2.00 net)

This is one of a series of volumes designed to contain the collected addresses and state papers of Mr. Root during the period of his services in the cabinet and as United States senator from New York. The volume before us contains his various addresses on government, citizenship, and legal procedure. Mr. Root's great abilities as a lawyer and his long experience in public life render valuable anything that he may have to say on these subjects. Most if not all the papers contained in this volume have been previously published in various forms, but the editors have performed a needed service in bringing them together for convenient use and reference.

The longest and most systematic papers here reprinted are the series of lectures delivered in 1907 and 1913 at Yale and Princeton universities respectively on the William S. Dodge and Stafford Little foundations. Considerable space is also devoted to a reprint of speeches made by Mr. Root before the New York constitutional conventions of 1894 and 1915. The most noteworthy of these is the speech on "Invisible government," in which he attacked the system behind the form of the government which had dominated New York state for a generation. Another address here reprinted which attracted much attention at the time of its delivery in 1906 is that on "How to preserve the local self-government of the states," in which the speaker gave his views as to the relations between the nation and the states. Also worthy of note is the able address on the case of William Lorimer, delivered in the United States senate.

The various papers cannot here be reviewed in detail. Suffice it to say that, as a whole, they show the author to be possessed of a wide knowledge of public men and events and of a shrewd wit and common sense in judging them. They are imbued with a high sense of the duty of the citizen to his government and reflect his high ethical standards as a lawyer. Although extremely conservative if not reactionary in some of his views, Mr. Root is shown in this volume to be optimistic as to the future of party and popular government. It should be added, however, that towards many of our governmental institutions, his comments exhibit a merely laudatory, rather than critical or scientific attitude.

J. M. MATHEWS

Stone ornaments used by Indians in the United States and Canada. Being a description of certain charm stones, gorgets, tubes, bird stones and problematical forms. By Warren K. Moorehead. (Andover, Mass.: Andover press, 1917. 448 p. $3.75)

In almost every collection of Indian relics there will be found certain finished specimens to which no definite use can be assigned. From their form it seems certain that they are neither tools nor weapons, while the fact that in most cases they show no wear, and are wrought from materials selected for beauty rather than durability or ease of working, points in the same direction. In some rare cases it would seem as if they were the result of individual caprice, the work of craftsmen playing with their art, but there can be no doubt that the vast majority of these objects hold a deeper significance. In spite of the great number of specimens known, there are very few which can not easily be identified as belonging to one or another of some half dozen well defined types. Collectors, recognizing these types, have named them bird stones, boat stones, banner stones, plumpets, gorgets, and so forth, and have advanced a multitude of theories as to their origin and significance. In spite of these efforts it can not be said that any of the types have so far received a satisfactory explanation, and the present volume can justly claim to be a pioneer work in a field which seems to promise results of more than ordinary importance.

Most writers on the subject have been hampered by the small number of specimens available for study in any single collection and by the condition of the literature, which consists for the most part of brief references scattered through hundreds of publications. Mr. Moorehead has overcome these difficulties, placing the problems already recognized on a firm basis, and disclosing others intimately connected with the culture areas and tribal migrations in prehistoric North America. Maps are given which indicate that in spite of the wide distribution of the problematical forms, there is a comparatively small region in which all the known types occur simultaneously. This area, comprising western Illinois, southern Wisconsin, Indiana, northern Kentucky, Ohio, and a narrow strip in Pennsylvania and New York, seems to have been a cultural nucleus from which the use of these objects spread to the surrounding tribes. An additional point of interest is that even within this prescribed area there are strong indications that the problematical forms belong to a cultural substratum which has been overlaid by the remains of other prehistoric occupations. Mr. Parker has contributed a chapter on the polished slate culture of New York in which he shows that such was apparently the case in that state, while even in New England, where several types of problematical objects are rare or lacking,

banner stones and plummets are found in the graves of the "red paint" people whose culture antedated that of the recent tribes. In New Jersey also a number of banner stones have been found under conditions which point to very great age. It is the writer's belief that further investigation along these lines will produce valuable results.

In addition to outlining these new problems, Mr. Moorehead has devoted considerable space to a consideration of the theories advanced as to the significance and use of problematical forms, and has augmented these with the results of his own studies. Even in the case of as simple and apparently obvious a type as the gorget, no final decision is possible. Many of these objects were no doubt ornaments worn on the breast, as the name implies, but the use of others is unknown. Their occasional presence on the wrists of skeletons has led to the theory that some were used as archers' wrist guards, but Mr. Moorehead doubts this. Bar amulets, boat stones, bird stones, and the finer plummets probably had a talismanic significance. The winged, longitudinally perforated forms known as banner stones have excited much discussion and no less than six theories as to their use are given. It seems most probable that some were hair ornaments, others ceremonial objects of unknown significance.

It seems rather surprising that Mr. Moorehead, while stretching his title to cover spuds, many of which were certainly tools, should have ignored the cones and hemispheres, recognized problematical types. In spite of this trifling oversight, the book is far and away the best and most complete dealing with this subject, and will be of interest to collectors and scientists alike. It is profusely illustrated, and contains in addition maps and outline charts of the various types. There are numerous lists giving the collections containing specimens of each of the types described, and a very complete bibliography which will be invaluable to all those seriously interested in this phase of American archaeology.

RALPH LINTON

History of the United States. By Edward Channing. Volume IV, Federalists and republicans, 1789-1815. (New York: Macmillan company, 1917. 575 p. $2.75 net)

Unlike those of the sybil of Cumae, the volumes of Mr. Channing intensify in value as they grow in number, for the advantages that lie in a review of American history by a single mind multiply as the period reviewed lengthens. The four volumes now before the public represent a greater sweep of work than that of any other path breaker in the field. He has overcapped Bancroft by a generation, and has treated a period more than twice as long as McMaster, Von Holst, or Schouler. Of course, a path had been opened through all the way he traveled before

Mr. Channing began his work, but none the less he is a pioneer, for his work is his own from the bottom up. Where he found a thicket unexplored he went through it, where he found a beaten path he tested it with the same care as if it had been wilderness. He has not so much verified past findings as ignored them. Unlike many ambitious of a reputation for novelty, he has not allowed the work of others to deflect him from the treatment of facts and the formation of conclusions that seemed to him sound. To the careless reader it might often appear that he was repeating what has been written before, but he never repeats. Where his content resembles that of his predecessors it is because the subject seemed to him of significance; where his conclusions are identical, it is because his investigations indicated those conclusions. His work, then, is an independent review of our history to 1815, and its resemblance, in substantial measure, to earlier accounts is a gratifying evidence that the story of our past is coming to rest on solid foundations.

The materials upon which this review is based are so various as to suggest completeness, yet, of course, it is obvious that no one could have gone over, much less weighed, all the sources existing for the period covered. One gains an impression that the selection of material was somewhat guided by interest in the subject. This was quite obviously the case in connection with one of the main limitations of this volume. Mr. Channing designed a history of the national government, not of the states, and selected his material accordingly. The outstanding characteristic in the use of sources is the enormous scope of manuscript used. One is familiar enough with the study based entirely upon manuscripts, but using those of one collection only, and with the use of manuscripts as embellishments to a narrative based on printed matter. Mr. Channing's notes give an impression that his main thread depends on manuscripts drawn from collections, public and private, scattered over all the area of which he treats. Another striking characteristic is the constant acknowledgment of assistance from those still at work on various subjects. All that lies between the original manuscript and the unwritten monograph has been laid under tribute at all places where the subject seemed to Mr. Channing to demand it. The notes are useful for the investigator, but do not fully represent the full authority on which the narrative is based.

What Mr. Channing seeks from these sources is crystalline fact. Nothing delights him so keenly as a problem of evidence, and no American historian equals him in the objective solution of such problems. He has long relished the reputation of an iconoclast, which his classroom teaching has given him, but in this great work the pride of novelty has been completely conquered. Probably no work has given the answer to so

many moot points, and when it has been given, it is apt to prove final. It is not so certain that answers may not be given to some of those that Mr. Channing confesses insoluble. His method is impeccable rather than comprehensive, and the majority of his colleagues would admit a purgatory of things reasonably certain, as well as the heaven of finality and the hell of doubt. Individual proven facts are the basis of his work, the statistic and the generalization he abhors.

Mr. Beard, reviewing this volume in the *New republic* for July 7, 1917, while condemning it for not questioning "the sources of conscious opinion," commends it for dissecting "that absurd abstraction 'sectionalism' so thoroughly . . . that we need not expect to see it anywhere except in text-books for the next three generations." As a matter of fact Mr. Channing does not anywhere dissect sectionalism, and he consciously rejects the quest of the sources of conscious opinion. His conception of history is as rigid as his rules of evidence. History is the presentation of the facts that have been so carefully garnered, not their explanation. He presents the surface, let him who dares, guess what causes the flexions that are presented. There is room for doubt as to whether this is the sole function of the historian. Most recent history has concerned itself with the muscles and the nerves, and we have fallen into the belief that historical method affords an X-ray which renders such work scientific. It must be confessed, however, that over-indulgence in the X-ray produces skin trouble, and that we sometimes become absorbed in the reconstruction of unseen causes only to find in the end that they could not have produced the obvious event. It is a distinct relief to find a simple record of the knowable unaccompanied by guesses. Mr. Channing represents not a survival, as Mr. Beard believes, but a school which will always exist, with waxing and waning vogue; the school of the purist, the puritan, the objectivist. Even Mr. Beard implies that Mr. Channing's work is instinct with an intellectual quality, which makes the failure to explain glaringly a matter of choice rather than of ability.

When, however, one comes to presentation, the subjective is bound to make itself felt. The whole, even of the knowable surface, cannot be presented; selection must be made. In many respects, Mr. Channing's selection is as notable as his judgment of evidence. He endeavors to maintain his objectivity by selecting on the basis of importance, and the proportion and balance of the narrative have a classic perfection, while the mass is embellished by a skill in the selection of individual facts, that constitutes its chief literary distinction.

It is, however, it cannot help being, Mr. Channing's temple. It is a history of the national government, but it is the national government

rather as a field for the interplay of strong men than an institution. A preliminary chapter on social conditions is delightfully typical. Absolutely tangible, it deals exclusively, not with the things "the people" did, but with what A, B, and C did. The whole book deals with men, real men, and, as they are men whose records have reached us, reasonably prominent men. If anyone wishes to follow up the social forces that moved them, he is at liberty to do so, but here are the men themselves. Whether they worked by predestination or free will, whether they wove their web to carry out the will of a creator or evolution, is not to Mr. Channing the business of history. He will present the veritable web in the weaving.

The individual, therefore, plays exactly the same rôle as we see him playing about us, and the value of the impression conveyed will depend, in large measure, upon the view taken of the individual. In thus dealing with the human element, the subjective involved in selection is inevitably reinforced by the reaction of man on man. No human being can by any possibility escape it entirely. One cannot but feel that in dealing with men Mr. Channing has a somewhat mischievous delight in calling attention to their foibles. It is also apparent that he is a native of that section where "Praise to the face is open disgrace." In his formal characterization, the virtues that appear are but few and grudgingly bestowed. When, however, he discusses Hamilton, his real admiration for Washington and Madison is allowed to appear, and so throughout. The net impression that he leaves is distinctly one of a world of wholesome men, with some great ones scattered through it. He blames frequently, but his judgments are on the whole a fresh breeze after the mean and belittling views of human nature expressed by recent followers of Dean Swift. Mr. Beard sees in the statement that Adams' appointment of so many federalists to office in 1801 "should be attributed to the goodness of his heart rather than to any selfish desire to defraud Jefferson of any of his rights," an instance of Mr. Channing's "dry humor;" of which indeed there are many. In this case, however, it is not humor but a deliberate judgment on the man in the study of whose character he has made the most profound contribution of the volume. On the whole, Mr. Channing creates an unusual atmosphere of confidence in his estimates of men. They appear to have some resemblance to those we know in ordinary life, and one can read his work and still preserve some modest hope of the decency of human nature.

In detail the contributions of Mr. Channing to new knowledge are very numerous, and are scattered throughout the volume. They are perhaps greatest in the account of the Adams administration, and particularly in the study of the election of 1800. Naturally every informed reader will

query the inclusion and exclusion of topics and facts. To the reviewer the account of the Hartford convention seems unduly brief and colorless, and that of the negotiation at Ghent inadequate for the general reader. The chapters on "High finance" and on "Blockade and trade with the enemy" are rich in new matter.

CARL RUSSELL FISH

List of newspapers in the Yale university library. [Yale historical publications, Miscellany, II, issued under the direction of the department of history in conjunction with the Connecticut academy of arts and sciences] (New Haven: Yale university press, 1916. 216 p. $3.00)

The happily increasing use of newspapers as an important historical source has made it improbable that the larger collections of newspapers should much longer remain relatively inaccessible for want of published bibliographies or check lists. Although in fullness of detail and carefulness of execution the example set by the early *Annotated catalogue of newspaper files in the library of the state historical society of Wisconsin*, published in 1898 (second edition 1911) has not been generally followed, since that volume appeared more than a dozen catalogs of other large collections have been published. Together with the historical bibliographies of the newspapers of several states, the union check lists in a number of cities have begun to make the chief collections more readily available. Much still remains to be done in this direction.

The catalog of the collection in the Yale university library is an important addition to the short list. The Yale collection, besides being rich in early New England, especially Connecticut, newspapers, contains a large number of papers from the principal South American states dating from early in the nineteenth century. This part of the collection supplements rather than duplicates the material in the library of congress. For example, while the latter is rich in papers of Brazil and Chile, the former has a large number from Bolivia, Colombia, and Peru. Of Mexican papers the library of congress has the larger number, but is weak in certain places in which the Yale collection has long runs of important titles, making it on the whole somewhat the better of the two.

The compiler has settled the question of what constitutes a newspaper by including "all periodicals whose main design is the publishing of news of general interest, issued more or less regularly once a week or oftener." The arrangement is geographical, the United States leading (states geographically arranged), followed by Africa, Asia, Europe, and so on. The main list is supplemented by a title index and a series of useful charts showing graphically for each year the papers in the library.

The fact that in this work, as in some others, the desire merely for a

working list has led to the omission of many bibliographical details raises a question that might well be dealt with more generously when other large collections are cataloged. In view of the additional usefulness that can be secured at slight additional expense, such lists ought at least to show the year in which each paper was founded and discontinued, and the identities and connections of related and successive papers and those removed from place to place.

FRANK W. SCOTT

Benjamin Franklin, printer. By John Clyde Oswald. (Garden City: Doubleday, Page and company for Associated advertising clubs of the world, 1917. 244 p. $2.00 net)

"Founded Ao. Di. 1728 by Benj. Franklin" is a phrase which on the cover of a certain popular weekly finds regular entrance into the average American home. The statement thus confidently made appears to need amendment (pp. 96, 99), but Mr. Oswald will find few to gainsay the importance of Benjamin Franklin's work as a printer, "using the word in the sense which it possessed in his time, when it included printing, editing, publishing, and advertising." The present volume is justified, the author contends, because Franklin, the printer, has too often been obscured by Franklin, the patriot, the diplomat, or the statesman. Written for the Associated advertising clubs of the world, the book is designed to appeal to the business man rather than to the historian, but the latter will not find it useless.

Mr. Oswald shows great familiarity with his subject. For many years a collector of "Frankliniana," and an ardent reader of every new Franklin book, he has all the enthusiasm of the hobbyist. Indeed, it was this enthusiasm, we suspect, quite as much as the invitation of the Associated advertising clubs, which led him to undertake the task. We are not surprised that such a writer refuses to be bound by the rules of historical composition. As Franklin might say, he has "got clear of the College" (p. 160). He has no time for footnotes, and quotes freely from secondary works. Especially in the earlier chapters, he traverses much well-traveled ground, and does not hesitate to give us extracts from the *Autobiography* and epigrams from the *Almanack* which we remember from our old fifth readers. From one-fourth to one-third of the subject matter consists of direct quotations of one sort or another. The chapters which deal with Franklin's business career, however, have much in them that is original. The many publications of this most important of early American printers have been examined with great care, and the author's experience has stood him in good stead when writing on such subjects as "Publisher and bookseller," "As a business man," "Partner-

ships," "Typefounder," "Advertiser and propagandist." When we read of Franklin as an advertiser of fountain pens (p. 94) and of quack medicines (p. 108), as a devotee of simplified spelling (p. 193), and as "the first American trust magnate" (p. 139), we are in better position to understand how really modern he was. Certainly the most interesting and probably the most valuable part of the book is the fifty pages or more of illustrations. These are, for the most part, reproductions of the title pages of books which came from Franklin's press, sample pages of the *Pennsylvania gazette* and *Poor Richard's almanack*, specimens of the type which Franklin used, and the like.

It has been the aim of the author to make the physical structure of the volume "conform typographically somewhat nearly to the style of the books printed by Benjamin Franklin." This accounts, possibly, for the decorative designs which occasionally appear, and for the well-filled pages. Franklin was desperately disgusted with the "excessive Artifices" of some printers by which they made it appear that "the Selling of Paper seems now the object, and printing on it only the Pretence" (p. 222). From the editor of *The American printer* we expect accurate work, and we are not disappointed. Still, so masculine a man as Franklin could hardly be called a "confidante" (p. 216) to anybody, and we wonder just which method of spelling "almanac" (pp. xi, 110) the author really approves. The index is short but serviceable. No bibliography is given, but the more important books on Franklin are cited in the text, while chapter XIX discusses the various editions of Franklin's works, and the present whereabouts of Franklin manuscripts.

JOHN D. HICKS

Ulysses S. Grant. By Louis A. Coolidge. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1917. 596 p. $2.00 net)

When President Grant left the White House in 1877 the American mind had had its fill of public matters, was satiated with jurisprudence, and was unable or unwilling seriously to confront matters of public interest. It was ready to believe that public men were a bad lot. The names of Belknap, Babcock, Blaine, Colfax, Conkling, Schenck, Robeson, suggested stories, told or half told, that reflected little credit upon the statesmen in charge of affairs in the decade after the civil war. Grant had associated upon terms of intimacy with most of these men. He had allowed Belknap to dodge impeachment, and may have shielded Babcock; he had offered the chief justiceship to Conkling and to Caleb Cushing. Yet the general public, willing to believe the worst of his friends, declined to concede any stain upon him. The honesty of Grant, like the rectitude of Lincoln, was one of the things not to be debated. And when

in the next decade Grant wrote his "Battle of Shiloh" for the *Century* and Nicolay and Hay started their *Lincoln* the immediate response of the reading public proved that these names had still a magic influence.

Lord Charnwood has recently given us an understanding study of Lincoln in his environment and career, upon a reasonable scale. Mr. Coolidge's *Ulysses S. Grant* tries to do a similar service for Lincoln's associate. It is the best biography we have for Grant. Friendly to his subject at all times Mr. Coolidge avoids the indiscriminate loyalty that pervades many of the earlier lives. His story flows along in easy interesting narrative with the character of Grant developing from experience to experience. He has not used any new manuscript sources, but he has made an intelligent arrangement of the materials in print.

The military half of Grant's public career reads like a fairy tale, but has been told so often that Mr. Coolidge has little to add in material or estimate. He tells it well, but the real interest of his contribution begins with the war over and Grant a civil figure. The half of the volume devoted to the period 1865-1877 has peculiar value because of its interpretation of our doubtful period. Mr. Rhodes has seen only reconstruction in these years. Mr. Coolidge sees real construction. He is not discouraged by the signs of personal corruption, nor tempted into a career of muckraking. He calls a spade a spade, but is hunting for other things. His thesis is to maintain for Grant as president a success "in setting our feet firmly in the paths of peace and in establishing our credit with the nations of the world" which he believes to be "hardly less significant than his success in war."

Just because most of the earlier books upon the Grant administrations have been campaign tracts, or else pessimistic complaints, it is refreshing to deal with this serious and informed attempt to justify the general trend of events. Judgments will differ upon its success. It is probable that it proves too much. "In establishing our credit" Grant had no obstacle to overcome equal to the inflation campaign that Bland and Butler led against Hayes, and Grant left no record indicating that he had thought out public finance and reached a reasoned conclusion. Hayes did. It may be doubted whether it required effort to set our feet "firmly in the paths of peace." The great difficulty for twenty years was to get our feet out of private ruts. Grant acquiesced in the general unwillingness to prolong the period of coercion by the army at the south. But it was Hayes who avowed a determination to let the south solve its own problems and who forced ambitious politicians to keep hands off. Until we have contrasted the evidence brought forward by Mr. Coolidge with that in Williams's *Hayes* and that in the forthcoming *Garfield*, of which we hear, it will be impracticable to say for certain how far Grant

consciously directed our affairs into paths of any sort, or how far he was a passenger upon the ship of state, — an honest passenger, not to be corrupted or sickened by his surroundings, yet a passenger and not a pilot. But we have no better book than this for the beginning of our study.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

Proceedings at the unveiling of a memorial to Horace Greeley at Chappaqua, N. Y., February 3, 1914. With reports of other Greeley celebrations related to the centennial of his birth, February 3, 1911; [The University of the state of New York, Division of archives and history] (Albany: Published under the auspices of the state historian, 1915. 263 p. $1.00)

At the time of his death in 1872 the *Springfield Republican* declared that "Horace Greeley is only beginning to live. Every year now will add to his power; will round and heap the measure of his fame." Much has been written of Greeley since 1872, including several biographies, one as late as 1903; and some efforts have been made to show his relation to later humanitarian, economic, and other reforms. But these have not by any means measured up to the subject, and in the main, the Greeley tradition, though it has been kept alive, has not validated the prophecy of the *Republican*.

If, as was said somewhat indignantly at the time of the centennial, it is the fashion of a certain school of writers to sneer at Horace Greeley as one of the diminishing figures of American history, this centennial volume does little to discredit those who sneer. It is avowedly meant to "furnish to the world as near an approach to a final life of the great editor as is likely to be presented, at least to this generation." It would appear, then, that Greeley must wait for a later generation to say the final adequate word, for very little is added to the already printed record; no one of the several important aspects of Greeley is clarified or illuminated. The greater part of the volume is filled with the proceedings at the various memorial meetings and at the dedication of the Partridge monument at Chappaqua. To this material, which includes papers on Greeley and woman suffrage, Greeley the journalist, Greeley and the printers, Greeley and the cause of labor, is added a few studies and reminiscences: Greeley as a colonist, Greeley as political and social leader, and a wonderful decade; Horace Greeley — orator, editor, national benefactor. These topics offer opportunity, certainly, to give a clear evaluation of Greeley's place in American life, but the papers do not possess in any appreciable measure the qualities of adequacy or finality.

Nearly a hundred pages of collateral material are appended — news-

paper comment, characteristic utterances of Greeley, extracts from addresses, and a bibliography of biographical material on Horace Greeley, in part one of which are: Books and pamphlets by Horace Greeley, Contributions to magazines and annuals, Introductions, etc.; in part two, Biographies and biographical sketches of Horace Greeley, and Publications which contain writings of Horace Greeley. These are useful lists which the student will be glad to have; but in a "final life" they should have been made complete. Part one is an abridgment, with additions, of a compilation made by Nathan Greeley. From part two one respectable biography, that by William M. Cornell, is omitted; no place is found for such important records of contemporary comment as the Greeley memorial volume issued soon after his death, or for many articles, both scholarly and popular, that have appeared in periodicals.

One of the best features of the book is the interesting collection of photographs of Greeley, many of them hitherto unpublished. It is to be regretted that many of them are reproduced on so small a scale as to compare unfavorably with the full-page portraits of persons who promoted the centennial.

Frank W. Scott

Galusha A. Grow, father of the homestead law. By James T. DuBois and Gertrude S. Mathews. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1917. 305 p. $1.75 net)

The appearance of this book gives to the general reader as also to the special student the life story of a man who for two of the most trying years of our national life served as speaker of the house of representatives in congress. In this capacity he rendered a great service and was one of the few close advisers of President Lincoln. Together this small group of men determined in a large measure the policies to be followed. Yet to Mr. Grow, one of these advisers, Schouler, Rhodes, and McMaster give no space in their general histories of the United States. Wilson gives but five lines and Von Holst less than a page.

This book of 305 pages contains fifteen chapters; the first two, and most of the last one are devoted to the private life of Mr. Grow while the remaining chapters are used to set forth his public life and the measures with which he was connected. The subtitle of the book, *Father of the homestead act*, as also the following quotation from the foreword, p. vii: "To his foresight and persistence we owe, in great part, the settlement of the Far West" give as the authors' purpose the connection in a very important way of Mr. Grow's name with the westward movement.

To claim for Mr. Grow the fatherhood of the homestead law is, in the

mind of the reviewer, very extravagant. This statement is made although some evidence is submitted in the last chapter, pages 278, 286, 287 to show that such honor may be fairly claimed for him. The fundamental idea of the act — donations or sale at a nominal price to actual settlers — was very early in operation in North Carolina and Tennessee. Twenty-seven years before Mr. Grow entered congress Thomas Benton introduced in congress a bill containing this basic principle. And for a quarter of a century thereafter he championed the idea both in and outside of the legislative halls. President Jackson as did many others most vigorously urged the homestead principle. Even in the last years of the struggle for the adoption of this far-reaching measure it can hardly be said that Mr. Grow urged the bill more successfully than did others. It is true that he firmly believed in the homestead idea, that he repeatedly introduced a homestead bill which was, however, as repeatedly defeated, and that during the discussion of the final bill in the house, he did leave the speaker's chair and urge its adoption. The authors, however, fail to show that Mr. Grow either originated the idea or is to be credited with the final passage of the bill.

The real reasons for the success of the bill are to be found in the facts: (1) that the republican party for political reasons had become committed to the principle; (2) that the democratic south which had opposed the measure in the interests of slavery had withdrawn from congress; and finally (3) that the advent of railways developed the west and broke down the opposition of the east to this development.

In other respects the book brings to our attention much of interest. Mr. Grow's lot was cast among the poor and on the frontier. His early struggle and that of his mother that he might have an education gave him a point of view and probably an appreciation of the sound democratic principles for which he always stood. He was one of the founders of the republican party, served in congress from 1851 to 1863 and again from 1894 to 1902, and under President Hayes refused an appointment to the Russian mission. Mr. Grow, quick, aggressive, and thoroughly honest, was a successful leader of men, devoted both to his party and to his country. All this is interestingly told by his biographers.

In form and appearance the book cannot be seriously criticised. The paper is good, the print clear, and the binding excellent. The authors, however, trained as journalists, have not been careful to keep close to the sources. In the whole book there are less than a dozen footnotes and these references are for the most part to secondary sources (see for example chapter III). Evidence appears on almost every page of a very close reliance upon autobiographical notes left by Mr. Grow (see the

note of dedication); no attempt is made to verify statements found therein. In the matter of selection and arrangement it may be questioned whether the best judgment is always shown. For instance in chapter IX the results of the repeal of the Missouri compromise are under consideration, yet a lengthy discussion of Mr. Grow's European trip and the impressions made upon him are included. Then too in the selection of words and phrases better authorities could have been followed than appear to have been used. (See the following citations: p. 47, "felt the urge"; p. 48, "not then proven"; p. 49, "untellably"; p. 50, "Motived by those causes.") In the last half of the book, too, there is tendency to use long and involved sentences. Yet with these defects the book is readable and its pages should be scanned by every student of American history.

JUDSON F. LEE

Sixty years of American life. Taylor to Roosevelt, 1850-1910. By Everett P. Wheeler, A.M., M.S. (New York: E. P. Dutton & company, 1917. 489 p. $2.50 net)

Mr. Everett P. Wheeler's recollections cover the period of a useful life and illustrate a type of citizen rare in the earlier history of the United States, but fairly plentiful today. Holding no conspicuous office he has nevertheless provided some of the driving force for most of the disinterested movements of the last half century. His chapters review the civil war and politics in the dark days after the war, and traverse in some detail the movements for tariff reform, sound money, civil service reform, municipal reform, and law reform. He has been a practical man in the midst of all this effort for social betterment, and has never been one of the "fringe of lunatics." The real meaning of the weight of popular approval that has sustained the non-political efforts of all our more recent presidents is clearer to any one who has worked through this narrative. Today our strong tendency is to use political machinery merely to record conclusions already reached, or nearly reached, through non-partisan and informal propaganda. Not only Mr. Wheeler's reforms but prohibition, suffrage, preparedness, and compulsory service stand out as cases where the process is at work. And the leaders in this informal work constitute a type relatively unfamiliar and commonly difficult to study.

There is little in Mr. Wheeler's book that is new to the specialist; but in its arrangement it gives continuity and substance to our impression of the reformer's mind. The documents printed and quoted from are less intimate than we should have desired. If the author had drawn from his letter files some of his more personal and revealing letters, as

ex-senator Foraker did, the contribution would have ranked higher for the historian. But withal it is a useful and informing work.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

Reminiscences of a war-time statesman and diplomat, 1830-1915. By Frederick W. Seward, assistant secretary of state, administration of Lincoln, Johnson, and Hayes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnams' sons, 1916. 489 pages. $3.50 net)

The work covers in a scattering way about seventy-five years from the earliest recollections of the writer to 1909. It is a mixture of reminiscences, history, diary, and letters, and frequently the narrative is based on all of these. There are no chapters, but the book is divided into more than a hundred short sections or topics under three main divisions: Before the war; During the war; After the war. It cannot be said that Mr. Seward's compilation is of great historical value, yet at times it is very interesting and frequently it affords illuminating sidelights on men, measures, and events. Some of the more important or more interesting parts are those relating to the author's boyhood, recollections of men and conditions in Albany and Washington in the late thirties and the forties, and his accounts of old-fashioned college life and of the administration of an antebellum newspaper. There are also reminiscences of visiting personages and prominent politicians and statesmen, and most worth while of all, there is some inside information as to the conduct of foreign affairs by William Henry Seward, who is the hero of the book. Special mention may be made of the author's explanation (p. 149) of his father's "Thoughts for the president's consideration" as merely a basis for future discussion, and of the development of Seward's expansion policy. In connection with the latter topic the accounts of travels in the West Indies, Mexico, and Alaska are interesting and significant. Probably the book would have been a better one had it told more of Frederick William Seward's activities and less of William Henry Seward's.

WALTER L. FLEMING

A soldier-doctor of our army, James P. Kimball, late colonel and assistant surgeon-general, U. S. army. By Maria Brace Kimball. With an introduction by Major-General William C. Gorgas. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1917. 192 p. $1.50 net)

Issued just before the declaration of war with Germany, this readable little volume forms a timely essay in practical patriotism. Basing her narrative mainly upon her husband's letters and diaries, Mrs. Kimball gives an interesting picture of the quiet self-sacrificing devotion of the best type of soldier-doctor.

General Gorgas, in the introduction, well says: "The army medical officer on the plains was obliged to combine the duties of surgeon, oculist, aurist, dentist, general practitioner. . . He was also general health officer of the garrison, was compelled to study and inspect water supply, to plant and irrigate post gardens, and sometimes to manufacture ice. In addition, he often had a large free clinic among Indians, traders and ranchmen. Yet this busy man, who happened to be interested in ethnology, botany, geology or biology, did not fail to make use of his rare opportunities for study. Our museums and libraries have been enriched by collections and monographs made by army surgeons. . . In this . . . Dr. Kimball did his part ably." It is to be regretted that the limits of the volume did not permit a more extended account of the archaeological and botanical researches of Dr. Kimball. Even more does the reader regret that more details of the home life of this fine, truly religious soldier and gentleman could not be related.

A student at Union college when the civil war opened, James P. Kimball felt the call to serve the union, and saw in the military hospital his greatest field of usefulness. Graduating from the Albany medical college in December, 1864, he reported to Meade's corps next month, in time to participate in the fight at Hatcher's Run. When peace returned, after a brief attempt to practise in Nevada, he followed for two years the career of country practitioner in New York. Returning to the army, in 1867, he served with many commands at many posts, east and west. He participated in such expeditions as the Yellowstone survey, and became the intimate friend of such soldiers as Terry, Stanley, Custer, and Hancock; such surgeons as Cuyler, clergymen like Father Férard, the Jesuit missionary, and the journalist, S. J. Barrows.

During the Spanish-American war, he rendered invaluable service in the direction of the hospitals at Governor's island.

The book has a fair index, an engraved portrait of Colonel Kimball, and twenty other illustrations.

For this brief notice, the best conclusion is a quotation from Dr. Kimball's account of the San Juan river expedition, of 1896. "We had performed the chief duty of a standing army — to prevent war. . . The soldier, as individual and as citizen profits by his military training. While his body gains in strength and endurance, his spirit learns courage, self-sacrifice and obedience. He acquires habits of order, punctuality, attention, and courtesy that are invaluable in the arts of peace. But above these civic virtues is the active patriotism which the soldier learns, — 'that a country's a thing men should die for at need.'"

Milledge L. Bonham, Jr.

Frontier advance on the upper Ohio, 1778-1779. Edited with introduction and notes by Louise Phelps Kellogg, Wisconsin historical society. [Publications of the state historical society of Wisconsin, Collections, vol. xxiii, Draper series, vol. iv] (Madison: The society, 1916. 509 p. $1.50)

This volume is the fourth of a series begun twelve years ago under the editorial charge of Mr. Thwaites and Miss Kellogg. The three volumes previously issued under the auspices of the Wisconsin society, Sons of the Revolution, describe the revolution in the west from 1774 to 1778. The State historical society of Wisconsin has now taken up the work and its secretary intimates that a number of additional volumes will follow. This series and the *Illinois historical collections*, taken together, should furnish a remarkably full documentary account of events in the west from 1763 to the close of the revolution.

This volume is made up largely of material selected from the Draper collection of manuscripts, but it also contains some sixty-seven hitherto unpublished letters from the Washington papers, many of them written by Washington himself. There are, in addition, summaries and extracts from a number of documents that have been published elsewhere. The editor has succeeded in bringing together enough material for an excellent study of the subject.

The volume has a very good historical introduction. After a brief summary of conditions on the upper Ohio before 1778 the editor goes into considerable detail regarding events described in the documents that follow.

The documents themselves give vivid descriptions of the dangers from Indians and loyalist conspirators in the spring of 1778, and of the jealousies and dissensions that made unity of action among the Americans so difficult. The main objective of the forces on the upper Ohio was Detroit, but the troops were poorly supported and there is no evidence of any attempt to coöperate with George Rogers Clark. There are documents explaining the interest of Washington, Gerard, and of congress in the proposed expeditions. An appendix gives details regarding troops, supplies, and military arrangements.

The editorial work is, in general, adequate. The footnotes give concise information about most of the people who deserve notice and their references to other material are ample. In some cases extracts from documents are given without any clear indication of omissions (pp. 174, 175, 181) and in some documents the omissions seem to leave an unwarranted gap in the account (pp. 211, 257). Topical headings are supplied for many documents or groups of documents; often the sub-

ject is changed without any editorial notice. The index is satisfactory. It is to be hoped that publication of the remaining volumes will be more rapid than it has been in the past.

PAUL C. PHILLIPS

Ohio-Michigan boundary. By C. E. Sherman, C.E., inspector. Volume I of the final report, Ohio coöperative topographic survey. (Columbus: the state, 1916. 115 p. $.50)

The dispute over some four hundred square miles of territory in what is now the northwestern part of Ohio once nearly caused hostilities between the authorities of that state and the officials of Michigan territory. Mistaken notions regarding the position of lake Michigan and lake Erie, based on the errors of John Mitchell's map, were largely responsible for this narrowly averted clash in authority. The affair was complicated by the failure of the federal government and the state of Ohio to settle the disputed boundary while the region was being peopled, by the prospect of material advantage to those who had speculated in Toledo real estate, and by the hope of political gain for the party that favored the claim of Ohio or advanced Michigan promptly to statehood. After a bitter controversy that extended on several occasions to the floors of congress, the matter was settled by the admission of Michigan as a state. In return for that boon her people acquiesced in the loss of the disputed strip and received in her present northern peninsula an area more than twenty times as large.

The present publication is due to the fact that after a century the much disputed boundary still lacked permanent markers. Accordingly it was resurveyed in 1915 and the present volume issued by the state of Ohio. It includes the report of the commissioners under whose auspices the survey was made with accompanying detailed maps and illustrations; the report of the engineer directly in charge of the work; and a history of the boundary dispute, comprising about half of the brief volume. For the average reader this will constitute the most important part of the work. Mr. Arthur M. Schlesinger of Ohio state university, in the "Basis of the Ohio-Michigan boundary dispute" contributes the cartographical foundation for the controversy and an adequate bibliography. The major portion of the historical material is the reprint of an article by Annah May Soule, which appeared in two important Michigan publications about a score of years ago. The republication with its careful references to the sources is worth while and the compilation will prove useful to the local historian. An index, at least to the completed publication, would be desirable.

I. J. Cox

Indiana as seen by early travelers. A collection of reprints from books of travel, letters and diaries prior to 1830. Selected and edited by Harlow Lindley, director department of Indiana history and archives, Indiana state library, secretary Indiana historical commission. [Indiana historical collections] (Indianapolis: Indiana historical commission, 1916. 596 p. $1.50)

It was a happy thought on the part of the Indiana historical commission to include in its publications on Indiana history a volume on Indiana as seen by early travelers. The book appears under the editorship of Mr. Harlow Lindley, a member of the commission and director of the department of Indiana history and archives. It is a substantial volume of 596 pages and mechanically considered is a fair specimen of the state printer's art, at least as practiced in the middle west.

The volume contains thirty-three selections from travelers' narratives. In length they range from two (Eneas Mackenzie and Captain Basil Hall) of one and one-fourth pages each to one (David Thomas) of ninety-four pages; in point of time from 1778 to 1833. Only two are of earlier date than 1800, however, and all but seven of the thirty-three are of later date than the close of the war of 1812. Four of the selections are now first published from manuscript sources; the other twenty-nine are for the most part taken from the well-known gazetteers and travelers' journals of the period, such as those of Imlay, Volney, Melish, Darby, Flint, Hall, and Atwater.

The four newly published narratives naturally attract the reviewer's chief interest and attention. The journal of Thomas Scattergood Teas of a tour to Fort Wayne in 1821 is a charming narrative, unfortunately all too short. The letters of William Pelham in 1825 and 1826, running to nearly sixty pages, likewise constitute an interesting and valuable picture, particularly of the Owenite settlement of New Harmony. The recollections of Charles F. Coffin, written by a nonagenarian and pertaining to the period of his early boyhood, are, naturally, of but slight value or importance. The final narrative of the quartette and of the volume, the recollections of Victor Colin Duclos, presents another interesting picture of New Harmony life. In view of the youth of the author, however, the narrative is of considerably less value than are the Pelham letters.

The work of the editor is confined in the main to printing (or reprinting) the selections, accompanied, usually, by a one paragraph introductory statement. This is a matter for regret since a more extensive editing of the documents would have added greatly to the scholarly value of the volume. Its object is stated by the editor to be "to make available to the people of the State and others interested in Indiana history,

material which could not be procured easily otherwise." It follows that the volume is not intended primarily for scholars, who, presumably, have or are able to obtain access to the original editions, but rather for the ordinary reader. But such readers need particularly the assistance of adequate editorial annotation if they are to read with profit such a collection of journals of a bygone period as the ones under consideration. By way of obvious illustration from the opening pages, the reader should be told that Thomas Hutchinson exaggerates materially the length of the Ohio (page 7), and that Thomas Ashe frequently drew a long bow in relating the story of his travels and adventures.

A properly constructed map would have added much to the usableness of the book. The index which concludes the volume is far from satisfactory.

M. M. Quaife

Constitution making in Indiana. A source book of constitutional documents with historical introduction and critical notes. By Charles Kettleborough, Ph.D., legislative draftsman, Indiana bureau of legislative information. Volume I, 1780-1851; volume II, 1851-1916. [Indiana historical collections] (Indianapolis: Indiana historical commission, 1916. 530 p.; 693 p. $1.50 per volume)

By an act of March 8, 1915, the general assembly of Indiana created the Indiana historical commission and assigned to that body as one of its duties the collection and publication of documentary and other materials on the history of the state. These two volumes are the result of that commission, though the work of collecting, compiling, interpreting, and editing were entrusted to Mr. Kettleborough; and it may be said at the outset that all students of state history and government are deeply indebted to the author for a painstaking, thorough, and apparently accurate work. The general introduction, which alone comprises 241 pages, gives an account of constitution making from the admission of the state in 1816 to 1916. Since all constitutional measures had to pass the legislature, a detailed description of the adventures of each measure is given together with the political complexion of the general assembly having it under consideration. This introductory discussion is based upon an extensive and intensive use of the original sources, including journals, session laws, and current newspapers. The documents quoted in the body of the text are also preceded by brief historical introductions, thus rendering the work intelligible as a useful work of reference on constitution making.

The scope and content of the main body of the work may be suggested by noting the chief divisions into which the work is grouped. They are:

(1) the session of the Northwest territory to the United States and the organization and development of territorial government (1780-1816), (2) the organization of a constitutional government, (3) amendment of the constitution of 1816, (4) the constitutional convention of 1850, and (5) amendment of the constitution of 1851.

Stated in general terms, the two volumes really center about the two constitutions under which Indiana has been governed for one hundred years: the constitution of 1816 and that of 1851. These two constitutions are given in full with elaborate notes; but there was a long struggle in the attainment of each of these fundamental laws, and, when adopted, the questions of interpretation, of amendment, of repeal, and of carrying the instrument into effect formed an interesting history in state politics, and these phases are illustrated by appropriate documents in the shape of resolutions, debates, court opinions, and newspaper comments. Thus the history of political parties in Indiana and their relation to the national parties are set forth in orderly development giving an insight into the local forces that determined in a measure party action in the nation at large. While the period covered only aims to give the history of a century, the first document, the Northwest ordinance, is the starting point in that history and the work thus reflects the entire history of political parties in America as developed in one state. The fact that Indiana was one of the states carved out of the Northwest territory lends a special interest to the work, for aside from Ohio no state west of the Alleghanies has passed through a more interesting process of development. Here the ideas of the fathers of the constitution meet those of the pioneer; the models for the states of the great west are being formed here; indeed every phase of political life through which America has passed since the formation of the constitution is reflected, if not enacted, in the history of Indiana. Mr. Kettleborough has greatly enhanced the usefulness of this work by devoting 150 pages to a very thorough analytical index, especially useful since the original archives of the earlier sources quoted are without an index. The work is an important contribution to American political institutions.

KARL F. GEISER

History of the North Indiana conference of the Methodist Episcopal church. From its organization, in 1844, to the present. By H. N. Herrick, D.D., of the North Indiana conference, and William Warren Sweet, professor of history, DePauw university. (Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart company, 1917. 375 p. $2.50)

The addition of one more to the extensive list of books dealing with local religious history would not ordinarily be expected to command at-

tention beyond the special locality or at most beyond the membership of the denomination to which it pertains. That it should do so in the present instance is unquestionably due to the fact that the name of a professional historian already identified with the history of the Methodist Episcopal church appears upon the title page. The share Mr. Sweet has had in the production of the volume is clearly set forth in the introduction. At the death of the veteran member of the North Indiana conference to whom the task had at first been confided, who had arranged a plan and had collected the major portion of the material, the duty of editing, supervising, and producing the book devolved upon Mr. Sweet. While thus assuming responsibility for the form and content of the volume he has relied upon the assistance of a group of historical students working under his direction, and only a few of the eleven chapters which compose the first part of the book are from his own pen. The second part containing well-arranged lists of appointment records which fill more than a third of the volume was practically completed by the original historical committee of the conference. Under these circumstances Mr. Sweet has not ventured to depart from the conventional method of recording religious history, and save for its more accurate documentation his work differs but little from other chronicles of religious denominations in the United States. His frank avowal that it is written for the gratification of "those who love the church of their fathers, whether they be laymen or ministers" rather than with intent "to excite the interest of the casual reader" sufficiently explains its scope and purpose.

Serious criticism might thus have been effectually disarmed were it not for the question raised in the opening chapter as to whether such a history is worth the writing. To this question there can be but one answer. In a country where religion has played so large a part in the formation of ideas, institutions, and character, the history of any single denomination and especially of one that has been so potent a factor as the Methodist Episcopal church is indispensable to a true understanding of national development. The only matter in doubt is the way in which such writings should be done.

From the standpoint of the historian there are two chronic defects which writers of religious history would do well to overcome in order that their work may prove to be of permanent value. The one concerns the selection and use of material; the other concerns the point of view, and of the two it is incomparably the more important. The limitation in the use of material which this book shares in common with a large majority of its predecessors is the tendency to rely almost exclusively upon what may be called the official documentary sources of one denomination. Only one manuscript is cited in the footnotes, and the informa-

tion in the text is chiefly drawn from reports of conference meetings and from the pages of the *Western christian advocate*. In consequence we find there much statistical information as to the membership of churches, the dimensions of church buildings, the furniture of parsonages, the payment of salaries, the number of converts at revivals and camp meetings, and the contributions of missionary societies, while there is comparatively little which reveals the part taken by the leaders of the Methodist Episcopal church in northern Indiana in the ordinary affairs of their day and generation; and although biographical sketches appear with the regularity of obituary notices in the official organ of the denomination the personality of individuals whose influence upon western life can scarcely be estimated still remains veiled. The result is a chronicle of facts not much more illuminating than the sources from which it is compiled.

The second defect is to a certain extent a logical result of this limited use of source material. On account of the peculiar relations between church and state in the United States the official utterances of religious denominations are guarded and reserved in the extreme. The evidence from these sources therefore can not be accepted as conclusive save for statistical facts. For the interpretation and understanding of these facts, it must be reinforced by the more intimate personal material found in diaries, letters, or sermons where a freer expression of individual feeling and a fuller discussion of problems affecting religious development were both safe and permissible. To illustrate by a case in point, the bare statement is made from time to time that Sunday services were held in a court house pending the completion of a church building, yet no hint is given of the efforts necessary to obtain permission to use a public building for religious purposes, nor of the hard feelings engendered where it was occupied by Methodists to the exclusion of Baptists, Catholics, or Presbyterians, who for the time being were likewise without a place of worship. Such facts indubitably more significant than the exact number of converts upon the particular occasion would be obviously out of place in records intended for immediate publication, yet they become abundantly clear in the manuscript sources and are corroborated by a glance at the history of rival denominations.

It appears certain, therefore, that a wider range of investigation leading to comparative study of the various sects in a given locality would result in an expansion of the point of view and would produce a truer historical perspective. Especially is this the case in the religious history of the northwest, where sectarian competition was at its keenest and where the political influence of the various denominations had to be taken into account. Granted that the history of other denominations

should be relegated to the background, it is nevertheless true that keeping the spotlight continually upon the activity of the Methodist Episcopal church in Indiana is apt to create the erroneous impression that its development went on apart from and uninfluenced by the forces which affected other denominations. That the author is cognizant of this sectarian interaction is shown in three brief though rather casual references, one noting the influence of Quaker example upon the questions of licensing women preachers, another mentioning Catholic competition after 1880, and a third which cites in a footnote the statistics of a few protestant denominations in 1906. As a matter of fact, however, Catholic expansion into the northwest had been regarded as a political and religious menace by many pious protestants even before the organization of the North Indiana conference in 1844, and in spite of the courteous intercourse between members of different faiths there were deep undercurrents of acrimonious feeling concerning the efforts of Methodists to increase their membership at the expense of other protestant denominations. To leave these facts out of account in writing a history of the Methodist Episcopal church is to present a partial and biased view of its development.

Still further expansion in the point of view would vastly improve the traditional method of writing religious history. If it be incontestably true that the story of one religious sect can not be portrayed apart from that of others existing in the same locality, it is equally beyond question that there is close interrelation between the development of the country as a whole and that of the various sects. Not only were the churches affected by the economic and political conditions of the country; they were also important factors in aiding or retarding that development. It would be interesting to know, for instance, just how the lands for churches and parsonages were originally acquired, whether by direct purchase from the government or from private owners, or, as was often the case, by donation from land speculators who were anxious to encourage settlement upon tracts in their possession. In either event the negotiations for the property would throw much light upon conditions of life in a frontier community where the church was the social as well as the religious center. The political influence exercised by religious associations, while difficult to estimate with precision, might also be detected by means of a thorough investigation of religious source material, and the inclusion of such topics would greatly enhance the permanent value of these studies in the local history of church organizations.

That the task of writing religious history from this enlarged point of view is far more complicated than compiling a chronicle of events from a narrower range of printed sources must be admitted, and there is rea-

son to doubt whether even the most liberal minded of religious sects would feel justified in financing such a narrative. Historical truth in its larger aspects then may not be feasible in a denominational study and accuracy of statement may only be possible when the record is limited to the obvious facts; yet if students in this unexplored field are to perform the service expected of them they must take into consideration on the one hand those subtle and potent forces of human personality and belief which explain the motive behind the event, while on the other hand they must view the subject of religions in the clearer light of political, social, and economic development. Otherwise the local sectarian history will remain in the future what it has been in the past, a convenient secondary source from which the religious history of the United States may some day be written. Meanwhile there is encouragement for the future in the increasing interest historians are showing in this particular field and in the fact that one of them has been able and willing to coöperate with religious leaders in the production of a study of unusual precision and accuracy.

MARTHA L. EDWARDS

Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois. Herausgegeben von Dr. Julius Goebel, Professor an der Staatsuniversität zu Illinois. [Jahrgang, 1915, volume xv, im Auftrage der Deutch-Amerikanschen historischen Gesellchaft von Illinois] (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1916. 382 p. $3.00 net)

The present volume of the *Jahrbuch* is a distinct step in advance of the old method of treating ethnic elements of our population. Instead of being a mere collection of biographical sketches or annalistic accounts of the activity of the German-Americans in some field of endeavor, it is composed of carefully sifted articles consisting of source material, biographical sketches of prominent German-Americans, and contributions on the German-American activities and influence in some field with careful estimates of their influence on American activities in the same field.

In the source material we have two speeches of Karl Schurz and Franz Sigel edited by Mr. Goebel. These speeches, delivered in 1891, sound the same keynote of loyalty to their adopted country as is sounded in the utterances of many German-Americans of the present day. A letter of Paul Follen, the leader of the *Giessener Gesellschaft,* an unfortunate emigration society, pictures the hardships of the pioneers in Missouri. In the same class of material are the interesting "Recollections of a forty-eighter," by Frederick Behlendorff who presents a vivid picture of early civil war campaigns in Missouri. The last contribution in this class

is a "German song of 1778" regarding mercenaries furnished England by the margrave of Ansbach during the revolutionary war.

The biographical sketches are of two prominent political refugees of the nineteenth century. The one of Francis Lieber by Ernest Bruncken gives an evaluation of the work of one of the foremost publicists of his day. Lieber, however, did not identify himself with German-American activities. Of quite a different type was Karl Heinzen, the radical, whose life and work have been carefully studied and presented by Paul Schinnerer.

In the third class of materials we have a study of "The German theater in New York City, 1878-1914," by Edwin Zeydel. In this the author does not attempt "to give a mere annalistic account of German theatrical activity in New York," but "to examine the influence of the German theater on the American stage," and "to describe the function of the German theater as an educational force." The remaining article is a presentation of the political influence of the German-Americans in the northwest by F. J. Herriott in "The premises and significance of Abraham Lincoln's letter to Theodor Cainisus." Mr. Herriott has made an extensive study of this subject for the period immediately preceding the civil war. In this article he shows by reference to contemporary newspapers that the balance of power in Illinois and Iowa in the election of 1860 lay in the hands of the German-Americans.

The volume closes with the annual report of the German-American historical society of Illinois.

Jessie J. Kile

Statute law-making in Iowa. Edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. [Iowa applied history series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh, vol. 3.] (Iowa City: State historical society of Iowa, 1916. 718 p. $3.00)

To quote Mr. Shambaugh, the editor of this work as well as the author of one of the nine monographs of which it is composed: "This volume is a product of coöperative research. The conception of the book and the preliminary outlines of its several parts came from the Editor, under whose direction the researches were carried on and the component monographs were written."

According to Mr. Shambaugh, nine men coöperated with him and with each other "in perfecting the working outlines, collecting the necessary data, and compiling the nine monographs." Eight of the monographs are accredited to six of these co-workers while Mr. George F. Robeson, Mr. C. Upham, and Mr. John M. Pfiffner are the other workers whose researches have helped to make the work possible without any separate monograph being accredited to them.

To Mr. John E. Briggs is given the credit for having contributed the first of the monographs which, very naturally and appropriately, treats of the "History and organization of the legislature in Iowa." This is the longest of the nine monographs, covering as it does 135 pages (including the 13 pages of notes and references) of the total number of 687. The discussion is divided into two parts of six chapters each. The first one treats of the territorial legislature or legislative assembly (1838-1846) under the subjects: sessions; organization; procedure; the governor as a factor in territorial legislation; and the character, publication, and distribution of territorial statutes; while the second part or last six chapters deal with the state legislature or general assembly (1846-present) according to a similar outline.

The second of the monographs, entitled "Law-making powers of the legislature in Iowa" and contributed by Mr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, is comparatively brief. Here also there are two main parts, the first discussing the law-making powers of the legislative assembly and the latter the law-making powers of the general assembly. The paper brings out very clearly the bases of as well as the nature and extent of legislative power under the territorial and state forms of government.

"Methods of statute law-making in Iowa" is contributed by Mr. O. K. Patton. The development of American legislative procedure is traced very briefly and in a very interesting manner. Emphasis is laid upon the importance of English origins, Jefferson's and Cushing's manuals. The general rules regulating the proceedings of a legislative assembly in general as well as the steps in the making of statute law in Iowa are exceptionally well outlined and the discussion will be a great aid to students in political science and statute law-making in particular.

Under the subject of "Form and language of statutes in Iowa," Mr. Jacob Van der Zee points out the fact that American statutes have been copied after English laws in form and language and that therefore the same criticisms as apply to the former apply also to the latter. The session laws of Iowa are discussed and criticised as to their specific parts such as the titles, enacting clauses, preambles, subdivisions, amendments, repeals, forms, and schedules. The defects in the language of Iowa statutes are also very ably criticised and suggestions are presented which if adopted would serve to eliminate the worst of these defects.

The fifth monograph is by Mr. Dan E. Clark and is entitled "Codification of statute law in Iowa." The author divides his treatment into problem and purpose of codification in Iowa, history of the Iowa codes, process of codification, and the content and character of codification.

Mr. Patton is also the author of the paper on "Interpretation and construction of statutes in Iowa." In this monograph are discussed the respective functions of the legislature and the courts, the general prin-

ciples which should govern the interpretation and construction of statutes as well as special features such as the interpretation of proviso, exceptions, and saving clauses.

Another monograph contributed by Mr. Van der Zee is entitled "The drafting of statutes." After taking up the primary causes of defective statutes which the author justly concludes are, first, the imperfection of human language, and, second, the use of that language in statutes, Mr. Van der Zee discusses the agencies which might be used for the drafting and improvement of legislation such as legislative reference and bill-drafting departments. He shows how the agencies Iowa has used for this purpose are inadequate or imperfect and makes a plea for the establishment of a bill-drafting department.

"The committee system" by Mr. Frank E. Horack is a comprehensive survey of the workings, organization, powers, and defects connected with this fundamental phase of American statute law-making. The criticisms are justly founded and the suggested reforms are worthy of study not only by those interested in the reform of law-making in Iowa but also by those who would like to see similar changes in both our federal and other state governments.

The final monograph is contributed by Mr. Ivan L. Pollock and under "Some abuses connected with statute law-making" the author discusses the more or less familiar abuses arising out of pre-election influences, influences in organization of the legislature, lobbying, politics and procedure in the legislature, perquisites, privileges and patronage, and finally special legislation.

In general it may be said of this very detailed and comprehensive research study that it answers a real need of students of history and political science. The several monographs are broader in their scope than their titles would imply for most of them cast very interesting sidelights upon English origins as well as upon the practices in federal and other state governments.

S. A. Park

Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway kept on the expedition of western exploration, 1803-1806. Edited with introduction and notes by Milo M. Quaife, superintendent of the society. [Publications of the state historical society of Wisconsin, Collections, volume xxii] (Madison: State historical society of Wisconsin, 1916. 444 p. $1.50)

The bibliography of the Lewis and Clark expedition continues to grow. Some twelve years ago, when editing the original journals kept by the two leaders, the late Reuben Gold Thwaites attempted to include in that

publication every important record of the expedition then unpublished. A few random letters naturally escaped his attention; but within the past two years, the society of which he was so long the superintendent has found it advisable to publish three additional important Lewis and Clark manuscripts. The two most notable of these comprise the present work. They are the journal kept by Meriwether Lewis from Pittsburgh to his winter camp at the mouth of Dubois river, and the record of Sergeant John Ordway for the entire expedition proper. Lewis had already given us chance information of his early movements through his letters to Jefferson, and his journal, unfortunately, adds little to our knowledge of this phase of the expedition. He could, for instance, have given us an interesting picture of life in Cincinnati, where he had many intimate friends and where he stopped several days. But his visit there occurs in the midst of a hiatus of fifty-four days in his record, and entries are lacking of other considerable periods. Ordway's narrative, recently recovered entire from among the Biddle papers, as was the other, has the distinction of being the only record of the expedition from start to finish kept by one man, but it actually fills only one brief gap of six days not covered by other accounts, and supplements for a few days more the brief record of Sergeant Gass. Its value, therefore, is more sentimental than real, although the writer displayed commendable perseverance in his task.

Mr. M. M. Quaife, the present superintendent of the Wisconsin historical society, contributes the brief preface, the historical introduction, and the extensive and well selected notes. In the opening paragraphs of his introduction one observes some expressions about Columbus, Spain, and the English occupation of Havana and Manila that might be stated with greater accuracy. Readers will welcome his brief sketch of the "Commercial company for the discovery of the nations of the upper Missouri." This enterprise proved an important forerunner of the later American exploration. Lewis profited greatly from data furnished by Evans and McKay, employees of this Spanish corporation. This information, as we learn from other sources, reached the state department through Daniel Clark of New Orleans, and was forwarded by Jefferson to his young representative. Transcripts recently obtained from the *Archivo general de Indias at Seville*, have increased our information concerning this Spanish enterprise and doubtless further details of this and similar undertakings may be brought to light by further researches there.

Miss Louise P. Kellogg contributes a comprehensive index to the work. Two sketch maps and numerous illustrations add to its value. It occurs to the reviewer to add that in time the work may escape casual search

unless some later occasion stimulates the production of a complete bibliography of this notable exploration and its painstaking annalists.

I. J. Cox

History of the United States. By Emerson David Fite, Ph.D., Frederick Ferris Thompson professor of political science, Vassar college. (New York: Henry Holt and company, 1916. 575 p. $1.60)

This book will meet quite successfully the demands of recent pedagogy and historical scholarship. At the end of each of the twenty-seven chapters there is a list of general references, special topics, illustrative material, and suggestive questions. There are forty-four maps, one hundred and ten illustrations, and four appendices. The reviewer welcomes the articles of confederation as an appendix but he questions the advisability of using the photograph of from two to five contemporaries. Why give one-third of a page to a likeness of Van Buren or Greeley or John Mitchell? Some of the illustrations are unique; for example, the Barker house and the San Antonio mission.

As to the divisions of the subject and the points of emphasis, Mr. Fite has followed largely what seems to be modern orthodoxy. He brings the narrative to 1763 in ninety-seven pages, arrives at Jackson's administration in the middle of the book, and gives fully one-fourth of the text to the period since 1865. In the early period he stresses the spread of geographical knowledge, and the relation of the continental and the West India colonies. The preface states that "less space than usual" has been given to military history "while the social and industrial development of the country, economic progress, sources and effects of immigration, conditions on the ever-receding frontier, and changes in governmental forms, both national and local, have received special attention." Other points emphasized are foreign relations, the peace movement, and very recent history. Many readers will agree that these aims have been realized as fully as can be expected in a book of this size.

While Mr. Fite has synthesized the story of the West Indian and the continental colonies, he has not solved the difficult problem of writing colonial history so as to be really teachable. The reviewer feels that this text will not give the high school pupil a clear idea of the institutional life of the colonists. Many teachers will desire more than seven pages on the struggle between England and France for the possession of the new world. The forties and the fifties are well treated. The reconstruction period is discussed in two chapters: one on the economic phases and the other on political; the former being much better than the latter. It is rather doubtful whether economic reconstruction should be treated before the political situation has been presented, especially when the

economic events are brought down to the eighties. One of the best chapters of the book is the one on "Progressive democracy" covering the last decade.

The quotations from Chastellux, Brissot de Warville, Burnaby, and some others add strength to the text, but it is the opinion of the reviewer that the rather lengthy description of a buffalo hunt by Fremont, Whitman's "My captain," and the Gettysburg speech might have been omitted.

The book is singularly free from errors. The style is quite readable and is written distinctly for the high school. This book will take rank among the best of the recent texts.

D. C. Shilling

NEWS AND COMMENTS

The attention of the readers of the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW is called to the following communication:

During the joint meeting of the American political science and American historical associations held in Cincinnati in December, 1916, a project for the foundation of a quarterly review to deal in the broadest sense with the history and institutions of the new world states arising from the colonization efforts of Spain and Portugal was launched by Mr. C. E. Chapman of the university of California.

Among other matters, a committee on organization was appointed and instructed to take the necessary steps toward the proposed foundation.

The duties imposed on the committee included among others the raising of a guarantee fund of at least $10,000 (since it could not be hoped that the review would be self supporting for several years at least), and the preparation of the first number of the review.

The committee is now able to announce that sufficient funds have been gathered to ensure the inauguration of the publication (although this fund is still some thousands short of the figure named in its instructions) and the first number of the *Hispanic-American historical review* is expected to appear by February, 1918, at the latest.

In view of the fact that the sum of $10,000 has not yet been raised in its entirety, it is suggested that members of the Mississippi valley historical association who desire to do so may make pledges or cash contributions to the project through the undersigned, or through Mr. Waldo G. Leland, who has consented to act as trustee of guarantee funds; and it is hoped that there will be a generous and wide response to this suggestion. It is also suggested that some may wish to contribute a certain sum each year for three or more years.

It is expected that the subscription price of the *Review* will be three dollars per annum. Subscriptions are requested. They should be sent to the undersigned immediately.

JAMES R. ROBERTSON,
Chairman, Committee on Organization

Announcement is made of the annual meeting of the Ohio valley historical association, to be held in Pittsburgh on Friday and Saturday, November 30 and December 1, 1917. The program will include meetings with the Western Pennsylvania historical society, the faculty and

students of the university of Pittsburgh, the Upper Ohio valley teachers' association, and the Pittsburgh business men's association. It is also planned to take an excursion to some historic spot in the vicinity. The committee on arrangements consists of Burd S. Patterson, Isaac J. Cox, and H. F. Webster. Members of the Mississippi valley historical association are urged to attend.

President Butler of Columbia university has named Herbert E. Bolton of the university of California, Paul Van Dyke of Princeton university, and William Milligan Sloane lately of Columbia university as a committee of three to nominate candidates for the Loubat prizes to be awarded by Columbia university at the commencement in 1918. These prizes, of one thousand dollars and four hundred dollars respectively, are to be awarded for the two best works printed and published in the English language since July 1, 1913, on the history, geography, archaeology, ethnology, philology, or numismatics of North America.

Among the contributions in the June issue of the *Bulletin des recherches historiques* are: "Les Amyot sous le régime français," "Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye et ses fils," and "Les prisonners de guerre américains décédés à Québec de 1812 à 1815."

The *Military historian and economist* for July contains: "French military theory," by Emile Laloy; "Pope's campaign in Virginia;" the first installment of the "Visayan campaigns: the insurrection of the sugar planters on Panay," by H. V. Bronson; and "An estimate of the situation" of our part in the world war.

The "Project of an international court of justice" is discussed by James Brown Scott in the May issue of the *Judicial settlement quarterly*. The author arrives at the conclusion that the "Supreme Court of the United States, created as the agent of sovereign states for the settlement of their disputes of a justiciable kind, seems to me . . . to be a safe, a sound, and a sure model for that court of justice which shall one day be established at The Hague as the agent of the nations of the world. . ."

The contents of the annual publication of the *Richmond college historical papers* are as follows: "Nathaniel Beverly Tucker: his writings and political theories, with a sketch of his life" by Maude Howlett Woodfin; "Taxation in Virginia during the revolution" by Louise A. Reams; "William Grayson: a study in Virginia biography of the eighteenth century" by Weston Bristow; "The letters of William Allason, merchant of Falmouth, Virginia" by D. R. Anderson.

Of interest to the casual reader are two articles in the *Catholic historical review* for April: Joseph Butsch's "Negro catholics in the United States" and Michael O'Brien's "Early Irish schoolmasters in New England." In this issue also occurs Charles L. Souvay's "Bishop Rosati and the see of New Orleans," followed in the July number by "Rosati's elevation to the see of St. Louis (1827)."

The leading article in the April *Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly* is by Eugene H. Roseboom on "Ohio in the presidential election of 1824." The other contributions are "Explorations of the Westenhaver mound" by William C. Mills, illustrated by maps, drawings, and pictures; and "The mound builder and the Indian" by C. W. Clark.

Logan Esarey's account of "Pioneer politics in Indiana" appears as the leading article in the *Indiana magazine of history* for June.

"The antiquities of Green Lake" by Charles Brown was published in March by the Wisconsin archaeological society in the *Wisconsin archaeologist.*

The state historical society of Iowa is now undertaking to issue a series of small pamphlets under the title *Iowa and the war* "dealing with a variety of subjects relating to military matters connected with the history of Iowa." The July number, the first of the series, entitled "Old Fort Snelling" and written by Marcus L. Hansen, is a history of the fort since its establishment in Missouri territory in 1819. John E. Briggs' "Enlistments from Iowa during the civil war" comprises the second pamphlet.

"The Monroe doctrine and the war" appears as the leading article in the May *Bulletin* of the Minnesota historical society. In it Mr. Becker exploits the history and theory of the century old protection to western democracy to prove President Wilson's assertion that by entering the great war we are not renouncing but only extending the Monroe doctrine.

The *Missouri historical review* combines its April and July numbers in one publication. Walter Stevens in his address before the Missouri centennial committee of one thousand (printed as the leading article) warmly discourses on some of the many incidents of the inspiring "history . . . that Missourians will review in this first one hundred years of statehood." "Missourians abroad" is a series of popular articles that has been prepared to inform Missourians at home of the achievements of those outside the state; it is with some pride, no doubt, that the first of the series is devoted to Major-General John J. Pershing.

In the July issue of the *Southwestern historical quarterly* James E. Winston publishes an article "Mississippi and the independence of Texas," based largely on information gleaned from the newspapers of 1835 and 1836.

"A history of Meade county, Kansas" by Frank S. Sullivan (Topeka, Kansas: Crane and company, 1916. 184 p.) is rather worse than the usual brand of county histories.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Editor, Clarence W. Alvord, Urbana, Illinois.

Managing Editor, Clarence W. Alvord, Urbana, Illinois.

Business Manager, Clara A. Paine, Lincoln, Nebraska, and Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Publisher, The Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Owner, The Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Lincoln, Nebraska.

There are no bond holders, mortgages, or other security holders.

CLARA A. PAINE, Business Manager

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 4th day of September, 1917, by Clara A. Paine, Business Manager.

SAM B. IIAMS, Notary Public

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. IV NO 3 DECEMBER, 1917

HOWELL COBB AND THE CRISIS OF 1850[1]

In the secession movement of the fifties, Howell Cobb of Georgia was one of the small group of southern democrats of distinctly unionist principles. He has received only slight attention in the standard histories, and is remembered principally as an ardent proslavery man and a leading advocate of secession in 1860.[2] His leadership in the final movement for disunion and the part he played in the establishment of the confederacy have tended to obscure the character of his statesmanship in earlier phases of the struggle over the extension of slavery. Cobb's public career extended over the years 1842 to 1860, a period characterized on the whole by extreme sectionalism. Cobb was always ready with a good word for slavery and was never backward in defending the south from attack; but along with his sectional views he held an intense national patriotism, seeing no necessary incompatibility between them. Indeed, his uncompromising advocacy of unionism, especially in connection with the compromise of 1850, alienated him completely from his party associates in the south; and his political advancement was sacrificed solely because of his fight against disunion.

Cobb was not yet twenty-nine years of age when he took his seat in the twenty-eighth congress as the representative of the

[1] This paper was read at the joint meeting of the American historical association and the Mississippi valley historical association in Cincinnati, December, 1916.

[2] James F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the compromise of 1850* (New York, 1906-07), 1: 117. "His [Cobb's] devotion to slavery and southern interests was the distinguishing feature of his character." Rhodes quotes with apparent approval Horace Mann's dictum that Cobb "loves slavery, it is his politics, his political economy, and his religion." Theodore C. Smith includes Cobb in a group of extremists "of the Davis and Yancey type." *Parties and slavery, 1850-1859* (*The American nation: a history*, vol. 18 — New York, 1906), 52.

sixth district of Georgia. Remarkably self-controlled for so young a man, he never indulged in the outbursts of sectional rancor so common at the time, but strove rather to emphasize the national point of view. His speech was free from offensive and threatening expressions, and his manner to opponents, even under great provocation, was courteous. He quickly established himself as a man of strong unionist feeling and became popular with the like-minded element in congress. Furthermore, his skill in debate and familiarity with parliamentary procedure made him a leader on his side of the house.

The conflict which culminated in the compromise legislation of 1850 began in the closing days of the twenty-ninth congress. Two days before adjournment, in August, 1846, a bill was introduced carrying an appropriation of $2,000,000 to be used in paying for any territory that might be obtained from Mexico.[3] On the same day Wilmot introduced his proviso prohibiting slavery in any such acquisition. This proviso was incorporated in the bill, the entire southern delegation, with the exception of two Kentucky whigs, voting against it. The senate struck out the proviso and killed the bill; but an ominous situation had developed.

In the second session of the same congress, another bill was introduced, carrying this time an appropriation of $3,000,000, to settle the war with Mexico. The Wilmot proviso was again proposed as an amendment, and in the debate Cobb addressed the house.[4] He made a plea for fairness and liberality in the legislation for the territory won by the exertions of all the people of the United States. He did not recognize any moral aspect of the north's unwillingness to see a further extension of slavery. Both parties to the controversy he regarded as engaged in an effort to further economic and political interests; the right of the people of both sections to participate in the fruits of the victory over Mexico was undeniable; and, as free soil and slavery could not exist in the same place at the same time, Cobb thought a division of the territory the only practical way out of the difficulty. He put the argument for a compromise in the strongest possible light by contending that, if this dispute were

[3] *Congressional globe*, 29 congress, 1 session, 1211.

[4] *Ibid.*, 29 congress, 2 session, 360-363.

peaceably settled, the long contest over the extension of slavery would be ended, since the status of slavery would have been determined in all the land owned or likely to be acquired by the United States. At this stage of the struggle Cobb advocated the extension of the Missouri compromise line, the principle of congressional nonintervention not having as yet become the southern rallying cry.

Some time later Cobb expressed the opinion that had the southern representatives stood together it would have been possible to secure an extension of the Missouri line.[5] Certainly Georgia democrats were for a time favorable to such a settlement, as was indicated by their vote on a resolution introduced in the Georgia senate in November, 1847.[6] But the Calhoun influence was beginning to work against a compromise, and the time passed when the north could be induced to accept the Missouri line, if, indeed, such a course had ever been possible.

Throughout both sessions of the thirtieth congress, convening in March, 1847, interest was centered on various bills for the organization of government in the Mexican cession and in Oregon. The Oregon matter was settled in August, 1848, but all efforts to adjust the question in the other territory were futile. Much angry debating took place, however, and the exciting interchange of views and the fixed determination of the north to exclude slavery from the territories lent strength to the Calhoun following. For some time Calhoun had been urging southerners to abandon party allegiances and act together in defense of their sectional interests. Before a meeting of southern representatives and senators, in January, 1849, he laid a carefully prepared paper known as "The southern address."[7] It reviewed the history of the sectional fight over slavery, and showed how the northern states had violated the constitutional guarantees of the institution. The aggressive policy of the

[5] Cobb to Lamar, June 26, 1850, in Cobb manuscripts. These papers are in the possession of Cobb's daughter, Mrs. A. S. Erwin, of Athens, Georgia. Portions of the Cobb manuscripts were included by Mr. Ulrich B. Phillips in his edition of the "Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb correspondence." A further selection is now being prepared for press by the present writer, under the title "Cobb papers."

[6] Glenn to Cobb, December 1, 1847, in "The correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb," edited by Ulrich B. Phillips, in American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911 (Washington, 1913), 2: 89.

[7] *The works of John C. Calhoun* (Crallé ed. — New York, 1856), 6: 290-313.

north, Calhoun contended, looked ultimately to nothing less than the total destruction of slavery. Only by the united action of all southerners could northern aggression be successfully met.

Unfortunately for Calhoun's plan, the southern whigs would not coöperate in the movement.[8] Having just elected their candidate for the presidency, they naturally desired to minimize sectional discord and to give Taylor's administration a chance of success. Only two whigs signed the "Address," and the movement was thus deprived of a nonpartisan character. The democrats were nearly unanimous in upholding Calhoun, but Howell Cobb and a few others refused to do so. Four of the dissentients combined in a letter to their constituents, explaining their action.[9] The communication was written by Cobb. The main point in the letter, as Cobb explained to Buchanan,[10] was a remonstrance against the formation of a southern sectional party. Calhoun had disingenuously sought to convince the people of the south that the northern people had been a unit in opposing southern interests, making no discrimination between northern democrats, whigs, and abolitionists. That this had not been true, Cobb showed by contrasting the attitude of whigs and democrats on the various sectional issues that had arisen. He cited particularly the Wilmot proviso. Many votes had been taken on this measure in the house and senate, "and it yet remains for the first northern Whig to record his vote against it. It has at different times been defeated by both branches of Congress and in every instance by the aid of northern Democratic votes."

The communication then related how at the meeting that adopted the "Address," after the whigs had revealed their attitude, Cobb had tried to get incorporated the true history of abolitionism as it had affected party politics. The majority, however, were committed to giving the "Address" as nonpartisan an aspect as possible, despite the defection of the whigs. Cobb's amendments had, therefore, been rejected, and he and his associates had refused to sign the document. He was at a loss to see, he continues, how a distinctly southern organization could give additional security to southern interests. Such an

[8] U. B. Phillips, *Life of Robert Toombs* (New York, 1913), 60.

[9] Cobb and others "To our constituents," February 26, 1849, Cobb manuscripts.

[10] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 164.

organization ". . . possessed no charms to lure us from the old association which we had formed in the days of our earliest political recollection with the Democratic party of the Union. We preferred yet to rely upon the combined influence of the Southern and Northern Democrats for the protection of the rights of the South, so long as the same were dependent upon the legislation of our national government. We could not see how our strength was to be increased by diminishing our numbers. If Southern Democrats alone could, by party organization, throw ample barriers around the peculiar interests of the South, we were at a loss to understand how the aid and cooperation of our Northern friends would embarrass our movements or weaken our defences. So long as we contemplate the continuance of the Union, so long will we look to the preservation of the integrity of the Democratic party of the Union, as an element of our greatest strength and security. When the time shall come, if ever, which God, in his mercy, avert, when the rights and the interests of the South, under the Constitution, are spurned and disregarded, and we shall cease to be considered as equals with our northern brethren, we shall look to other and higher measures of redress than those which promise to flow from the organization of a Southern sectional party."

Cobb's attitude toward this southern movement is of considerable importance to the student of his career. He planted himself squarely in favor of national parties, as the necessary machinery for handling national questions. His faith in the national democracy remained with him a cardinal political tenet, to which he held until the Charleston convention in 1860. In the second place, the episode marks the beginning of his estrangement from the southern extremists. An effort was made to compel acquiescence in Calhoun's scheme as a test of loyalty to the democratic party and the south.[11] A north Georgia editor complained that a shower of curses had descended on him for approving Cobb's position.[12] Public meet-

[11] *Ibid.*, 2: 159. *Augusta* (Georgia) *Chronicle and Sentinel*, July 23, 1849: "It is known . . . that for some time past the Southern address has been the standard by which the patriotism of all parties has been judged of by certain politicians. Our Democratic friends have denounced as *traitors*, every man that did not sign it in Washington, and every one that refuses to worship it in Georgia."

[12] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 157.

ings in most of the southern states passed resolutions endorsing the project of a sectional party. One of the signers of Cobb's letter, Lumpkin of Georgia, wrote him in March giving details of such a meeting, in which resolutions were passed, as Lumpkin put it, "to organize a Southern sectional party and to disregard either democrat or whig, and to make the love of negroes and the defence of their rights connected with them as paramount to every other consideration."[13]

While losing popularity in Georgia and the south, Cobb gained prestige among the northern democrats as the result of this incident. The leaders of the northern wing of the party were pleased with his fairness in recognizing the value of their services to the south. This feeling was doubtless in part responsible for Cobb's receiving the nomination of the democratic caucus in December, 1849, for the speakership of the thirty-first congress. The Calhoun element made a determined fight against his nomination,[14] and throughout the three weeks of balloting in the speakership contest, a small group of southern extremists threw away their votes rather than support the man who had opposed Calhoun. Cobb was finally elected on the sixty-third ballot, after a resolution to elect by plurality had been adopted. He took the chair free from pledges of all sorts, having even voted against the plurality rule.[15] He had refused overtures of northern whigs to exchange support for a promise to construct the committees to their satisfaction;[16] and of southern whigs, who sought, it was later said, to obtain from him an agreement to appoint the committees so as to prevent the passage of the Wilmot proviso.[17] In electing Cobb the house had come about as near as possible to satisfying all elements.[18] He was popular with unionists everywhere and it was believed he would be fair in his appointments and in the exercise of his power as speaker.

[13] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 156.

[14] *Ibid.*, 2: 177, 178.

[15] *Ibid.*, 2: 179.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*, 2: 189.

[18] The *Washington Union*, December 27, 1849, quoting the *National Intelligencer*: ". . . had it devolved on the Whig members of the House to select a Speaker from the opposite party, it is quite probable that a majority would have chosen Mr. Cobb."

The congress over which Cobb was thus chosen to preside was a memorable one. The territorial question, of course, was still uppermost, now complicated by the rapid movement of population to California and the demand for her admission as a free state. Clay in the senate introduced his resolutions in January, 1850.[19] At about the same time the house took up a presidential message presenting the free soil constitution of California. Doty, a free soil democrat, introduced on February 28 a resolution instructing the committee on territories to report a bill for the admission of California.[20] After a motion to table the resolution had been defeated by a strictly sectional vote, the southerners began a filibuster. The obstructionists were not opposed to the admission of California on a constitution of her own choice,[21] but were determined to force at the same time a satisfactory settlement of the status of slavery in the rest of the Mexican cession. Cobb assisted the filibusters by recognizing all who desired to make obstructive remarks, and after adjournment arranged a meeting of the leaders on both sides at his house. The conference resulted in an agreement to bring in bills for the organization of Utah and New Mexico, in which the principle of congressional nonintervention should be incorporated.[22] The bills were actually introduced, but never came to a vote, though their substance was later enacted into law.

Meanwhile in the senate the select committee of thirteen, appointed April 18 to consider Clay's resolutions, made a report recommending the settlement outlined by Clay, and presenting bills to carry their recommendations into effect.[23] To the first measure, the Utah bill, an amendment was offered[24] in these words: "and, when admitted as a state, the said territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission." On the adoption of this amendment, which meant the acceptance of the nonintervention principle,

[19] William MacDonald, *Documentary source book of American history, 1606-1898* (New York, 1908), 384.

[20] *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 375, 376.

[21] Alexander H. Stephens, *A constitutional view of the late war between the states; its causes, character, conduct and results* (Chicago, 1868-70), 2: 201-203.

[22] *Ibid.*, 2: 203, 204.

[23] MacDonald, *Documentary source book of American history, 1606-1898*, 386.

[24] *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 1239.

depended the success of the compromise measures.[25] It was adopted, and by the middle of September the entire program going to make up the compromise of 1850 had been completed in both senate and house, though not without a bitter fight in the house on the nonintervention features of the territorial bills.[26]

The compromise of 1850 was the result of a sincere effort by the unionists to end a dispute that was impossible of adjustment except by mutual concessions. Extremists in both sections believed that a humiliating surrender had been made to their opponents. The politicans had done their best: it remained to convince the masses of the wisdom of the settlement. The arena of discussion was, therefore, shifted to the states.

In the south the source of the opposition to the compromise had been foreshadowed by the house vote at the critical moment.[27] Southern whigs had been nearly unanimously in favor of the measure, while twenty-nine southern democrats had voted on the other side. Shortly after the passage of the compromise a paper was circulated among the members pledging all who signed it not to suport any one for president, vice-president, senator, representative in congress or in a state legislature, who was not known to be in favor of the compromise and "opposed to the renewal in any form of agitation upon the subject of slavery." Howell Cobb was the only southern democrat who signed.[28] We have seen that in his speech of February, 1847, Cobb favored the extension of the Missouri line. He had now abandoned that plan and was thoroughly committed to Clay's scheme. As early as June, 1850, he turned his attention to creating sentiment in Georgia for the settlement. He urged his kinsman, John B. Lamar, to arrange a unionist meeting at Macon.[29] Lamar agreed to do so. He reported that there was a good deal of sentiment among the democratic masses in favor of the compromise, but that the press was seeking to "browbeat our representatives in Congress into the belief that the people are opposed

[25] Stephens, *Constitutional view of the late war between the states*, 2: 218, 219.

[26] Phillips, *Life of Robert Toombs*, 85-88.

[27] Stephens, *Constitutional view of the late war between the states*, 2: 234; *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 1764.

[28] *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, February 20, 1850.

[29] Cobb to Lamar, June 26, 1850, Cobb manuscripts.

desperately to the Senate Compromise and if they vote for it their doom is sealed.''[30]

Democratic opposition to the compromise was due in large measure to a revival of the demand for the extension of the Missouri line, which after the rapid movement of population to California and the demand for statehood on a free constitution seemed more advantageous than nonintervention.[31] Cobb was convinced that the demand for the Missouri line was insincere. He had said in the letter to Larmar above referred to: ''Does it not present a singular spectacle to see the very men who would have ostracized me for advocating the Missouri Compromise line, now making that their *sine qua non.* If they had united with me *at the proper time* we could have obtained that line as the basis of settlement, but Mr. Calhoun said, the South was sick of compromises and demanded *the constitutional principle of non interference.* Well, non interference is tendered and is to be rejected on the ground that the heretofore repudiated Missouri Compromise is preferable. I have no patience with such men. If they believed today that we could settle the question upon the terms now proposed, they would reject it and demand something else.''

Correspondents confirmed Cobb's belief that the cry for the Missouri line had been raised simply to keep alive the agitation. A. H. Chappell, a middle Georgia unionist and former congressman, wrote Cobb in July urging that he bestir himself to stem the tide setting towards disunion.[32] ''The game of the destruc-

[30] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 191.

[31] Benning to Cobb, March 29, 1850, Cobb manuscripts. This letter is an able presentation of the views of the extremists. The Nashville convention, meeting in June, also demanded the Missouri line. The *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, a whig paper, commented editorially June 25, 1850, on the astonishing change about face of the radicals on the Missouri compromise line. ''Prior to the Convention we were wont to hear the advocates of the measure [the convention?] denounce the Missouri Compromise as a degrading concession on the part of the South, and yet we find the Convention commending it as the only just measure of compromise to the Southern people.'' A state mass meeting in Macon, in August, approved the acts of the Nashville convention, particularly the demand for the Missouri line. See *ibid.*, August 30, 1850.

[32] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 193, 206. The *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, May 17, 1850: ''Is there nothing in all this coalition of Free Soilers and Abolitionists and Ultraists of the South, to mark the purposes and designs of these factions to prevent an adjustment, and thus leave the question open for future agitation?''

tives," he said, "is to use the Missouri Compromise principle as a medium of defeating all adjustment and then to make the most of succeeding events, no matter what they may be, to infuriate the South and drive her into measures that must end in disunion."

Responding to this appeal, Cobb prepared an exhaustive statement of his views.[33] The communication is too long for even an adequate resumé. He argued strongly for the several parts of the compromise, and gave particular attention to the California question and the southern agitation for the Missouri line. So far as California was concerned, Cobb saw no tenable ground of opposition. The people of California wanted a free soil constitution and it was a cherished southern principle that the people should decide this labor question for themselves. "We have the satisfaction of knowing that the constitution which California presents to us has received the sanction and approval of her people. . . The mere fact that her constitution excludes the institution of slavery constitutes no valid or constitutional objection to her admission as a State. The right of the people to pass upon this and all kindred questions in the organization of their State governments is a principle which needs only to be stated to be admitted and sanctioned." He had disapproved of the irregularities which attended the organization of government in California, but ". . . these objections are not so grave and formidable in their character as to require at my hands the entire rejection of California as a state when the question is prescribed to me as part of a general system of settlement by which peace and quiet is to be restored to my country, torn and distracted by the most angry and alarming dissensions."

As to the rest of the Mexican cession, after a long fight the principle of congressional nonintervention had been wrested from congress. This settlement he held to be preferable to the extension of the Missouri line, because it threw open the whole of the territory to the slaveholders. Under either plan, he frankly pointed out, the final decision of the labor question would not be a matter of legislation, but would be determined by natural conditions. ". . . but whether recognized by Congress

[33] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 196 ff.

or not, no one proposes to force the institution of slavery into any portion of the territory against the wishes of the people who may emigrate there and inhabit it; so that at last its existence there must depend, as it should, upon the decision of the people of the territories. This fact should be borne in memory to prevent the public mind from falling into the fatal error of supposing that the adoption of the Missouri Compromise line was the absolute establishment of slavery in any portion of that country. Such a result does not necessarily follow upon this mode of adjustment. Soil, climate and the general adaptation of the country to slave labor, are the great elements that must mould and regulate the institutions of those territories if left free from the operation of Congressional restrictions."

This letter placed Cobb in direct conflict with the current of opinion in his party. Excitement in Georgia was intense. The democratic press all over the state was denouncing the settlement and angrily threatening disunion.[34] For example, The *Columbus Sentinel* said: "We have all along contended that the admission of California would fill to overflowing the poisoned cup of degradation which the North has for years been preparing for the South. . . We now abandon the Union as an engine of infamous oppression. We are for secession, open unqualified secession. Henceforth we are for war upon the government; it has existed but for our ruin, and to the extent of our ability to destroy it, it shall exist no longer."

In February, the legislature of Georgia had adopted a set of resolutions calling for a state convention to consider measures

[34] *Columbus* (Georgia) *Sentinel*, September 12, 1850. In similar strain the editor of the *Macon* (Georgia) *Telegraph* wrote on September 17: "It remains to be seen whether the men of the South will, with freemen's hearts, strike for their rights, or with the spirit of slaves and dastards submit to this Congressional quackery, until they are driven from their country like the Poles. If the territory — the land and property of the South, can be taken by a vote of the majority, why not her slaves? The question then which springs to the lips of everyone, is, what are we to do? the mere politician who waits to see the course of the popular breeze before he sets his sails — the time-server and office-seeker, who palters with the great issues of equality and degradation, submission and slavery, despicable at all times is doubly so now. FOR OUR OWN PART, WE ARE FOR SECESSION, FOR RESISTANCE, OPEN, UNQUALIFIED RESISTANCE."

Other newspapers openly advocating secession were the *Columbus Times*, *Savannah Georgian*, (Augusta) *Constitutionalist*.

of redress, should congress force on the south the program which was being urged.[35] The passage of the California bill was taken by the governor as justification for calling the convention, to meet in December. A lively contest ensued between secessionists and unionists for the control of the convention. Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb worked hard to bring out a full unionist vote, and a large majority of conservatives were chosen as delegates.

The convention met and adopted a preamble and set of resolutions known as the "Georgia platform,"[36] which pledged Georgia to the support of the compromise and the union, as long as her constitutional rights were respected and the north remained faithful to the provisions of the adjustment of 1850. This action of the state of Georgia was hailed with rejoicing by unionists everywhere,[37] and the decision of the state to uphold the compromise contributed much to a general acceptance of the settlement in the south.

Unionists had for the time being laid aside party differences and combined against the disruptive movement; but the whigs contributed far the larger part of the membership of the convention. The radicalism of the day, as has been seen, was in the democratic ranks, and Cobb's exertions had swung to the unionist cause only a minority of his party, coming principally from the two north Georgia districts, one of which he represented in congress. As the real problem was to secure enough votes from the ranks of the democracy to win the fight, Cobb deserves the largest share of the credit for the success of the movement. Stephens admitted that but for Cobb's efforts the "Georgia platform" would not have been possible.[38] Toombs and Stephens in advocating the compromise in Georgia had not

[35] H. V. Ames, *State documents on federal relations, 1789-1861* (New York, 1907), 259-261.

[36] Journal of the Georgia convention of 1850.

[37] The *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, January 1, 1851, quotes the Providence (Rhode Island) *Journal* as follows: "... and so ends the convention which was called to take the lead in the work of resistance to the federal government. The patriotism of Georgia, manifested in this act, will long be remembered with gratitude by the people of the whole union; and when her orators shall sum up her claims upon the country, this will stand among the most valuable and conspicuous services which she has rendered."

[38] Stephens, *Constitutional view of the late war between the states*, 2: 332.

jeopardized their popularity, but Cobb had had to incur the hatred of many erstwhile firm political allies.

The attitude of the Georgia convention had been due rather to conservative restraint in the presence of a situation that looked dangerous for the union than to a thorough-going approval of the compromise. Unionist leaders, aware of the widespread dissatisfaction with the settlement, felt it necessary to effect an organization to uphold the decision of the state in accepting the compromise. Accordingly, a "Constitutional union party" was formed in December, 1850.[39] To a unionist rally in Macon in February, 1851, Cobb sent a letter in which he expressed the opinion that the danger to the union had not passed.[40] Abolitionists and their allies in the north and secessionists in the south were exerting themselves to keep alive sectional feeling. The friends of the union, he thought, should stand firmly on the compromise and a final adjustment. "The success of this movement," he said, "decides in my honest judgment the fate of the Union."

The constitutional union party enlisted the bulk of the whigs and the more moderate democrats. The extremists also organized, under the name "Southern rights party." Both parties nominated candidates for the governorship in the approaching election. The union party named Cobb; the southern rights party, Charles J. McDonald, already twice governor and a very popular man.

In the stirring and bitter campaign that followed the issues were the same as in the election of delegates to the Georgia convention the year before. Cobb visited every part of the state, maintaining the wisdom of the compromise and combating secession doctrines. The extremists succeeded in making the abstract right of secession the principal issue.[41] This question the union party in convention had sought to avoid.[42] Cobb, however, foresaw the issue and exchanged letters with Toombs on

[39] The *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, December 28, 1850, gives an account of the organization meeting.

[40] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 221, 222.

[41] Columbus (Georgia) *Enquirer*: "But according to the views, or pretended views, rather, of our opponents, there is but one thing now that is worth talking about, and that is the abstract right of secession." Quoted by the *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, July 18, 1851.

[42] Toombs to Cobb, June 9, 1851, Cobb manuscripts.

the subject.[43] Stephens also wrote[44] advising Cobb how he thought the matter should be handled. Cobb prepared a communication in August containing an explicit statement of his views.

He denied that at the time of the adoption of the constitution any right of secession was recognized. "When asked to concede the right of a State to secede at pleasure from the Union, with or without just cause, we are called upon to admit that the framers of the constitution did that which was never done by any other people possessed of their good sense and intelligence — *that is to provide in the very organization of the government for its own dissolution.*"[45] Had the framers of the constitution intended to leave the perpetuity of the union to the caprice of each state, it seemed to Cobb that such a principle would have been clearly enounced in the document itself and not left to "inference and metaphysical deductions of the most complicated character." That a ratification of the constitution was regarded as irrevocable he showed from the hesitation of Rhode Island and North Carolina. Had it been a recognized principle that a state need stay in the union only so long as it pleased, Cobb contended that these two states would have adopted the constitution immediately with the intention of withdrawing should the other states refuse to adopt the amendments they desired. He thought it was especially absurd to claim that states made from territory bought by the United States had the right to secede. Our governmental arrangements are pitiable, Cobb thought, if the existence of the union is at the disposal of each state: "By admitting the doctrine of the secessionists we are brought to the conclusion that our Federal Government . . . is nothing more than a voluntary association, temporary in its character, weak and imbecile in the exercise of its powers, incapable of self-preservation, claiming from its citizens allegiance and demanding annual tribute from their treasure, and yet destitute of the power of protecting their rights or preserving their liberties. . . I do not so understand our government; I feel that I owe my allegiance to a government possessed of more vitality and strength than that which is drawn from a

[43] Toombs to Cobb, June 9, 1851, Cobb manuscripts.

[44] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 237, 238.

[45] *Ibid.*, 2: 251 ff.

voluntary obedience to its laws. I hold that no government is entitled to any allegiance that does not pass wise and just laws, and does not possess the power to enforce and execute them."

Up to this point Cobb's argument was directed against secession as an abstract right, a measure to be resorted to peaceably at any time that interest or inclination prompted states to such a course. The emphasis is on the conception of secession as a peaceable process; otherwise it is indistinguishable from revolution. The right of revolution Cobb recognized. Such action, however, could not possibly be allowed to go unchallenged and had no constitutional justification. On this point he said: "The right of a State to secede in case of oppression or 'a gross and palpable violation' of her constitutional rights, as derived from the reserved sovereignty of the States, I am prepared to recognize. In such case each State, in the language of the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798-'99, is to be the judge, not only of the 'infractions,' but of the 'mode and measure of redress.' It is the just right of the people to change their form of government when in their opinion it has become tyrannical in a mode not provided for in the constitution, and is therefore revolutionary in its character and depends for its maintenance upon the stout hearts and strong arms of a free people."

Much emphasis was being laid on the question of the use of force to quell a secession movement. Cobb sought apparently to make this aspect of his views as palatable as possible to his opponents and to win over the less extreme of them by advancing the proposition that, theoretically, the exercise of military power would not necessarily follow the secession of a state. Resort to force would come only if such action were compelled by the "rights and interests of the remaining States of the Union." But as a practical proposition, Cobb appeared to think violation of the rights of other states would inevitably follow secession. If he, as governor, were called upon to furnish militia to coerce a seceding state, he would first summon a convention of the people and let them decide between the union and the seceding state or states.

This exposition of his views on the right of secession has been viewed as an effort on Cobb's part to straddle.[46] The judgment is based on his failure to come out unequivocably for the use of

[46] Arthur C. Cole, *The whig party in the south* (Washington, 1913), 204.

force to crush an attempt at secession and on his statement that participation by individuals in such a movement would not, in his opinion, amount to treason to the national government. The position taken in the quotation last above given is also open to objection, as Cobb found constitutional justification for an action which in the next breath he speaks of as a revolutionary right to change the form of government "in a mode not provided for in the Constitution." There was a good deal of complaint during the campaign that he spoke in a different tone at different places; but the communication now being considered was intended to clear up all doubts as to his position and may be taken as final. On the whole, it must be pronounced distinctly nationalist in tone, though not uninfluenced by Cobb's natural tendency to compromise on disputed questions.

The election returns showed that Cobb had been elected by an overwhelming majority. The people of Georgia had spoken emphatically against disunion and secession, and in favor of the finality of the compromise. The secession movement of the fifties was over, for a similar result had been obtained by unionists in other southern states.[47] There remains to be considered the effects of Cobb's stand for the union on his political fortunes.

In organizing the constitutional union party, Toombs[48] and Stephens and some of the democratic leaders[49] hoped to make of it the nucleus of a national third party. But Cobb seems never to have favored the idea.[50] The whig party he thought permanently denationalized and incapable of being used any longer as the instrument of fostering unionist feeling or for the protection of the south.[51] The democratic party at large, on the contrary, he believed "sound" on both these points. The wing of the party led by himself in Georgia he regarded as representing the national democratic position; the southern rights wing he considered schismatic. He desired, therefore, to keep up the union organization and throw its strength in national elections to the democratic party, a course to which the principal obstacle was the traditional hostility of whigs and democrats.

[47] Cole, *Whig party in the south*, 188, 189.
[48] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 227.
[49] *Ibid.*, 2: 229.
[50] *Ibid.*, 2: 221, 275.
[51] *Ibid.*, 2: 311.

The test whether the whig and democratic elements of the union party could be kept together came with the preliminaries to the presidential election of 1852. The southern rights organization, arrogating to itself the sole title to regular democracy, appointed delegates to the Baltimore national convention, to meet in June. The union party held a meeting in April to decide what action should be taken about delegates.[52] The democratic wing desired to be represented, but the whigs refused to agree. The convention adjourned without taking action, but after the meeting the democrats got together and appointed delegates. The whigs had acted at the behest of Toombs and Stephens, who opposed acting with the democratic party. They desired to hold aloof from both national organizations and throw the strength of the unionists to the party that embraced the compromise and named a compromise candidate.[53] After the nomination of Pierce on a compromise platform, there seemed no reason why the whig leaders should hesitate to support the democratic ticket. Indeed, soon after the adjournment of the democratic convention, Toombs wrote Cobb: "You and your friends are fully and thoroughly in line. The resolutions of the Baltimore Convention on the Compromise are full, clear and explicit. No honest Compromise man can object to them, and the candidate, Genl. Pierce I doubt not from what I can learn of him is a fair, great and upright and honest man without the least objection on the slavery issue."[54] Stephens also was reported[55] as entirely satisfied with the platform and the candidate. The nomination of Scott by the whigs should apparently have clinched the argument, as Scott was known to entertain anti-compromise views and had been used to prevent the nomination of a compromise man.[56] Despite the favorable outlook, Toombs and Stephens after a period of vacillation backed down and brought out a third ticket, headed by Webster. They could not endure the idea of affiliating with the democratic party which was being "reorgan-

[52] *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, April 28, 1852. Proceedings of the convention.

[53] Stephens to Cobb, January 26, 1852, Cobb manuscripts.

[54] Toombs to Cobb, June 10, 1852, Cobb manuscripts.

[55] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 300. Also Stephens to Cobb, January 26, 1852, in Cobb manuscripts.

[56] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 311; Stephens to the *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, June 28, 1852.

ized'' by what they regarded as an infamous coalition of southern fire-eaters and northern free soilers.

Notwithstanding the defection of Toombs and Stephens, Cobb and other union democrats made an effort to keep the party together. A convention was held in July, a majority of those attending being democrats. When the democrats tried to force through a resolution favoring Pierce and King, the whigs bolted, and the party was disrupted. The democratic wing then put up a Pierce and King ticket. Shortly after the convention the executive committee issued a statement formally dissolving the union party, the principal reason for the abandonment of the organization being stated as ''the rallying of the Whigs on a third candidate endangering the success of Pierce and King.''[57] The reference was to the Webster ticket.

While these events were happening, indeed, ever since the disruption of the union party had been threatened by the business of sending delegates to Baltimore, an effort had been afoot to bring together the two wings of the democratic party. Influential democrats of the union party urged this course.[58] Cobb advocated a reunion in an open letter.[59] His reasons for favoring a reunion were that the union party of Georgia had been formed for the sole purpose of committing Georgia to the compromise measures of 1850; it had succeeded in its effort and fulfilled its mission; the opponents of the compromise had embraced it and the issue was a dead one, both national parties in convention having adopted compromise platforms. There was, therefore, no reason for the continuance of an organization cut off from affiliation with the national parties, and it was desirable that the two wings of the democracy should forget past differences and work together for the Pierce and King ticket. Several leaders of the other wing were also eager to effect a reconciliation,[60] and for a time it seemed likely that democratic harmony would be restored.[61] A democratic rally was held in Atlanta in

[57] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 316. The announcement, called ''Address of the executive committee to the constitutional union party of Georgia,'' is in the Cobb manuscripts.

[58] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 280.

[59] *Ibid.*, 2: 311; Cobb to Thomas Morris, March 7, 1853, *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, April 11, 1853.

[60] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 318, 319.

[61] *Ibid.*, 2: 318.

September for the purpose of patching up a truce; but it turned out that a large majority of the southern rights leaders were utterly opposed to reconciliation. It had been hoped that at this Atlanta meeting the two Pierce and King tickets in the field (one that of the southern rights democrats, the other representing the democratic wing of the union party) might be fused, with a fair representation to each faction. The southern rights men, however, refused to make any concessions to the unionist minority.[62] The leaders of the union democrats thereupon took down their ticket, against the wishes and advice of Cobb.[63] This withdrawal was bitterly resented by a portion of the union democratic press and soon thereafter a new Pierce and King ticket was put out.[64] In the election this ticket polled about 6,000 votes, the southern rights ticket receiving 39,000.

The opposition of the southern rights leaders to reconciliation was due largely to their determination to crush Cobb.[65] Numerous correspondents agree on this point.[66] Forced to support a platform and candidate hateful to them, the extremists vindictively desired to punish Cobb for his part in the situation and for what they regarded as his apostasy to the south. He had met them on their own ground, boldly challenged their favorite dogmas of state sovereignty and secession and had worsted them in the conflict. Now, through the failure of the third party movement, due to the action of Toombs and Stephens, the advantage lay with the former minority on the issues of 1850-1851; and this minority, the majority of the old democratic party of Georgia, used their power in every way possible to hurt Cobb. Every effort was made to win back the rank and file of the union

[62] *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, September 25, 1852, copy of editorial from the *Marietta Union*.

[63] *Ibid.*, April 6, 1853, Hull to the editor of the *Constitutionalist*.

[64] *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, October 2, 1852. Hopkins Holsey, editor of the *Southern Banner* (Athens), regarded as Cobb's personal organ, was one of the leaders in this movement, and was named as an elector on the new Pierce ticket.

[65] *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, September 18, 1852, quotes the *Savannah Republican*: "The object of the Southern Rights Party is apparent. The leaders have determined to crush Howell Cobb. That is the source of all the difficulty. If he were to die tomorrow, the ticket would be reorganized and everything done to re-unite the party. For his Excellency, they have no terms but such as the executioner gives his victim."

[66] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 271, 307, 308; Fannin to Cobb, April 11, 1852, Cobb manuscripts.

democrats, but Cobb was expressly excluded. In this hue and cry after Cobb, the southern rights leaders were ably assisted by the entire democratic press of Georgia. Even some of the union democratic press was full of bitterness against him, as he was held responsible for the withdrawal of the union Pierce and King ticket.

These developments left Cobb politically stranded so far as Georgia politics were concerned. He was forsaken by the whigs and the overwhelming majority of his own party. His position was made clear early in 1854 when the legislature was called upon to elect a senator to succeed Dawson, the whig incumbent and a candidate for reëlection.[67] In the numerous ballotings Cobb's highest vote was thirty-four. The small group of unionists was finally forced to witness the election of one of the most radical of the secessionist group, Alfred Iverson, of Columbus.

Defeated in the senatorial contest, Cobb was returned by his old district, strongly unionist in feeling, to the thirty-fourth congress, and resumed his seat in 1855. He never recovered his popularity with the Georgia democracy. In 1860 the party refused to put his name before the Charleston convention for the presidency;[68] and even at the Montgomery convention of the seceding states, the undying resentment of the southern extremists prevented consideration of his name for the first place in the new government.[69] In embracing the cause of the union in the fifties, Cobb paid the price of political proscription in his native state. No expression of regret has been found anywhere in his writings for having followed the course he elected to pursue. His name deserves an honorable place among the unionist statesmen of the ante bellum period, despite the fact that the sudden and unlooked for revival of sectionalism after 1854 forced him to follow the fortunes of his people.

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[67] *Savannah Republican*, January 20, 1854.
[68] Phillips, *Life of Robert Toombs*, 188, 189.
[69] Stephens, *Constitutional view of the late war between the states*, 2: 331.

A LARGER VIEW OF THE YELLOWSTONE EXPEDITION, 1819-1820

In his well-known report submitted to congress in January, 1820, the secretary of war said that the Yellowstone expedition was "a part of a system of measures" which had for its object the protection of the northwestern frontier and the greater extension of the American fur trade.[1] This specific statement has not been sufficient, however, to prevent students from losing sight of the larger scheme which Calhoun had in mind when he wrote his report. Writers have referred to it but have proceeded to treat the expedition as an isolated event, or simply in connection with Long's explorations of 1819-1820.[2] In this paper the writer intends not only to determine what the plan was, but also to point out some of the results of the efforts made to put it into effect. To do this a cursory consideration of the following topics will be necessary: (1) The activity of the British in the northwest at the close of the second war for independence; (2) the movement of troops to the mouth of the St. Peter's (Minnesota) river; (3) the so-called Yellowstone expedition; and (4) the explorations of Lewis Cass in northern Wisconsin and Minnesota during the summer of 1820.

The big western problem before the government at Washington immediately following the war of 1812 was to establish effective control over the Indians in the northwest.[3] Information

[1] *American state papers: military affairs*, 2: 33.

[2] As an example of the former see Hiram M. Chittenden, *The American fur trade in the far west; a history of the pioneer trading posts and early fur companies of the Missouri valley and the Rocky mountains and of the overland commerce with Santa Fe* (New York, 1902), 2: 562-587. This is rather surprising in Chittenden, whose subject justifies a broader treatment of this particular phase than one finds in his work. The latter treatment is illustrated by Thwaites in his preface to Long's expedition, *Early western travels, 1748-1846* (Cleveland, 1904-1907), vol. 14. In his brief notice of the subject Mr. Turner implies that it is a part of a larger scheme, but the full breadth of the program is not indicated. Frederick J. Turner, *Rise of the new west, 1819-1829* (*The American nation: a history*, vol. 14 — New York, 1906), 125-127.

[3] In his report cited above, Calhoun said that the tribes in the southwest were

received at the capital just after the war indicated that the successful solution of the problem was becoming more difficult because the British were becoming increasingly active in that quarter. Reports of this activity were brought to the attention of the war department, two of which may be noted. On June 20, 1815, Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan territory, wrote to acting Secretary of War Dallas, that the possession of the former privileges of trade which the British had enjoyed among the Indians of the northwest was a subject which the government should take up for consideration. To these concessions he attributed a large number of the difficulties which American officials experienced in their relations with the native tribes of that section.[4] Just a few months later, October 18, special commissioners, William Clark, Ninian Edwards, and August Chouteau, who had been appointed by the United States government for the express purpose of concluding treaties with the Indians in the northwest, reported that British traders were constantly intriguing among these tribes, that English merchandise was present in larger quantities than had ever been known before, and that these intruders were utilizing every conceivable means of retaining their influence over the natives of that section.[5]

These official reports had their effect upon the government. Taking advantage of the situation the American fur company in the person of John Jacob Astor persuaded congress to act on the subject at once.[6] A law was passed, and approved by the president on April 29, 1816, forbidding American authorities to issue licenses to foreigners to trade with the Indians within the

"either inconsiderable, or so surrounded by white population, and, what is of no less importance, so cut off from intercourse with all foreign nations, that there are reasonable grounds to believe, that we shall, in future, be almost wholly exempt from Indian warfare in that quarter."

[4] State historical society of Wisconsin, *Collections*, 19: 376-379. The *Collections* of both the Wisconsin and Michigan historical societies contain numerous references to the activity of the British in the northwest. A very different view from that usually taken is given by Alfred Brunson in "Memoir of Hon. Thomas Pendleton Burnett," in State historical society of Wisconsin, *Collections*, 2: 244. He does not believe British influence to have been very strong. The Indian sought the Englishman as long as the latter had presents to give and no longer. He claims to base his observations on twenty years' experience among the Indians.

[5] *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 2: 11.

[6] Chittenden, *The American fur trade in the far west*, 1: 310. See also James H. Lockwood, "Early times and events in Wisconsin," in State historical society of Wisconsin, *Collections*, 2: 102.

territorial limits of the United States, "unless by express direction of the president . . . and upon such terms and conditions as the public interests may, in his opinion, require." Any foreigner caught in the Indian country without a passport was to be fined not less than fifty dollars nor more than one thousand, or imprisoned for not less than one month nor for more than twelve. Peltries and goods found in the possession of such intruders were to be divided equally between the informer and the United States.[7]

But it was found difficult if not impossible to carry on the Indian trade without the aid of foreigners. As a result instructions were given the Indian agents along the frontier during the summer of 1816 to issue licenses to foreigners as interpreters and boatmen upon their giving bonds for their good behavior while they were in the Indian country. This opening made it possible for the British traders to continue their operations with practically no danger of molestation. All that was necessary was to employ an American, have the goods and a license taken out in his name, and proceed into the Indian country. When out of sight of the United States officials the real owner, who had been passed as an interpreter or as a boatman, took possession of his own.[8]

Foreigners who did this were subject to severe penalties if caught, but it was found difficult to catch them. In its attempt to solve the problem, and in order to strengthen its influence over the Indian tribes, the government built new forts and sent out additional troops into the northwest. In August, 1816, Fort Howard was erected on the west bank of Fox river about a mile from its mouth.[9] Governor Clark of Missouri had built Fort Shelby in May, 1814, for the purpose of destroying the operations of British traders and hostile Indians at Prairie du Chien, but in the following July the English under the command of Major William McKay captured the place and held it until the

[7] *Laws of the United States of America from the 4 March, 1815 to 4 March, 1821* (Colvin ed. — Washington, 1822), 6: 144, 145.

[8] Lockwood, "Early times and events in Wisconsin," in State historical society of Wisconsin, *Collections*, 2: 102, 103. For a somewhat similar opinion submitted by a congressional committee at a later date (1818) on enforcing the law, see *Reports of committees, house of representatives*, 15 congress, 1 session, no. 59.

[9] Reuben G. Thwaites, *Wisconsin; the Americanization of a French settlement* (*American commonwealths* series — Boston, 1908), 180, 181.

end of the war.[10] In the meantime the name had been changed to Fort McKay. It was destroyed, and on its site Fort Crawford was erected during the summer of 1816. The following year Fort Armstrong was constructed on Rock Island and its occupation completed.[11]

The location of these posts enabled the United States to keep a closer watch on British traders and to secure more intimate communication with the Indian tribes in the present state of Wisconsin and in a part of Iowa. They also controlled the main routes into the more remote northwest.[12] The proper supervision of operations in that section, however, and the urgent demand for more effective control of the Indian tribes required the establishment of additional military posts on the upper Mississippi[13] and Missouri rivers. The movement in that direction was hastened by another event. Lord Selkirk, a Scottish nobleman, established a colony on the American border during the war of 1812. There is reason to believe that it was the report of this settlement which led to the concentration of the fifth infantry at Detroit for the purpose of transferring troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Leavenworth, to the mouth of the St. Peter's river.[14]

The government plans for erecting a military post at that

[10] Edward D. Neill, *History of Minnesota, from the earliest French explorations to the present time* (Philadelphia, 1858), 283, 284; William Salter, *Iowa, the first free state in the Louisiana purchase, from its discovery to the admission of the state into the union, 1673-1846* (Chicago, 1905), 94, 95.

[11] Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa from the earliest times to the beginning of the twentieth century* (New York, [1903]), 1: 137, 138; *Annals of Iowa*, third series, 1: 602-613.

[12] The three main routes from Canada into the northwestern part of the United States were (1) by way of the Chicago and Illinois rivers; (2) by Green bay and the Fox and the Wisconsin; and (3) by way of the west end of lake Superior. The second was used the most extensively. Milo M. Quaife, *Chicago and the old northwest, 1673-1835*, a study of the evolution of the northwestern frontier, together with a history of Fort Dearborn (Chicago, 1913), 264; Minnesota historical society, *Collections*, 2: 28.

[13] Michigan territory had been extended to the Mississippi. See letter from Calhoun to Andrew Jackson in "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun," edited by J. Franklin Jameson, in American historical association, *Annual report*, 1899 (Washington, 1900), 2: 138. This letter also shows that Calhoun considered the expeditions which were to be sent up the Missouri and up the Mississippi a part of one plan.

[14] *Ibid.*, 2: 148; Richard W. Johnson, "Fort Snelling from its foundation to the present time," in Minnesota historical society, *Collections*, 8: 427. See also E. D. Neill, "Occurrences in and around Fort Snelling from 1819 to 1840," in *ibid.*, 2: 102, 103.

point on the Mississippi river extended back to the period following the purchase of Louisiana,[15] but the energies of the administration during the dozen years subsequent to that event had been too completely absorbed with foreign relations and with the war to permit a realization of these intentions. With the treaty of peace, however, came a revival of interest in the west. Madison appointed a "board of officers," consisting of four Americans and a Frenchman, General Bernard, who had won distinction in his own country as an engineer, to examine the coast and the inland frontier for the purpose of determining the needs of both.[16] It may have been in connection with this work that the government sent an exploring party up the Mississippi during the summer of 1817 under the command of Major Stephen H. Long. The objects of the expedition were to "sketch the course of the Upper Mississippi, to exhibit the general topography of the shores, and to designate such sites as were suitable for military purposes."[17]

Major Long left Prairie du Chien July 9, and arrived at the falls of St. Anthony on the sixteenth of the same month. He recommended three sites as desirable locations for military

[15] *The expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike to headwaters of the Mississippi river, through Louisiana territory, and in New Spain, during the years 1805-06-07* (Coues ed. — New York, 1895), 1: 83, 84.

[16] See the letter from Monroe to General Jackson in James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (Boston, 1879), 2: 361-366. In connection with this see also *American state papers: military affairs*, 1: 669, no. 158.

[17] Major Stephen H. Long, "Voyage in a six-oared skiff to the falls of St. Anthony in 1817," in Minnesota historical society, *Collections*, 2: 9-88. Long's journal gives no information on his observations up the Wisconsin, but he refers to such a voyage (p. 10). He begins his daily notes with his departure from Prairie du Chien. On his return down the Mississippi to Bellefontaine he made stops at several places, among them the forts along the river. The location of these are commended or criticised, their conditions reported, and occasionally suggestions are made for improving them.

In the spring of 1817, according to Parton, Jackson had ordered Long to make a topographical survey of part of the Mississippi. This work had been completed and the report of it published in the newspapers before April 22, 1817. This incident proved to be the origin of a bitter correspondence between Jackson and Scott. Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 2: 372, 373, 377-382.

Long explored the St. Peter's river to its source in 1823. William H. Keating, *Narrative of an expedition to the source of St. Peter's river, Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods, &c., performed in the year 1823, by order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, secretary of war, under the command of Stephen H. Long, major, U. S. T. E.* (London, 1825).

posts on the Mississippi; one was at the lower end of lake Pepin, a second south of the St. Croix, and a third just above the St. Peter's. The last of these was the one selected by the war department, and in the summer of 1818, Calhoun decided that a fort should be erected there as soon as possible. This post, he said, "from its remoteness from our settlements, its proximity to Lord Selkirk's establishment on Red river of Lake Winnipeg, and from its neighborhood to the powerful nations of the Sioux, ought to be made very strong."[18]

On February 10, 1819, orders were issued by the war department to Major-General Jacob Brown, the commander of the division in the north, which were transmitted by him to his subordinates on April 13 following, to concentrate the fifth regiment of infantry at Detroit, preparatory to putting Calhoun's plans into execution. The necessary transportation was to be ready by the first of May.[19] Under the command of Colonel Henry Leavenworth the troops proceeded by way of Green Bay and Fort Howard to Prairie du Chien, arriving at the last named place on June 30. Here they were joined by Major Thomas Forsyth, an Indian agent from St. Louis, who was to accompany the expedition. He carried with him about two thousand dollars' worth of merchandise which he was to distribute among the Sioux Indians.[20]

On August 8 the expedition, consisting of ninety-eight soldiers[21] and about twenty boatmen, fourteen bateaux, two large boats loaded with provisions and merchandise, and a barge occupied by Colonel Leavenworth, left Prairie du Chien for the upper

[18] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1899, 2: 148.

[19] Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Summary narrative of an exploratory expedition to the sources of the Mississippi river in 1820: resumed and completed by the discovery of its origin in Itasca lake, in 1832* (Philadelphia, 1855), 35, 36.

[20] Thomas Forsyth, "Journal of a voyage from St. Louis to the falls of St. Anthony, in 1819," in State historical society of Wisconsin, *Collections*, 6: 188-215. This was later printed in Minnesota historical society, *Collections*, 3: 139-167. Forsyth kept daily notes from the time he left St. Louis on June 8, until his return to that place on September 17, 1819. He was with the troops at the mouth of the St. Peter's from August 23 to 30, during which time he held conferences with various tribes of Indians from points farther west. See also American historical association, *Annual report*, 1899, 2: 155, 156.

[21] One hundred and twenty additional soldiers joined these troops a few days after their arrival at the mouth of the Minnesota. State historical society of Wisconsin, *Collections*, 6: 208.

Mississippi. Frequent stops were made at Indian villages along the river when Forsyth delivered speeches to the various tribes, warning them against British influence and distributing presents among them.[22] On the twenty-fourth the expedition arrived at the mouth of the St. Peter's. Temporary quarters were constructed on the south side of the river. On account of a flood during the spring of 1820, it is reported, the troops were moved across the river to Camp Cold Water. Here the foundations for a permanent fort were laid during the late summer or early fall. The work was done almost entirely by the soldiers, and by the fall of 1822 the structure was ready for occupancy. It was called Fort St. Anthony at first but later, upon the recommendation of General Winfield Scott, who visited the post in 1824, the name was changed to Fort Snelling in honor of Colonel Josiah Snelling who had succeeded Colonel Leavenworth during the winter of 1820-1821.

Protected by this military post the efficient Indian agent, Lawrence Taliaferro, did a great deal toward destroying British influence among the tribes of the upper Mississippi and toward establishing American authority there.

There are indications that an attempt had been made to initiate plans for building a military post on the Missouri at the mouth of the Yellowstone before the expedition to the upper Mississippi was undertaken. The plans had been suggested by Monroe during the brief period that he occupied the chief position in the war department, but the opposition of John Floyd of Virginia, of John Cocke of Tennessee and of Henry Clay of Kentucky had prevented its execution.[23] In 1817 Monroe became president, and during the summer of that year he made a tour of the north for the purpose of examining the military defenses. On this trip he went as far west as Detroit.[24] In the fall of 1817, Calhoun became secretary of war, and began the following

[22] For a sample of the speeches delivered see *ibid.*, 6: 202, 203. Forsyth ends his journal with an interesting comparison of British and American Indian policies, much to the discredit of the latter. *Ibid.*, 214, 215.

[23] *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, comprising portions of his diary from 1795 to 1848* ([Charles Francis] Adams ed. — Philadelphia, 1874-1876), 6: 249.

[24] *A narrative of a tour of observation, made during the summer of 1817, by James Monroe, president of the United States, through the north-eastern and north-western departments of the union with a view to the examination of their several military defences* (Philadelphia, 1818).

March to make active arrangements for establishing a military post at the mouth of the Yellowstone.[25] By August, 1818, however, he had concluded that the principal post should be at the Mandan villages, because that was the point on the Missouri nearest the British post on the Red river, "and the best calculated to counteract their hostilities against us. . ."[26]

But the summer of 1818 passed and little was accomplished.[27] Finally Colonel Atkinson was selected to command the enterprise and on March 27, 1819, Calhoun wrote him a letter of instructions. The "two great objects" of the expedition, the secretary of war asserted, were "the enlargement and protection of our fur trade, and permanent peace of our North Western frontier by the establishment of a decided control over the various tribes of Indians in that quarter." Of the two the latter was considered the more important. As long as American fur traders were obeying regulations they were to be protected. Foreigners were to be treated discreetly until the military posts were well established, then notice should be given that after a fixed period foreign trade would be rigidly excluded. Particularly was Atkinson to avoid hostility with the Indians if possible. If hostilities should occur and additional forces were necessary, he was informed that troops at the mouth of the St. Peter's river might be called to his command.[28]

On December 2, 1818, the government made a contract with Colonel James Johnson to transport the troops and provisions up the Missouri. He provided five steamboats for the purpose, two of which, Chittenden says, probably never entered the river,

[25] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1899, 2: 134-136. The letters in this volume, edited by J. Franklin Jameson, are invaluable for this subject, particularly those addressed to Colonel Thomas A. Smith, General Jacob Brown, General Andrew Jackson, and Colonel Leavenworth.

[26] *Ibid.*, 2: 138.

[27] During the fall of that year a detachment of troops moved up the Missouri to the present site of Leavenworth, Kansas, where they spent the winter. At this time Captain Martin was in command of the expedition. Thwaites, however, says that Colonel Atkinson was in command at this time (*Early western travels, 1748-1846*, 14: 9, 10). Calhoun's letters to Jackson dated December 28, 1818, and January 5, 1819, together with the letter of instructions to Atkinson of March 27, 1819, will show that Atkinson could not have been appointed to the command before January 5, 1819. American historical association, *Annual report*, 1899, 2: 150, 151, and 159.

[28] *Ibid.*, 2: 159, 160. For a full statement of the objects of the expedition see also *American state papers: military affairs*, 2: 31-34.

a third abandoned the trip thirty miles below Franklin, and the other two wintered at Cow island a little below the mouth of the Kansas and returned to St. Louis in the spring[29] Despite the delays occasioned by the government's attempt to use steamboats instead of the more practical keel-boats, Atkinson succeeded by September, 1819, in getting his troops as far as Council Bluffs, where they experienced a disastrous winter from an attack of scurvy.

In the meantime the scientific branch of the expedition under the command of Major Stephen H. Long was experiencing less difficulty. A special boat had been constructed for the members of this division which proved to be more practical than the vessels provided by Colonel Johnson. The wheels had been placed in the stern and the boat drew only nineteen inches of water. Even the "absurd attempts at ornamentation" served the purpose intended. Not only the Indians but the frontier settlers themselves were profoundly impressed with this "apparent monster" bearing "a painted vessel on his back, the sides gaping with portholes and bristling with guns."[30]

Aboard this vessel Long and his party found themselves the center of interest in every frontier settlement through which they passed. At Franklin where a stop of a week was made the people of the community entertained the members of the expedition in a most elaborate manner. Despite the delay occasioned by this, Long's boat, which had left St. Louis in June, some time after the other vessels, passed them all and was the only one to arrive at Council Bluffs, reaching there in September, 1819. Major Long remained a short time and returned to Washington.

Here opposition to the entire expedition was soon to develop.[31] December 21, 1819, on motion of Representative John Cocke of Tennessee, the committee on military affairs was ordered to find

[29] For a severe criticism of the whole scheme see Chittenden, *The American fur trade in the far west*, 2: 562-587. A report of the agreement made with Colonel Johnson may be found in *American state papers: military affairs*, 2: 68, 69. There is some evidence that politics played a part in the investigation. Apparently some of Calhoun's enemies chose this way to make an attack on him; and it is possible, although not probable, that Clay was actuated by a desire to make an attack on a political rival in Kentucky—Colonel Richard Johnson, brother of James Johnson. See *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, 4: 472, 473; 5: 237.

[30] Chittenden, *The American fur trade in the far west*, 2: 571.

[31] *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, 5: 237.

out what the expedition had already cost the government, what sums would be required in order to accomplish the objects intended, and what those objects were.[32] It was in response to this demand that several papers were submitted to congress on January 3, 1820, by Chairman Smyth of that committee, among them Calhoun's report on the Yellowstone expedition. The report was tabled.[33] On January 24 following, Cocke submitted another resolution directing that the secretary of war be ordered to report to the house an itemized statement of the money paid Colonel Johnson and of the amount claimed by him under the contract of December 2, 1818. The attempt to table the resolution failed after Cocke had spoken at some length on the subject and had declared that the former report by the secretary of war had been unsatisfactory.[34] Calhoun submitted the data required on February 3, and it was referred to the committee on military affairs.[35]

Four days later, February 7, 1820, the secretary of war wrote to Colonel Atkinson. Among other things Calhoun commended the leader for his management of the expedition and approved his plans for connecting posts on the frontier by opening roads between them. While the use of steamboats for transporting troops and provisions was left to the judgment of Colonel Atkinson, the secretary thought it would add dignity to the expedition and that it might serve to impress the British and the Indians with the power of the United States if such vessels could be used.[36]

While Calhoun encouraged Atkinson to give *éclat* to the enterprise, members of congress were planning to stop it entirely. The quartermaster-general asked congress for $500,000 to meet the expenses of his department for the year 1820. When this item in the appropriation bill was under discussion on March 10 of that year, Cocke asked what part of the sum was intended to

[32] *Annals of congress*, 16 congress, 1 session, 1: 750.

[33] *Ibid.*, 1: 848; *American state papers: military affairs*, 2: 31-34.

[34] *Annals of congress*, 16 congress, 1 session, 1: 936.

[35] *Ibid.*, 1: 1047; *American state papers: military affairs*, 2: 68, 69.

[36] American historical association, *Annual report*, 1899, 2: 168-171. Calhoun had received letters from Atkinson in which the latter referred to a survey which had been made recently of a route from Council Bluffs to Chariton on the Missouri, and recommended the opening of roads between posts on the Arkansas and the Missouri and between Council Bluffs and the mouth of the St. Peter's.

meet the expenses of the expedition up the Missouri. He wanted to reduce the appropriation to that extent. The following day his suggestion was adopted by the house and the sum of $50,000 was stricken from the total of $500,000 requested by the quartermaster-general.[37] But when the appropriation bill came before the senate on March 20, that body amended it by substituting $500,000 for the $450,000 which the house had appropriated. This change was made in order to enable the war department to send troops up the Missouri to the mouth of the Yellowstone river.[38] The return of the bill to the lower house with the senate amendment produced a heated discussion in that body on April 5, and the majority of the members refused to accept the amendment.[39] This prevented the appropriation of funds necessary to carry out the original plans for establishing posts at the Mandan villages.[40] As a "half-hearted apology to the public for its failure," says Chittenden, "a small side show was organized for the season of 1820 in the form of an expedition to the Rocky Mountains."[41] The equipment of the latter was as insufficient as that of the former had been lavish. In this change in the character of the expedition at the head of which he had been placed may be found psychological reasons for the wholesale condemnation of the far western country by Major Long.[42]

[37] *Annals of congress*, 16 congress, 1 session, 2: 1629, 1633, 1634.

[38] *Ibid.*, 1: 545-551, 555-557.

[39] *Ibid.*, 2: 1783-1790.

[40] Calhoun's troubles did not end with the first session of the sixteenth congress in May. The $450,000 appropriated failed to meet the expenses of the quartermaster's department and the whole subject was brought up again when the second session of congress began. The details of that discussion can not be given here. Arbitrators had been called in to settle the disagreements which arose between Johnson and the government, and they had allowed him over $40,000 for losses which he claimed the government had caused him, but which others have thought were due to his own negligence. The whole subject was finally placed in the hands of a committee of the house for investigation. They reported among other things that the award which had been made in favor of Colonel Johnson was unjust and illegal, and recommended that the government should attempt to recover the amount which had been paid by instituting legal proceedings. This report was submitted in March, 1821. See *ibid.*, 16 congress, 2 session, 1265-1268. For details preceding this report, see *ibid.*, 473-476 and 709-712.

[41] Chittenden, *The American fur trade in the far west*, 2: 575.

[42] For Long's estimate of the country east of the Rocky mountains, west of the Missouri, and south of the forty-ninth parallel, see Major Stephen H. Long, "Account of an expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky mountains," in *Early western travels, 1748-1846*, 17: 147, 148. For a more favorable account of parts of this country ex-

While Long and his party were exploring the country west of the Missouri, another expedition was sent out from Council Bluffs in the opposite direction for the purpose of opening a road between that place and the military post on the Mississippi at the mouth of the St. Peter's river. This was led by Captain Magee of the rifle regiment. Accompanying the party were Lieutenant-Colonel Morgan and Captain Kearny. It is to the latter that we are indebted for our knowledge of the undertaking.[43]

The party required twenty-three days to make the trip. Leaving Camp Missouri on July 2, 1820, they followed a route leading in a general northeasterly direction, veering occasionally to the east or to the north, finally arriving at Camp Cold Water on July 25. "Our circuitous and wavering route (which is to be attributed to the guide's advice . . .)," noted Kearny, "the immense prairies we have crossed; the want of timber which we for several days at a time experienced; the little water that in some parts was to be found; the high and precipitous mountains and hills which we climbed over, render that road impracticable and almost impassable for more than very small bodies."[44]

The last subject may be dismissed briefly. At the time when interest in the Mississippi and Missouri expeditions was keen, Calhoun received a letter from Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan territory, dated November 18, 1819, proposing to explore the country along the southern shore of lake Superior and the water communication between that lake and the Mississippi. On January 14 following, Calhoun replied. He approved the proposed undertaking provided Cass would not call upon the government for more than one thousand dollars above the regular amount allotted him for superintending Indian affairs in

plored by others at about the same time Long made his explorations, see *The Journal of Jacob Fowler, narrating an adventure from Arkansas through the Indian Territory, Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado and New Mexico to the sources of the Rio Grande del Norte, 1821-22* (Coues ed. — New York, 1898), 165 and n. 62. See also John H. Fonda, "Early reminiscences of Wisconsin," in State historical society of Wisconsin, *Collections*, 5: 211. Fonda spent the years from 1819 to 1824 in the southwest, the last winter at Taos.

[43] "Journal of Stephen Watts Kearny," edited by Valentine M. Porter, in Missouri historical society, *Collections*, 3: 8 ff. A map of the route which Magee followed will be found in this volume.

[44] *Ibid.*, 3: 106.

his territory. The important objects of the expedition were to investigate the relations between the Indians and the British in that section, to procure sites for forts, to find a practicable communication between "Bad or Burntwood" river[45] and the St. Croix, and to determine possibilities of communication between these and the post at the mouth of the St. Peter's. Calhoun thought that a topographical engineer should accompany the expedition, and suggested that Major Long, who was at that time in Washington, might return to his headquarters at Council Bluff by way of Detroit and lake Superior.[46] This position, however, was later filled by Henry R. Schoolcraft.

Leaving Detroit on May 24, 1820, the party went by water to Sault Sainte Marie. Here on June 16 Cass made a treaty with the Chippewa Indians by which they ceded to the United States a tract of land four miles square, reserving for themselves only fishing rights at the rapids. The expedition left this place on the following day. Proceeding along the southern shore of lake Superior, Cass paused in his movement westward long enough to explore Ontonagon river, and arrived at the mouth of the St. Louis on the fifth day of July. Twenty-four miles up the latter stream the party came to the establishment of the American fur company. A short distance above this post Cass divided his party.[47] A small detachment under the leadership of Schoolcraft went directly westward to Sandy lake, while Cass with the main body was to ascend the St. Louis to the "Savanna portage" by which he was to join Schoolcraft at the lake. These plans were carried out successfully, and the fur trading post at Sandy lake became the base for further operations up the Mis-

[45] This is probably the present Brule river which flows into lake Superior about half way between Duluth and Bayfield. See State historical society of Wisconsin, *Collections*, 13: 203, n.

[46] The entire correspondence between Calhoun and Cass on this subject may be found in Schoolcraft, *Summary narrative of an exploratory expedition to the sources of the Mississippi river*, 27 ff. This work and James D. Doty, "Official journal, 1820: expedition with Cass and Schoolcraft to lake Superior and the sources of the Mississippi," in State historical society of Wisconsin, *Collections*, 13: 163-220, are my authorities for this last phase of my subject. Doty was Governor Cass' secretary on the expedition. His journal is incomplete, but as far as it goes it serves as a good supplement to Schoolcraft.

[47] *Ibid.*, 13: 207. According to Doty the division was made upon the advice of some Frenchmen, who said it would be difficult if not impossible to ascend the St. Louis unless the boats were lightened.

sissippi. Cass explored the river for some distance above the lake, and on July 25 the entire party descended the Mississippi to the mouth of the St. Peter's, arriving there on the thirty-first of the same month. Here they found the members of the Magee expedition, who, as the reader knows already, had arrived on the day Cass and his party left Sandy lake.[48] The latter returned to Detroit by way of Prairie du Chien, Fort Howard, and Chicago, arriving at their destination on September twenty-third. From the point of view of the war department, the expedition may be considered as a scouting party sent out to find new sites for additional military posts among the Indian tribes along the northern border whose proximity to the British rendered them particularly susceptible to influence from that quarter.

An account of the expedition was published in the *Detroit Gazette* on September 15, 1820. According to this paper Governor Cass had found the English active among the Indians in the country through which he had passed. In order to counteract British influence and to hold the native tribes in subjection, the editor thought it would be necessary for the government to establish military posts at Sault Sainte Marie and at the west end of lake Superior as soon as possible.[49]

From the above account it will be seen that the war department under the leadership of Calhoun developed extensive plans for counteracting British influence and overawing the Indian tribes in the northwest.[50] Not only were self-sustaining military establishments to be constructed at strategic points on the Missouri and the Mississippi rivers and their tributaries, but these were to be connected by building minor posts between,

[48] State historical society of Wisconsin, *Collections*, 13: 215.

[49] This is quoted in Schoolcraft, *Summary narrative of an exploratory expedition to the sources of the Mississippi*, 217-220.

[50] The subject of British trade in that section was deemed of sufficient importance by President Monroe to justify him in taking it up with the British government through the American minister at London. American historical association, *Annual report*, 1899, 2: 162. If this illicit trade could not be stopped from London, Calhoun proposed to stop it by using force. With this in mind he ordered General Brown to submit information on the "number and distribution of the British troops in Canada and the adjacent provinces; and the position and extent of the fortifications which the government is now erecting in these provinces." This was requested in September, 1819, and was to be placed in the hands of the secretary of war before congress should meet. *Ibid.*, 2: 163.

and by the construction of adequate roads. Atkinson proposed to connect the southern posts on the Arkansas river with those on the Missouri and his plan was approved by the secretary of war.[51] On the Missouri forts were to be constructed at Council Bluffs, the Mandan villages, and possibly at the great bend and at some point above the Mandan villages.[52] Fort Snelling was to be the principal post on the upper Mississippi, but others were to be established at the head of navigation on the St. Peter's for the purpose of forming an overland communication with the proposed fort at the Mandan villages, and at the head of navigation on the St. Croix. The latter would serve to interrupt the operation of the British from the west end of lake Superior. On October 17, 1818, Calhoun wrote to Major-General Brown:

"I transmit to you a sketch of the country according to the best information in the Department, by reference to which it will be seen, that the positions will completely command the country, and prevent the introduction of foreign traders. These positions, with those at Green Bay, Chicago and Saut of the St. Mary's will render your command, in that quarter, imposing."[53]

The erection of forts and the construction of roads on the extensive plans developed by Calhoun were prevented by the hostile attitude which congress assumed toward the Yellowstone expedition. Further discouragement resulted from the poor health of the soldiers in the outlying cantonments on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers during the years 1819-1820. Despite these obstacles, three important results came from the attempts made by the war department. In the first place the plan necessitated the movement of American troops into the northwest where they acquired new methods of warfare;[54] in the second, the explorations made in those remote regions added to the geographical knowledge of the period; and lastly, the frontier line in the north moved westward as a result of these operations.

Cardinal Goodwin

[51] *Ibid.*, 2: 168-171.
[52] *Ibid.*, 2: 153.
[53] *Ibid.*, 2: 148.
[54] Missouri historical society, *Collections*, 3: 9.

THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH WEST FLORIDA

In a note to the secretary at war, under date of April 18, 1763, the Earl of Egremont gave notice of the dispatch of final orders for the occupation of Florida and that portion of Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi river to which title had recently been acquired by England.[1] This significant communication marks the opening of a new stage in the historical development of the gulf region and in the history of British imperial relations; it is a significant episode, moveover, in the history of the colonial empires of Spain and France. It will be recalled that Spain's control of Florida dated back to the latter part of the sixteenth century, when she effected a permanent lodgment in that region. Her claim, except for disputes as to the northern limits of the province, remained incontestable until 1763. Her entry into the war against England in 1762, however, made inevitable the loss of some of her colonial possessions. It was in part to secure the return of Havana and the Philippines, captured by British arms near the close of the war, that Spain, in the definitive treaty of Paris February 10, 1763, relinquished all claim to Florida. By the provisions of the same instrument France withdrew her claims to the area on the left of the Mississippi and Iberville rivers, extending as far east as the Perdido river and including the river and town of Mobile.

In accordance with his commands from Egremont, therefore, General Keppel, the conqueror of Moro castle, issued orders to Colonel Prevost May 23, 1763, to proceed from Havana to relieve the Spanish garrisons at St. Augustine and Pensacola.[2] A similar command was dispatched at the same time to Major Robert Farmar to effect the transfer of sovereignty in the area held by the French at Mobile and its environs.[3] The occupation

[1] *Calendar home office papers in the reign of George the third* (Redington ed. — London, 1878), 1: 274.

[2] *Mississippi provincial archives, 1763-1766* (Rowland ed. — Nashville, Tenn., 1911), 1: 127.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1: 131.

of the two regions was accomplished with comparative ease, neither hostile Indians nor intriguing traders blocking the way.[4] Nothing beyond the ordinary inconveniences incident to poor facilities in transporting the Spanish garrisons from the province appears to have disturbed the equanimity of the officers in command of the forces of occupation. Colonel Prevost arrived at Pensacola on August 6; he immediately delivered to the Spanish governor letters from the court of Spain relative to the cession and demanded the surrender of the place.[5] His order was readily complied with, but owing to the delay in the arrival of Spanish transports the English commander was obliged to encamp his troops temporarily outside the stockade. This incident, together with the lethargy exhibited by the Spanish in loading their stores, delayed their departure until September 3, when they sailed for Vera Cruz.[6] The fort and town of Mobile were occupied by Major Robert Farmar, with a force of two regiments on October 22, and on November 22 the French garrison at Fort Tombeckbe was relieved by a small detachment of thirty men.[7]

In the meantime the governmental problems connected with these and other recent acquisitions confronted the British ministry. The treaty of Paris, with its significant territorial readjustments, resulting in the creation of a vast British empire, necessitated the formulation of a new colonial policy, which involved alike the redirection of the political life of the old colonies and the determination of the constitutional relations of the new. The first important stage in the political organization of the recent cessions in America, and one applicable to all, was the issuance of the royal proclamation of October 7, 1763, which defined the respective boundaries of the new provinces and made provision for their future government.[8] By the terms of the

[4] The occupation of the Illinois country had been retarded by an uprising of the Indians. See Clarence E. Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1763-1774* (Washington, 1910), 27-45.

[5] *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 136.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 1: 36. Fort Toulouse, on the east bank of the Coosa, was not occupied, owing to the weak condition of the regiment and the uncertainty as to the attitude of the Indians. *Ibid.*, 1: 12.

[8] *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada, 1759-1791* (Shortt

royal edict Florida and the former French territory between the Perdido and the Iberville rivers was erected into two provinces to be known as East Florida and West Florida. The ministry had deliberated upon this policy for some months prior to its announcement. As early as May 5 of that year the Earl of Egremont in a letter to the board of trade[9] suggested a number of heads of inquiry relative to the recent acquisitions, among which were those pertaining to the development of commercial advantages and to the diverting of these advantages to British subjects, the security of the whole territory against the aggressions of foreign powers, and the preservation of peace in the Indian country. The members of the board were requested especially to consider what "New Governments should be established & what Form should be adopted for such new Governments? and where the Capital, or Residence of each Governor should be fixed? What Military Establishment will be sufficient? What new Forts should be erected? and which, if any, may it be expedient to demolish? In what Mode least Burthensome and palatable to the Colonies can they contribute towards the Support of the Additional Expence, which must attend their Civil and Military Establishment, upon the Arrangement which Your Lordships shall propose?" The secretary then suggested a number of questions relative to Florida, asking that especial consideration be given such topics as the climate and soil of the region, and as to whether harbor facilities were available in the southern part of the peninsula, at Mobile or Pensacola, or at any other place on the coast, and as to whether such harbors would be of real advantage to commerce. The probable benefits from the free navigation of the Mississippi river was likewise to be studied with a view to its improvement and extension.

The board of trade was requested to gather and classify information on these different heads, and to make recommendations as to the attainment of the various objects enumerated.[10]

and Doughty ed. — Ottawa, 1907), 120. For an account of the development of a western colonial policy and the history of the proclamation, see Clarence W. Alvord, *The Mississippi valley in British politics; a study of the trade, land speculation, and experiments in imperialism culminating in the American revolution* (Cleveland, O., 1917), 2: 149-209.

[9] *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada, 1759-1791*, 94.

[10] *Ibid.*

There were insufficient data, however, as implied in the questions propounded by the secretary, upon which to base an intelligent proposal. In the discussion of the preliminaries of peace in 1762 the opposition to the government had viewed the inclusion of the region as of no value to Great Britain. The ministers had no information respecting "those provinces but what they could derive . . . from Mitchell's Map of North America." Advantage was taken, however, of the presence in London of travelers and officials, who, like Captain Knox, had visited in the southern provinces. Such men were called upon to report their views as to the character of the region.[11]

In June following, in compliance with the secretary's request, the lords of trade under the direction of Shelburne outlined in tentative form the policy to be adopted towards the new possessions.[12] After stating at some length the most obvious advantages resulting from the late cessions, the board observed that these territories could only be secured and improved by the immediate establishment of regular governments at all centers where planting and settlement as well as trade and commerce were the immediate objects. It was argued that in order to invite new settlers to risk their persons and property in taking up new lands, as well as to secure the old inhabitants in the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges reserved to them by the treaty, such regular government was an absolute necessity. It was recommended for the same reasons, as well as to insure

[11] "Manuscripts of Captain H. V. Knox," in Historical manuscripts commission, *Report on manuscripts in various collections* (House of commons, *Sessional papers*, Cd. 3218), 6: 281, 282. "I was lately returned from Georgia. . . Dr. Francis having found me out, carried me to his then common friends, Lord Holland and Lord Lansdown. I drew up by Lord Lansdown's desire a defence of the preliminaries and presented it for his Lordship's use, and Dr. Francis got a copy of [it] from me for Lord Holland, who was so well pleased with it . . . that he desired Dr. Francis to ask me if I wished for any office in the new acquisitions, as he meant to consider me." *Ibid.* On July 22, 1763, Secretary Pownall requested from the newly designated governor of West Florida an opinion as to the most reasonable and frugal method by which the "New Established Colony in America may be peopled and Settled with usefull and industrious Inhabitants either from such of His Majesty's other Colonys that may be overstocked or from any foreign parts." Public record office, colonial office papers, 5: 574. See Johnstone's reply, July 27, 1763 (*ibid.*) in which he suggested various ways and means where the settlement of the colony might be facilitated and its commercial value enhanced.

[12] *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada, 1759-1791*, 97-107.

British sovereignty and the public tranquility, that a large military force should be kept up in each government, until, by the increase of inhabitants, each colony should be enabled to maintain government by its own internal force. "Canada, Florida and the newly acquired Islands in the West Indies appear to us to be the Places where Planting, perpetual Settlement and Cultivation ought to be encouraged and consequently where regular Forms of Government must immediately be established."

Relative to the area adjacent to the gulf of Mexico, it was pointed out that Florida and the part of Louisiana to the eastward of the Mississippi was comparable to Canada in extent of territory and the number of Indian tribes; but in other respects, these regions were entirely different. The number of settled inhabitants, whether French or Spaniards, was never large, and it appeared to their lordships that there was little probability, in view of the ease with which they could remove, that any of them would remain after the cessions were completed. It was their lordships' opinion, however, that every expedient should be used to induce as many to remain as could be prevailed upon to do so.[13]

In this preliminary report, the board made reference for the first time to the division of Florida into East and West Florida. This plan of division was proposed "with a view to make the two colonies as distinct as possible by establishing a Line of Separation between them and by giving to each a due propor-

[13] A writer in the *Annual register* for 1763 (p. 19) made the following observation relative to the purpose of the proposed governments. "The cession of Louisiana to the Mississippi, and of the Spanish Florida on both seas, made our American empire compleat. No frontiers could be more distinctly defined, nor more perfectly secured. The only object of attention, which seemed left to Great Britain, was to render these acquisitions as beneficial in traffic, as they were extensive in territory. An immense waste of savage country was evidently to a commercial nation no great object for the present; but it was a considerable one in hope, because it contained an inexhaustible variety of soils, climates and situations, and thereby affording ample materials for the exertion of wealth and skill in its improvements to all the purposes of trade. These exertions were not likely to be wanting, or to be ineffectual. Independent of national motives, the administration in England had a particular interest in improving those acquisitions to the utmost; they were to justify the choice they had made in preferring them to the West India islands. They therefore took very great pains to come to an exact knowledge of every thing, which could tend to render our new conquests on this continent flourishing and commercial. To this end they judged it expedient to divide them into three separate and independent governments."

tion of the natural advantages and conveniences of Commerce and Navigation.'' Their lordships frankly confessed that the lack of authentic knowledge relative to the coasts, harbors, natural resources, and the people of the region, made it impossible to convey to the king the information essential for the basis of an intelligent opinion.[14] The suggestion for the erection of the two provinces and the description of their boundaries was therefore obviously of a tentative character. Indeed it was proposed that before governments were established in the provinces, steps should be taken for an accurate survey of the sea coast and of the interior region lying between the mountains and Mississippi river.[15]

With the knowledge available, however, it was deemed indispensable that this country should be divided into two distinct governments, and that for the present the chief residence of the governor of the one should be St. Augustine, and that of the other, Pensacola.[16] It was then recommended to the council that the two provinces be distinguished by the names of East and West Florida, and that West Florida should ''comprehend all the Sea Coast of the Gulf of Mexico, extending West from the Catahowche River or Flint River towards the Mississippi, as far as Your Majesty's Territories extend, and stretching up into the Land as far as the 31st degree of North Latitude.''[17] It is evident, however, that the fixing of the northern boundary of West Florida at the thirty-first degree of latitude was based upon no very clearly defined principle. One of the chief motives prompting the board to indicate definite boundaries at this

[14] *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada, 1759-1791,* 105.

[15] *Ibid.,* 105.

[16] Pensacola was apparently of less importance than Mobile, ''consisting of about one hundred huts surrounded with a stockade;'' Mobile, on the other hand, was ''a place pretty well cultivated & producing sufficient for export.'' *Mississippi provincial archives,* 1: 136, 137. Particular instructions were given regarding the Mississippi, ''the free Navigation of which ought, we apprehend, be most accurately understood, not only in respect of that River being the future Boundary betwixt Your Majesty's Dominions, and those of the French, but as this River by its Communication with the Ohio, the Illinois &c is of the utmost Importance to all connection with the Indian Nations and the only Outlet to the great internal Trade, which may be carried on amongst them.'' *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada, 1759-1791,* 105.

[17] *Ibid.*

time, without awaiting adequate information, was to allay the suspicions of the western and southern Indians,[18] and the line of thirty-one degrees recommended at this time, which was accepted by the king in council and embodied in the proclamation of October 7, was evidently arbitrary and tentative. It is apparent, moreover, that in the beginning of the discussion over the disposition of the western territory, the northern boundary of Florida was thought of in connection with the establishment of a continuous boundary separating the whites from the Indians,—a boundary which was temporarily set up in 1763, and finally determined in the course of the succeeding decade. With reference to their first suggestion of the thirty-first parallel as the northern limit of the province, their lordships observed that "this is as far north as the Settlements can be carried, without interfering with the lands claimed or occupied by the Indians."[19]

Another significant feature in these preliminary discussions was the observation concerning the character of the governments of the proposed provinces. In its report of June 8 the board recommended a governor and council as the most suitable form. This suggestion was based upon the character and extent of the population of the respective colonies. With reference to Quebec it was expected that generations would pass before there would be sufficient English immigration to warrant the establishment of a representative assembly. In the Floridas, on the other hand, as has already been pointed out, the French and Spanish population was meager and it was assumed that these elements would soon remove either to Louisiana or to the Spanish Indies. It was apparently considered unnecessary, therefore, to provide for representative institutions until sufficient English settlers from the older colonies and Great Britain should occupy the region. The details of the government of each province were to be announced in the commissions and instructions to the governors.[20]

On July 14 the Earl of Egremont informed Shelburne and his

[18] C. W. Alvord, "Genesis of the proclamation of 1763," in *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 36: 20 ff.; and *Mississippi valley in British politics*, 1: 187 ff.

[19] *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada, 1759-1791*, 105. In the following year this boundary was moved north to a line running east from the mouth of the Yazoo river. See post, p. 000.

[20] *Ibid.*

colleagues that the king had approved their recommendations and instructed them to prepare the commissions and instructions for the governors, whose names were at the same time transmitted to the board.[21] At this juncture, however, when the new governments were almost ready for inauguration, there came news of the outbreak of Indian hostilities in the western country. Lord Shelburne had foreseen probable dangers from this quarter resulting from the encroachments upon the Indian hunting grounds. As a temporary expedient for quieting discontents which seemed likely to become serious, he had suggested, in the report of June 8, the running of the new boundary line separating the old and the proposed new colonies from the Indian country and reserving that region for the Indians, where no settlements, "immediately at least," were to be attempted. In order to relieve the pressure in the old colonies due to overpopulation and to the monopolizing of lands by speculators, Shelburne proposed to encourage settlements in Nova Scotia and in East and West Florida. Peace with the Indians would in this way be guaranteed.[22]

Upon receipt of the news of the Indian war Shelburne addressed a communication to Egremont on August 5 advising the immediate issuance of a proclamation embodying his two plans, the reservation of the Indian lands and the erection of the new provinces, with a declaration of intention to encourage people to settle in East and West Florida and Nova Scotia.[23] The ministerial reply to this proposal was postponed on account of the death of Egremont on August 21, which necessitated a readjustment within the ministry. The changes involved the retirement of Shelburne as president of the board of trade; Lord Hillsborough was called to this position and the Duke of Halifax succeeded Egremont as secretary of state for the southern department. It was not until September 19, therefore, that an answer was made to the board of trade's letter of August 5. This reply gave authority to the board to draft the suggested proclamation.[24] But this duty now devolved upon Lord Hills-

[21] *Ibid.*, 108.

[22] *Ibid.*, 100-102. A full discussion of this policy is in Alvord, *Mississippi valley in British politics*, 1: 170 ff., 187 ff.

[23] *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada, 1759-1791*, 110, 111.

[24] *Ibid.*, 112; Alvord, *Mississippi valley in British politics*, 1: 189 ff.

borough, who was unfamiliar with general American conditions and did not understand the ideals and purposes of his predecessor. The ministry, moreover, was not completely satisfied with the scope of Shelburne's plan. The result was that instead of completing the proclamation in accordance with the latter's recommendation, the new president of the board followed the desires of the ministry and incorporated numerous other matters. We are immediately concerned, however, with only three of these,—the final creation of West Florida, whose bounds have already been described, the assignment to the governors of power to call representative assemblies, and the extension of English law to the new province. Three days before the announcement of the proclamation Hillsborough informed Lord Halifax that in revising the report of the board of trade of June 8 it was found "expedient for His Majesty's Service, and give Confidence and Encouragement to such Persons as are inclined to become Settlers in the new Colonies, That an immediate and public declaration should be made of the intended permanent Constitution and that the power of calling Assemblies should be inserted in the first Commissions, We have therefore drawn the Proclamation agreeable to this Opinion, and have prepared the Commissions accordingly . . ."[25] The completed proclamation was approved by the king in council on October 5, the commissions to the governors of the new colonies were passed on October 6, and the edict was proclaimed on October 7.[26]

What, in the meantime, had been the legal status of the region thus incorporated as West Florida, and what was its constitutional position subsequent to October 7? The ceded territory was dependent upon the crown; for by royal prerogative the king had such power over a conquered country that he could enact all necessary legislation. This was the opinion of jurists and publicists,[27] and the crown acted upon the assump-

[25] *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada, 1759-1791,* 114.

[26] *Ibid.,* 115, 116, 120-123.

[27] See the case of Campbell *v.* Hall, involving the constitutional status of the island of Grenada, in which Lord Mansfield voiced the unanimous opinion of the court that it was within the power of the king to make a legislative enactment with regard to the island. *Ibid.,* 366-372. See also the view of Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the laws of England* (Cooley, 3d ed.—Chicago, 1884), introduction, sec. 4, 107. For conflicting opinion of Attorney-General Thurlow, see *ibid.,* 181.

tion that the principle was correct. It was an equally sound principle that although the public law of the conqueror was substituted for that of the conquered, the private law remained unchanged unless otherwise directed by the new sovereign.[28] With the announcement of the proclamation of October 7, 1763, however, these two conditions were changed. Although the king could govern the recent conquests by any method consistent with the constitution, he deprived himself of this privilege by the proclamation, which directed the governor of the province to call a general assembly "as soon as the state and circumstances" of the colony should admit. The king thereby "precluded himself," observed Lord Mansfield, "from an exercise of the legislative authority which he had before. . ."[29] The royal proclamation in connection with the governor's commission and instructions became, in effect, therefore, a constitution for the province of West Florida throughout the entire period of British rule. It served likewise as the fundamental law in Quebec, East Florida, and Grenada.[30]

This new fundamental constitution proclaimed, moreover, the establishment of English law in the province thus created. The Spanish code and the *coutume de Paris* were now completely displaced by English statute and common law. The governors were instructed to erect courts of judicature "for hearing and determining all Causes, as well Criminal as Civil, according to Law and Equity, and as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England," with liberty of appeal, in civil cases, to the privy council.[31] Apparently the chief purpose of this extension of English law was to give impetus to the anticipated immigration into these new territories.[32] That the small alien population would remain in the Floridas was not expected. Assurances of

For a discussion of the analogous position of Canada, see Victor Coffin, *The province of Quebec and the early American revolution* (University of Wisconsin, *Bulletin*, Economics, political science and history series, 1: no. 3 — Madison, 1896), 326 ff.

[28] Consult case of Campbell *v.* Hall, in *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada, 1759-1791*, 366-372, and Blackstone, *Commentaries on the laws of England* for leading opinions.

[29] *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada, 1759-1791*, 371.

[30] *Ibid.*; Coffin, *The province of Quebec and the early American revolution*, 326 ff.

[31] *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada, 1759-1791*, 121.

[32] *Ibid.*, 106.

a popular government and the protection of English laws were therefore given to make doubly attractive to prospective colonists a region already deemed especially fit for exploitation and settlement.

More than a year elapsed, however, before the civil establishment contemplated for West Florida in the proclamation of 1763 was in motion. Although Governor George Johnstone, the crown's first representative in the province, had been nominated on July 14, 1763,[33] along with the governors of East Florida and Canada, he did not arrive at Pensacola, the seat of his government, until October 21, 1764.[34] In the months immediately subsequent to the issuance of the proclamation considerable work had to be accomplished by the board of trade and by the newly appointed governors in perfecting the details of the administration. As already observed, the commissions containing an outline of the frame of government for the respective provinces had passed the seals on October 6. But the detailed instructions for the guidance of the royal governors remained to be completed. This work was accomplished on November 3, and the instructions were returned to the board with the royal signature on December 14.[35]

At the same time the lords of trade addressed the crown[36] on the subject of the populating of the provinces of the Floridas "which Country being as yet almost, if not altogether unsettled & uncultivated, presents itself as an Object of that Care and Attention which its Value and Importance appear so greatly to merit." In the instructions to Governor Johnstone directions had already been given "to survey and lay out the Lands in small Townships." In order, therefore, to encourage and expedite the settlement of the lands it was recommended that advertisements be issued from time to time inviting proposals for settling townships in the new government of Florida. Such an advertisement was inserted in the *London Gazette* of November 22, 1763,[37] setting forth that the board had received information that many persons were desirous of grants of land in East

[33] *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada,* 108.
[34] *Mississippi provincial archives,* 1: 152.
[35] Public record office, colonial office papers, 391.70.
[36] *Ibid.,* 5.563.
[37] *Ibid.,* 391.70; *Scot's magazine,* 25: 627; *Annual register* for 1763, 111.

and West Florida, and that in order to avoid delay in the making of settlements the king had directed that the lands be surveyed and laid out in townships not to exceed twenty thousand acres each. These townships were to be granted to such persons as were "willing to enter into reasonable engagements to settle the lands, within a limited time, and at their own expense, with a proper number of useful and industrious inhabitants." Proposals to this end were invited to be made in writing to Mr. Pownall, the secretary of the board.

An important administrative and legislative detail also to be settled related to the financing of the new provinces. Already on October 5, 1763, Lord Halifax had enclosed to the lords of the treasury a list of the civil officers which the ministry had thought proper to establish in the new governments.[38] Their lordships were requested to determine the salaries to be paid in order that the board of trade might prepare an estimate for parliament.[39] During the course of the succeeding months, until his departure early in the autumn of 1764, Governor Johnstone held numerous conferences on this and other subjects with the board of trade and members of the ministry.

The interchange of opinion at these meetings together with the increased knowledge concerning the province led to certain modifications in the governor's commissions and instructions,[40] the most important of which was the change in the northern boundary. In a communication to the crown on March 23, 1764, the lords of trade proposed that the boundary be moved north to a line running eastward from the mouth of the Yazoo river.[41]

[38] *Calendar home office papers in the reign of George the third,* 1: 311.

[39] The sum of five thousand seven hundred pounds sterling was granted by parliament for defraying the charges of the civil establishment of West Florida from June 24, 1763, to June 24, 1764. *Annual register* for 1763, 161.

[40] See for example board of trade journals, volume 72, under dates of January 12, April 17, May 1, 25 and 31, wherein such topics as the detailed application of the money granted by parliament are considered. At the board of trade meetings the governors were frequently called in consultation. On one occasion the governors of East and West Florida were censored by the secretary of the treasury for applying money granted for their respective colonies without acquainting the treasury. This charge led to an investigation by the board of trade as a result of which definite instructions were given to the governors on this point.

Requests for land grants likewise led to the determination to make certain changes in the quit rent reservations. Board of trade journals, volume 72, under dates of May 4, 8, 14, 15, and 16, 1764.

[41] *American state papers: public lands,* 1: 57.

This recommendation was approved by the privy council on March 26 and referred to the law officers, who reported favorably on May 1, and final approval was given by the council eight days later. The order for the change was sent to Governor Johnstone in a supplementary commission on June 6.[42]

Frequent communications likewise passed between the board and the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts relative to the appointment and support of ministers in East and West Florida. This matter appears to have received considerable attention and resulted in the nomination by the board of ministers recommended by the society.[43] Warrants were also sent to the master general of the ordnance, signifying "the King's approbation that two Engineers should be sent to each of the provinces viz. East and West Florida and the ceded islands."[44] The appointments were accordingly made.[45]

In the interval between the occupation of the province and the establishment of the civil régime the control of affairs was in the hands of the military authorities. The commander-in-chief of the British army in North America early assumed the direction of affairs, and the officers[46] commanding at Mobile and Pensa-

[42] *Acts of the privy council of England, colonial series* (Munro and Fitzroy ed. — London, 1911), 4: 688. A copy of the supplementary commission to Johnstone is in the general land office, Washington, Florida papers. For a more detailed discussion of the boundary change, with an analysis of the motives underlying it, see Clarence E. Carter, "Some aspects of British administration in West Florida," in Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 1: 365-369.

[43] Board of trade journals, volume 72, under dates of March 13, April 17, 30, May 1, 23, June 23, 26, and July 30, 1764.

[44] *Calendar home office papers in the reign of George the third*, 1: 501.

[45] Canadian archives, B. 17: 27.

[46] "I herewith enclose a Letter from the Secretary of State, which will inform you of His Majesty's Pleasure, that you should obey all orders as you may receive for your Conduct from me, or the Commander-in-chief for the Time being of His Majesty's Forces in North America. . . . The King has been graciously pleased to leave it to me to send any officer I shall think proper to take the Command of the Troops to be stationed at the Mobile & the ceded Country to the left of the Mississippi & the Country ceded by *Spain*, on the Continent of North America & I am to acquaint you that I think proper to leave the said Command in your Hands, until further Orders." Amherst to the officers commanding at Florida and Louisiana, August 23, 1763, Board of trade, plantations general, No. 19, ff. 59-61. "The Secretary of State having signified to me, that as my commission under the Great Seal, of Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in North America, included *Florida*, and the country ceded by Spain, on the Continent, and likewise the Country ceded by France on the left side of the Mississippi; It is the King's pleasure I

cola, the principal posts, held an absolute sway over the region.[47] For more than a year this rule continued. Although in the beginning the officials were disposed to create numerous offices,[48] an order from Gage restricting the staff in each fort of the province to a barrack-master and an adjutant appears to have simplified the administrative machinery.[49] To assist him in disposing of civil matters and in settling affairs with the retiring French officials Major Farmar, in command of the post at Mobile, appointed a secretary and a deputy judge advocate.[50] There were several irritating questions to decide. One of the first issues related to the Indians. A large Indian congress called by the French officials was assembling at Mobile in October, 1763, at the time of Farmar's arrival, and this fact made necessary the formation of a temporary Indian policy. The situation entailed considerable expense and the consequent embarrassment of the British officials who were unable to meet all the demands of the occasion;[51] thus another problem was introduced,—that of procuring money for financing the necessary activities of the military government. There was little money to be obtained at this time. "I am in no small Dilema at present," wrote Farmar, "not knowing where or how, to procure Money to pay for the Goods, &c, and the Workmen employed, as what little Cash the Merchants here have, they do not choose to take Bills for, payable at New York, and our being supply'd from thence is very precarious from the distance, and the difficulty of the Navigation."[52]

Considerable confusion was likewise created, if we may credit

should give the necessary orders to the officers commanding the troops destined for those Places, for putting everything on a proper Footing, for the several Posts, as well as for keeping the entire Possession of the Countries so ceded, agreeable to the definitive Treaty of Peace, signed at Paris the 10th Febry 1763." Amherst to Robertson, August 24, 1763, Board of trade, plantations general, No. 19, ff. 49-56. Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson, quartermaster general for North America, made a tour of inspection of the ceded territory in the late summer and autumn of 1763. While there he had charge of the disposition of the troops. His report to General Gage determined, in large part, the immediate policy pursued.

[47] *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 61-63, 7-17, 91, 92.

[48] *Ibid.*, 1: 16.

[49] *Calendar home office papers in the reign of George the third*, 1: 418.

[50] *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 16.

[51] *Ibid.*, 1: 13, 14.

[52] *Ibid.*, 1: 9.

Farmar's allegation, by the action of the French officers and inhabitants in claiming as private property works that belonged to the French crown. "Unless it could be known," he observes, "whether His Most Christian Majesty has suffered his officers to sell the Houses built at his expence for the use of his Civil and Military Officers, there is no knowing how to act with them." He informed the English merchants, therefore, that if they purchased such houses and it should afterwards appear that they were the king's property, the purchasers would be compelled to pay rent and would be liable to dispossession.[53] The ultimate solution of this question, however, as of numerous others, does not appear from the material available.

It fell also to the lot of the military government to adjust the relations with the old inhabitants. According to the provisions of the treaty of Paris the French and Spanish inhabitants were to be allowed to sell their estates, provided the transfer was to British subjects, and to retire with their effects without restraint. The time limit for this emigration was fixed at eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of ratifications. Guarantees were likewise given that all who remained should enjoy the liberty of the Roman Catholic religion. There is no record available to indicate that any Spanish inhabitants took advantage of these provisions to remain at Pensacola. The French in and about Mobile, moreover, were slow in determining to take the oaths. In April, 1764, only eight had subscribed,[54] but doubtless owing to the receipts of news of the cession of Louisiana to Spain[55] a large number decided to become British subjects, one hundred and twelve taking the oaths of allegiance before the end of the military régime.[56]

The arrival of Governor Johnstone at Pensacola on October 21, 1764,[57] marks the actual beginning of the civil administration of the province, the framework of which had already been erected through the medium of the commission and instructions which were published soon after his arrival.[58] The terms of the

[53] *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 15.
[54] *Ibid.*, 1: 116.
[55] *Ibid.*, 1: 138.
[56] List of the French taking the oaths of allegiance, *ibid.*, 1: 122.
[57] *Ibid,*. 1: 152.
[58] Public record office, colonial office papers, 5. 599.

commission, marking out in general the course of action of the governor in inaugurating the new government, vary so slightly from those usually issued in the royal provinces that it is unnecessary to restate them in full in this connection. Although the instructions conform to the general tenor of the instructions to the governors in the old colonies, in many cases the same phraseology being used, there are a number of variations and some additional provisions made necessary by the new conditions in West Florida. As in the old provinces, the governor shared his power with a council, to be composed in this case of twelve men, two of whom were to be the surveyor-general of the customs for the southern district and the chief justice of the province.[59] With the council thus constituted the governor was to make all rules and regulations necessary for the government of the province until such time as he deemed it expedient to call a general assembly.[60] The council was permitted to vote on all affairs of public concern and was to share equally with the assembly, when called, the power of framing money bills. Armed with the usual power of creating a central and local judiciary, with its numerous appurtenances, the governor was instructed to copy as far as possible similar establishments in the colony of Georgia. In the matter of appeals from the colonial to the imperial courts the practice of Georgia was likewise to be followed; this, however, differed in no important particular from the system in vogue in other provinces. The hearing of appeals was the highest judicial function of the governor and council.[61] Provisions determining the course of action of the newly erected government toward the Indians and toward the Roman Catholic

[59] It was provided in addition that in case there were less than seven councillors residing in the province, the governor should "choose as many of the Principall inhabitants of Our said Province as will make the full number of the Council to be seven and no more: which persons so chosen and appointed by you shall be to all intents and purposes Councillors in our said Province till either they shall be confirmed by us or by the nomination of others by us . . . Our said Council shall have seven or more persons in it."

[60] See below for discussion of provisions relative to the assembly.

[61] The value in question must exceed £300 sterling. A further appeal to the privy council was available, but in this case the sum involved must not be below £500 sterling. For a general consideration of the right of appeal see Evarts B. Greene, *The provincial governor in the English colonies of North America* (New York, 1898), 140, 141.

subjects of France and Spain who still resided in the province, the encouragement of immigration into the colony and the development of its natural resources, are all new features. The governor, moreover, is warned not infrequently to discourage any manifestations of independent action on the part of the people.

At the very outset of Governor Johnstone's administration he came into open conflict with the military arm of the government over matters pertaining to the respective jurisdictions of the departments. This series of disputes, which appears almost interminable and concerning which there are volumes of papers,[62] remained a disturbing element in the colony during the administrations of Johnstone and is reflected in some of the later administrations. In its development it represents a phase of colonial administration of some consequence, in that it tended to bring chaos into government, especially in West Florida, one of the first colonies in which this conflict appears in an acute form.

One of the points in dispute related to the right of the governor to review cases which had been passed upon by the judge advocate's court under the military régime.[63] The military authorities held that the governor was prevented by a parliamentary enactment from reviewing such decisions, and that the latter could be reviewed only in English courts. The governor, on the other hand, contended that his jurisdiction began with the date of his commission; so that in one of the cases involved — that of the settlement of an estate of a man who had died prior to the governor's arrival in the colony — the military authorities according to the latter view were in duty bound to turn over to him all the papers pertaining to the case.

The controversy assumed a more acute form in the dispute concerning the question as to who held supreme command over the troops,[64] the governor or the ranking military officer of the province who derived his authority from the commander-in-chief

[62] Johnstone to Farmar, January 7, 1765, in Public record office, colonial office papers, 5: 574.

[63] Johnstone to Farmar, January 7, 1765, in Public record office, colonial office papers, 5: 574.

[64] *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 172 ff., 288 ff. For full account see *ibid.*, 1: 338 ff.

of the British army in America. Governor Johnstone assumed the right to issue orders of various kinds to the troops; among other things an officer was placed under arrest by his command and was brought to a public trial.[65] He demanded, moreover, the keys of the garrison, which were promptly refused, and he insisted upon his constitutional right to order the movement of the troops from one point to another.

In order to clear up the situation an attempt was made by the ministry to lay down principles for the guidance of the respective powers in the province[66] according to which the governor in council or the governor alone where no council existed might issue commands to the troops in his province in the absence of specific orders from the commander-in-chief or the brigadier general of the district, providing such orders were not contradictory to any previously received from the commander-in-chief. There was to be no interference by the civil governor, however, with the details of military regulations and discipline.[67]

In an attempt to reinforce and interpret the king's orders, General Gage, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, observed that "His Majesty never did intend the governor should have supreme command,[68] which they never had had since the Troops came to America."[69] Furthermore, no orders from the king were to be published[70] until the commander-in-chief should issue the command as he was "answerable for the execution of them."[71] Governor Johnstone, on the other hand, justified his actions by asserting that the secretary at

[65] *Ibid.*, 1: 176, 177.

[66] *Ibid.*, 1: 172 ff.

[67] *Ibid.*, 1: 417.

[68] The power to appoint the town mayors was vested in the commander-in-chief; nevertheless Johnstone insisted on his right to nominate these officials. Letter from Gage, March 28, 1766, in Lansdowne manuscripts, Lansdowne house, London, vol. 51; copy in Illinois historical survey collection, university of Illinois.

[69] Gage to Taylor, June 10, 1766, in Canadian archives, B. 2-2: 101. He asserted that the governor of Nova Scotia, who was a military man and under the commander-in-chief, was the only governor who "ever had any command over the troops during the years that I have served here." *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 393.

[70] Governor Johnstone had issued the king's orders of February 9, 1765, to the garrison at Pensacola. See *ibid.*, 1: 396 ff.

[71] *Ibid.*, 1: 394. In this connection, also, Gage ordered that no commands from Johnstone should be obeyed by the barrack master. Gage to Taylor, September 29, 1776, in Canadian archives, B. 2-2: 131.

war acknowledged the governors under certain specific limitation, to be "Commanders in Chief, as they were responsible for their Provinces, as well as the Fortresses where they resided.[72] Indeed it was set forth in Johnstone's commission,[73] as in the commission of every other royal governor, that "We do hereby require and command all Officers and Ministers, Civil and Military and all other Inhabitants of Our said Province to be obedient, aiding and assisting unto you the said George Johnstone in the execution of Our Commission and of the Powers and Authorities herein contained." This apparent overlapping of the powers in the commissions to the civil and military heads was necessarily provocative of disputes.[74] Apparently the efforts of the imperial authorities to define the line of demarcation between the respective authorities was futile, as the temperament of the heads of the civil and military powers did not admit of adjustment. It was particularly contrary to Johnstone's disposition to remain at peace with any officials whose powers appeared to be equal or superior to his own;[75] moreover, he inci-

[72] *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 401, 402.

[73] Commission to Governor Johnstone, November 21, 1763, Public record office, colonial office papers, 5: 599.

[74] It appears that West Florida was not the only province in which there occurred disputes between the civil and military branches of the government after the appointment of a commander-in-chief of the army in America. An analogous case occurred several years later in the province of New York. Here the question arose as to who should take precedence "upon all occasions," Gage or Governor Moore. It was decided by the council of New York that the "all occasions" of Gage's instructions applied only to councils of war and that the civil power should not be subordinate to the military. Hillsborough stated in his reply to this discussion that "nothing that be more foreign to His Majesty's Intentions than the introducing Military Government into His Provinces in America." *Documents relative to colonial history of the state of New York* (O'Callaghan ed. — Albany, 1853-87), 8: 16, 17, 73, 97-99. In East Florida, also, in 1768, Governor Grant sought to maintain a "Personal Command" over all departments,—the fort, the artillery, ordnance, etc.,—"except the private regimental detail." Taylor to Haldimand, February 13, 1768, and Taylor to Gage, February 14, 1768, in Canadian archives, B. 11: 365, 368. Disputes over the command also occurred in Canada. *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 444 ff.

[75] Gage asserts, however, that though the barracks are under the commanding officers' "Care Orders, and Inspection, & strictly speaking the Governor has not in that case anything to do with them, and his order relative to the removal of officers not legal being out of his Jurisdiction." Nevertheless Gage saw no reason why the governor's requests "should not be complied with, in Cases of Necessity and where no detriment is to happen to the service." *Ibid.*, 1: 387, 388. He continued, nevertheless, to assert that he never would acknowledge Johnstone as commanding officer of

dentally took advantage of the frequent shifting of the military command.[76] From the beginning of his administration, therefore, to the day of his departure for England the province was filled with dissensions.

The first dispute on this head arose out of Johnstone's attempt to dictate to Major Robert Farmar, the head of the military forces at Mobile. The strife was long and bitter, charges and counter charges being hurled back and forth in rhetoric not wholly conducive to mutual good feeling and efficiency of administration. Johnstone was charged with "Violence and Severity" in a memorial forwarded to England by the troops at Mobile.[77] Serious indictments were likewise preferred against Major Farmar; so grave indeed that General Gage was forced to consent to a trial in order to clear up the affair. Farmar had in the meantime, early in the autumn of 1765, departed for the Illinois country to effect the occupation of that region. But Gage instructed General Taylor, the new chief of the military forces in the southern district, to place Farmar under arrest upon his return[78] from Illinois and to summon a court-martial as soon as convenient to review the charges. Eight serious offenses were alleged, among which were such charges as selling the king's flour at New Orleans, misapplying funds set aside for Indian expenses, and selling Fort Tombeckbe.[79] Even these accusations were not satisfactory to the governor,[80] who asserted that Gage had not preferred half the charges which in his mind were justifiable. The trial, however, did not begin promptly. Farmar, after having received summons to the trial, lingered

the troops, as the governor tried in every possible way to stretch the laws for the purpose of making himself supreme. Gage to Taylor, August 14, 1766, Canadian archives, B. 2-2: 118; Gage to Taylor, September 29, 1766, *ibid.*, B. 2-2: 131.

[76] In the summer of 1765, General Bouquet arrived in West Florida to take command but died almost immediately. During the interim, until the assumption of temporary command by Taylor in 1766, Johnstone declared himself head of the military forces. General Haldimand, the successor of Bouquet, arrived in West Florida in the spring of 1767.

[77] *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 176 ff.

[78] Gage to Taylor, September 29, 1766, in Canadian archives, B. 2-2: 131.

[79] Articles of accusation by Gage, September 29, 1766, *ibid.*, B. 22: 127; Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile; an historical study largely from original sources, of the Alabama Tombigbee basin and the old south west, from the discovery of the Spiritu Santo in 1519 until the demolition of Fort Charlotte in 1821* (Boston, 1910), 256.

[80] Gage to Haldimand, January 14, 1767, in Canadian archives, B. 3: 4.

several weeks at New Orleans,[81] not arriving at Mobile until December, 1766.[82] Then there occurred many delays incident to the assembling a sufficient number of witnesses for the court-martial,[83] so that the trial was not begun till June, 1767.[84] This case, which was a representative one in the long contest between the civil and military authorities, was deemed of sufficient importance to warrant the sending of officials from St. Augustine, South Carolina, and New York.[85] Although Farmar was acquitted, the real issue does not seem to have been determined.[86]

After Farmar's departure, Johnstone, who considered himself head of the military forces since Bouquet's death, entered into a dispute with Lieutenant-Colonel Walsh of Pensacola over the "appointing of a Town Mayor of Pensacola, and the Disposal of a Barrack Hut."[87] Walsh, who resented the interference of the governor, subsequently seized the fort at Pensacola and refused to admit a detachment Johnstone had called from Mobile. Johnstone therefore had Walsh arrested and examined to ascertain whether charges of mutiny might not be preferred against him. The lieutenant, however, was not held.[88] While Johnstone was still attempting to have Walsh removed from command, General Taylor[89] arrived and despite Johnstone's protests re-

[81] Gage to Haldimand, January 14, 1767, *ibid.*

[82] Johnstone to Taylor, December 13, 1766, *ibid.*, B. 22: 186.

[83] Haldimand to Gage, March 25, 1767, *ibid.*, B. 3: 16; June 30, 1767, *ibid.*, B. 3: 90.

[84] "List of persons supporting Major Farmar, June 18, 1767," *ibid.*

[85] Gage to Haldimand, May 8, 1767, *ibid.*, B. 3: 5.

[86] All parties concerned felt themselves aggrieved. "Major Farmar thought himself sacrificed to Governor Johnstone, and Governor Johnstone charged the general (Gage) with partiality to Farmar." Taylor to Haldimand, August 6, 1767, *ibid.*, B. 11: 312.

[87] Letter from Gage, March 28, 1766, in Lansdowne manuscripts, vol. 51.

[88] Chief justice Clifton was forced to resign his office because of Johnstone's criticism of his verdict of "not guilty" in the Walsh case. He was reinstated, however, early in 1768. This is a further illustration of the governor's quarrelsome nature. Not only did he break with the chief justice, but also with the attorney-general of the province, E. R. Wegg, whom he suspended on the grounds of negligence and incapacity, charges which seem never to have been proven. Consult index to *Mississippi provincial archives*; see also Hillsborough to Browne, February 23, 1768, Public record office, colonial office papers, 5: 584.

[89] Johnstone states that General Taylor had adopted the idea of the military branch being subjected to the civil. Johnstone to Boddington, July 19, 1766, *ibid.*, 5: 583. Nevertheless, according to Taylor's later statement, this was not correct. "I know of no advantage to the government from this Command from the Civil Governors"

tained Walsh.[90] The brigadier had been instructed by Gage to examine the conduct of Walsh and to give him a private reprimand or bring him to trial if found guilty. If, however, Walsh should not be guilty of a military crime, the dispute was to be "dropped,"[91] and this course appears to have been followed.

Yet another problem perplexed the officials of the recently occupied territory,—that of conciliating the Indians. Since the French had been successful in their management and since the Indians were still attached to the former's interests, it was imperative that the English effect an adjustment with these nations immediately, especially in view of the fact that but two depleted regiments and as many ruinous forts were available as barriers against possible attacks of Choctaw and Creeks, the former capable of assembling six thousand fighting men and the latter approximately thirty-six hundred.[92] The problem presented an acute phase immediately upon the occupation of Mobile. According to custom the French had summoned the Creek and Choctaw nations to an annual congress to be held at that place about the first of November, 1763, for the purpose of distributing the annual presents. As the Indians had begun to assemble before the end of October, the French officials requested Farmar not to land his troops until after the meeting had adjourned. Farmar, however, insisted upon disembarking and assuming control of the congress, which was his prerogative in consequence of the cession. He presided over the congress during the succeeding weeks, aided by the former French officers.[93] As the government had not as yet issued any orders in regard to general Indian management, Farmar deemed it wise to adopt a policy similar to that of the French.[94] There followed an earnest at-

over the king's troops; "that the King's troops raised and paid by Great Britain should be merely body-guards in the Provinces." Taylor to Haldimand, February 13, 1768, in Canadian archives, B. 11: 365.

[90] Johnstone to Taylor, July 26, 1766, in Public record office, colonial office papers, 5: 583.

[91] Gage to Taylor, September 29, 1766, in Canadian archives, B. 2-2: 131.

[92] *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 7 ff.

[93] *Ibid.*, 1: 14, 1: 185. In view of Pontiac's rebellion this was an important consideration. It was the opinion of authorities that a considerable military force should be quartered in the province not only to avert possible counter attacks from the Spanish but also to crush any possible Indian uprising. *Calendar home office papers in the reign of George the third*, 1: 418.

[94] *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 11. As one result large sums were expended

tempt on the part of the British, with the cordial coöperation of the French, to prepare the Indians for a peaceful reception of British sovereignty.[95] This was partially accomplished by the promise to supply the Indians in accordance with the French custom, a policy which, as has already been pointed out, entailed a heavy expense.

In the instructions[96] to Governor Johnstone, which were issued in November, 1763, and which he brought with him to West Florida a year later, a general Indian policy was outlined. Among other things provisions were to be made for the gaining of definite information concerning the neighboring tribes. A proper person was to be appointed to hold congresses with the nations for the purpose of promising them protection and friendship. These instructions further reflect the principles as embodied in the royal proclamation of October 7, 1763,[97] which provided that the Indians were not to be disturbed in the possession of their territory, and that trade was to be free and open to all persons obtaining a license from the governor or commander-in-chief of the colony. All traders, moreover, were bound to observe such regulations as should be proclaimed for the benefit of the trade.

Prior to the announcement of the proclamation in America, a congress of all the nations of the south had been convened at Augusta November 7, 1763.[98] At this meeting the Choctaw and the Creeks, especially the latter, had asked for definite boundary lines in the south, beyond which the British might not intrude. They received the reply that nothing could be adjusted there until the "appointed governors for those countries" should arrive.[99] Upon the coming of Governor Johnstone of the new province of West Florida, therefore, about a year after the

on Indian presents. Five thousand pounds were necessary for the Choctaw nation alone, where the English government had allowed but fifteen hundred. *Ibid.*, 1: 150.

[95] See Farmar's address to the Creeks, and also talks given to the Choctaw by Farmar and Dabaddie at Mobile November 14, 1763. *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 80-91.

[96] Instructions to Governor Johnstone, December 7, 1763, in Public record office, colonial office papers, 5: 201.

[97] *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada*, 122.

[98] For an account of the congress, which convened November 7, 1763, see *State records of North Carolina* (Clark ed. — Winston, 1895), 11: 182 ff.

[99] *Ibid.*, 11: 195.

general meeting at Augusta, negotiations were immediately begun by the calling of congresses with the Choctaw and the Creeks respectively. Since the meeting at Mobile in 1763 the Choctaw had remained quiet.[100] But the Creeks about Pensacola were exceedingly jealous of their lands and still retained their suspicion of the English. They claimed all the land about the fort with the exception of a small tract immediately adjacent, which had been ceded to the Spaniards. Furthermore, they threatened to attack the English as soon as the latter should begin to settle the region.[101] The Creeks also prohibited the carrying of any goods from Pensacola into their country.[102]

The congress for the Choctaw was convened at Mobile March 26, 1765, and that for the Creeks at Pensacola May 26, 1765. The two momentous problems were those of trade and boundary, and both, through the coöperation of John Stuart, superintendent of Indian affairs in the southern district, were amicably settled.[103] The traders to both nations agreed to be bound by certain regulations.[104] The Choctaw surrendered a generous portion of territory,[105] in contrast to the narrow, sandy strip surrendered by the Creeks.[106] The latter, however, promised to augment their cession at the end of four years if the English fulfilled their promises.[107]

At the time of the Choctaw encampment at Mobile in 1765, the Creeks captured several members of that tribe, murdered

100 *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 119.

101 *Ibid.*, 1: 142, 143.

102 *Ibid.*, 1: 165.

103 *Ibid.*; Stuart to Pownall, August 24, 1765, in Lansdowne manuscripts, vol. 60.

104 In consequence of the terms of the proclamation the Indian country was overrun with traders. Stuart drew up a set of regulations to attempt to lessen the number and to regulate the trade. The number of undertraders employed by the licensed traders was fixed and persons wandering among the Indians were not to be harbored. A uniform tariff was to be observed and the trade was to be transacted within the Indian towns. "Copy of the regulations of trade," enclosed in Stuart's letter to the governors, March 31, 1765, Public record office, colonial office papers, 323.23.

105 This territory comprised approximately the area comprehended by Mobile bay, Tombigbee river, west along the Buckatanne river to the Pascagoula river; down that river to within twelve leagues of the sea and as far west as the Choctaw had a right to grant. *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 184.

106 Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, 244 ff.; *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 184 ff.

107 *Ibid.*, 1: 185; Stuart to Pownall, August 24, 1765, in Lansdowne manuscripts, vol. 60.

ten and refused to return the others.[108] War ensued between these two nations, which affected West Florida to the extent of retarding somewhat the Indian trade and of postponing the survey of the boundary line.[109] Johnstone's policy in regard to this strife became an important issue during the next few years, reflecting in a measure the old strife between the executive in West Florida and the military authorities. His theory was that the Creeks were to be feared, that they "must be chastised, if we expect Settlements in these Parts to flourish; if we expect to keep any future consequence with the other Indian Nations."[110] His plan was secretly to induce, by large presents, the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee to unite against the Creeks and to withdraw English traders from that nation.[111] He was most energetic in attempting to win recruits to his plan of crushing the power of the Creeks. Under ordinary circumstances the military arm of the government would doubtless have agreed to coöperate, but curiously enough, that branch of the service opposed his plan. General Gage, for example, used all his powers "to prevent the Nation being plunged headlong into an unprofitable War with Savages" and declared that if Johnstone was determined to bring on a war "let him answer the consequences."[112] This view likewise found strong support in the British ministry, which sent warning notes to all American officials in the southern provinces to preserve peace.[113] This combined opposition of army officials and the government prevented the execution of the governor's plan. The war continued, however, beyond the administration of Johnstone — who was recalled partly on account of his policy — and remained a source of embarassment to future provincial and Indian officials.

Notwithstanding the politico-military strife in the province the completion of the machinery of civil government was

[108] Stuart to Pownall, August 24, 1765, in Lansdowne manuscripts, vol. 60; *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 524. See also Alvord, *Mississippi valley in British politics*, 2: 61 ff.

[109] The line had not been surveyed in 1770 on account of the war. Stuart to Durnford, January 4, 1770, Public record office, colonial office papers, 5.87.

[110] *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 511.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] Gage to Taylor, December 18, 1766, in Canadian archives, B. 2-2: 137; Shelburne to Stuart, September 13, 1766, Lansdowne manuscripts, vol. 53.

[113] Shelburne to Grant, December 11, 1766, *ibid.*; Stuart to Haldimand, June 7, 1767, Canadian archives, B. 11: 281.

undertaken. Already the necessary courts of justice had been set up, including courts of ordinary chancery, admiralty, and the supreme court, the last named consisting of the governor and council.[114] On August 18, 1766, moreover, the governor in accordance with the provisions of the proclamation of 1763 and "in consideration of the Want of Several Laws adapted to the Constitution" of the province, and in response to a petition from the jurors of the assizes of Pensacola and of the inhabitants of Mobile, issued a proclamation [115] calling for the election of the first representative assembly in West Florida. The population was yet small, Johnstone's estimate, which was probably too optimistic, in that year placing it at from eighteen hundred to two thousand.[116] At the time of the occupation in 1763 the English officers in command reported the population as hardly worthy of a settled government.[117] In view of the small number of freeholders, therefore, the governor announced that the head of every household should have the privilege of a voice in the selection of representatives. The province was divided into three electoral districts, that of Pensacola, including all the territory east of the Perdido river except the township known as Campbelltown, which formed the second electoral district, and that of Mobile, comprising all the territory to the west of the Perdido river. Pensacola and Mobile each were entitled, by the governor's proclamation, to six representatives, and Campbelltown to two.[118]

Elections were held in the three districts and on November 3, the day appointed in the governor's proclamation, the members elect gathered in Pensacola, where the necessary oaths were administered by the council, after which this second branch of the assembly was formally organized by the selection of Francis Pousset as speaker.

In the course of perfecting its organization, however, it became necessary for the assembly to pass upon the merits of a

[114] Sidgwick to Gordon, January 7, 1765, Public record office, colonial office papers, 5.574.

[115] Minutes of the first assembly of the province of West Florida, manuscript in general land office, Washington, D. C.

[116] *Mississippi provincial archives*, 1: 444.

[117] *Ibid.*, 1: 142.

[118] Minutes of the first assembly of the province of West Florida.

contested election in Campbelltown, the smallest of the three districts.[119] Among the first committees appointed was that on privileges and elections; it was to this committee that there was referred the petition of Dr. John Lorimer of Pensacola, who appeared to be an unsuccessful candidate for assemblyman from Campbelltown, his opponent, David Williams, having been granted a certificate of election by the deputy provost marshal. In Lorimer's petition it was alleged that despite the fact that the face of the returns gave him a clear majority, the marshal had "taken upon himself by the Sole advice of the said David Williams or his friends, to alter the said poll in such a manner that he might return the said David Williams as member for said township . . ." On the basis of the committee's report, and after hearing the testimony of the candidates, the house expelled Williams and awarded the seat to Lorimer. At the same time Williams was called before the bar of the house and reprimanded for his insolence, and the marshal who issued the false return was discharged from office.[120]

No very great significance may be attached to the enactments in this first session of the legislature. They reflect something, however, of the conditions of the province which were apparently similar to the early beginnings of every government. Acts were passed by the council and assembly providing for the regulating of servants, the clearing of the town of Mobile of offensive weeds, and for cleaning the streets of Pensacola.[121] A code regulating negroes and slaves was deemed necessary and enacted, and acts restraining drunkenness and regulating the sale of liquor were passed. A law designed to encourage foreigners to settle in the province was enacted early in the first session of the assembly. Grants of duties to be applied towards supporting the government of the province were likewise made. The assembly was prorogued by the governor on January 3, 1767, to February 23. On the whole the relations between the house and the executive were not unfriendly. No very serious controversies developed, if we may judge from the minutes of the assembly. This appears in striking contrast to the gov-

[119] Minutes of the first assembly of the province of West Florida.
[120] *Ibid.*
[121] *Ibid.*

ernor's relations to other branches of the public service in the colony.

The turmoil in the province was greatly minimized by the recall of Governor Johnstone early in 1767. The history of the province in the successive periods of military and civil régimes is a record of mismanagement, conflicts of jurisdiction, and petty quarrels. The British government intended West Florida as a home for the surplus population of the older colonies, and as a possible source of profit for Great Britain. Nevertheless the generally unfavorable conditions, as reflected in the facts above narrated, augured poorly for the early prosperity of the province. The population remained scanty, commerce had not yet developed satisfactorily, Indian relations had not been fully adjusted and the civil government was still in the experimental stage.

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HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI NORTHWEST, 1916-1917

The region included in the following survey of historical activities for the year ending October 1, 1917, is the same as that covered in previous surveys. There has been a noticeable curtailment in the total product of historical writing and in the scope of the activities of historical agencies in this region during the last few months. The war is no doubt responsible for this falling off. The increased cost of all the materials for printing has made necessary some retrenchment on the part of historical societies; and the keen interest in current events of world importance has tended to crowd out the printing of articles on local and regional history in general publications.

PROGRESS AND ACTIVITIES OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Minnesota historical society hopes soon to be fully installed in its handsome new building. The annual support of the society was increased from twenty thousand to twenty-five thousand dollars by an act of the last legislature.

Two new members of the executive council of the society were chosen at the stated meeting on October 9, 1916, namely, Mr. William W. Cutler and Mr. Victor Robertson, who were selected to fill the vacancies caused by the deaths of James J. Hill and Edward C. Stringer. About the same time Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook was appointed field agent for the society,—an appointment which marks a new development in the work of the institution. It is the plan that Mr. Holbrook will ultimately visit each county in the state for the purpose of investigating the county and other local archives, and of searching for materials of historical value in the possession of the citizens of the community. It will also be his purpose to acquaint the people with the work of the society and enlist their assistance in promoting the cause of state and local history.

The membership roll of the Minnesota historical society on December 31, 1916, contained the names of 509 persons, which is

a very material gain over the number for the corresponding date one year earlier. Moreover, at each meeting of the executive council during the past nine months there have been many additions to the membership roll. The library on December 31, 1916, contained 81,239 accessions, in addition to about 43,000 unaccessioned items, mostly pamphlets. It is a source of gratification to those in charge of the society that the library is being used more and more by investigators engaged in serious research work.

At the stated meeting of the executive council on December 11 memorial addresses in honor of Major Return I. Holcombe and Captain Henry A. Castle were delivered by Mr. Warren Upham and Mr. Gideon S. Ives, respectively; and a paper on "Banking in Minnesota in the territorial period" was read by Mr. Sydney A. Patchin. The annual meeting was held on January 15, at which time Mr. Joseph G. Pyle delivered a memorial address in honor of the late James J. Hill. A report on his work as field agent was presented by Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook at the stated meeting on April 9.

By an act of the last general assembly the permanent annual support of the state historical society of Iowa was increased four thousand dollars, making a total of twenty-four thousand dollars. This increase, like that of the Minnesota society, will be fully absorbed in meeting the increased prices of materials, and will not, for the present at least, make possible any important enlargements in the activities of the society.

Mr. John E. Briggs has become a permanent member of the staff of the state historical society of Iowa. He is at present engaged in the preparation of a biography of the late Congressman William P. Hepburn. During the past summer Mr. Louis B. Schmidt of the Iowa state college of agriculture and mechanic arts at Ames and Mr. Thomas Teakle of Des Moines spent some time at Iowa City pursuing research under the direction of the society. The former is preparing a history of agriculture in Iowa, while the latter has completed a volume dealing with the Spirit Lake massacre. Mr. C. R. Aurner has completed his six volume history of education in Iowa and has prepared several short articles on subjects in educational history. The researches of the society during the past few months, partly by accident

and partly by design, have been largely directed along the line of the military history of the state.

In January, in response to the request made in a joint resolution of the general assembly, the superintendent of the society, Mr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, with the assistance of members of the research staff, prepared and directed the publication of a manual of legislative procedure for the use of the members of the state legislature. The society has furnished data to the Iowa branch office of the United press association for use in preparing short articles on Iowa history which are supplied to certain newspapers of the state.

No important changes or developments have occurred in the work of the historical department of Iowa at Des Moines. Last fall Curator Edgar R. Harlan coöperated with the town planning committee of Des Moines in choosing suitable names with a local historical significance for the new driveways in the proposed boulevard system for the city. He also gave much attention to the plans for the historical film production entitled "The wild rose of Iowa." During the past summer he has been very active in behalf of the marking of historic sites, including the marking of the Mormon trail across the state.

At the annual meeting of the state historical society of Missouri in December, 1916, Mr. Walter B. Stevens of St. Louis was elected president. The society is planning a meeting on January 8, 1918, to commemorate the presentation to congress of Missouri's first petition for statehood.

No changes in the organization or scope of activities of the Missouri historical society at St. Louis have occurred during the past year.

At its last session the legislature of Kansas increased the appropriation for the contingent expenses of the Kansas state historical society five hundred dollars and increased the book fund three hundred dollars. The society is preparing the fourteenth volume of its *Collections* for publication at an early date.

Mr. Addison E. Sheldon was elected secretary and superintendent of the Nebraska state historical society at the annual meeting held on January 11, 1917, and Mr. Samuel C. Bassett was chosen president. At this meeting the principal address was one by General Nelson A. Miles. The society has taken

steps to secure photographs of all the Nebraska soldiers in the present war.

The biennial meeting of the department of history of South Dakota was held on January 23, 1917, at which time the principal speaker was Mr. Abraham L. Van Osdel, who spoke on the subject of "Aboriginal highways in South Dakota." The department has begun the development of a genealogical library.

A movement is on foot in Montana to reorganize the state historical society which has been practically inactive for several years. Furthermore, the chancellor of the university has appointed a "University commission on Montana history" consisting of F. H. Garver, chairman, A. L. Stone, M. L. Wilson, H. H. Swain, and P. C. Phillips. The main object of the commission is to publish a quarterly series of monographs relative to the history of the state, the first number of which it is hoped will appear in January, 1918.

PUBLICATIONS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The publications of historical societies in this region issued during the past year may be listed in a comparatively short space. The activities of the Minnesota historical society along this line have been confined to the quarterly periodical known as the *Minnesota history bulletin.* In the pages of this publication there have appeared the following articles: "Recollections of Minnesota experiences," by Theodore E. Potter; "Captain Henry A. Castle," by Gideon S. Ives; "Return Ira Holcombe," by Warren Upham; "The Monroe doctrine and the war," by Carl Becker; and "Some possibilities of historical field work," by Franklin F. Holbrook. In addition, the February number contains the following notes and documents: a brief sketch of the life of Michelle Dufault, by Theodore H. Beaulieu; a lawyer's view of the Kensington rune stone, presented in a letter from Charles C. Willson; a letter discussing relations with western Canada; and some data relative to the genesis of the republican party in Minnesota. A supplement to the February number of the *Bulletin* contains the *Nineteenth annual report* of the society for the years 1915 and 1916.

Further progress is reported by the Minnesota historical society in the compilation of a work on "Minnesota geographic

names," by Warren Upham; while a three volume work on the history of Minnesota, by William W. Folwell, is nearing completion.

In December, 1916, the state historical society of Iowa issued a volume on *Statute law-making in Iowa* (xviii, 718 p.), edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.[1] As was the case with the preceding volumes in the same series, the book is the joint work of several authors, the various papers being: "History and organization of the legislature in Iowa," by John E. Briggs; "Law-making powers of the legislature in Iowa," by Benjamin F. Shambaugh; "Methods of statute law-making in Iowa," by O. K. Patton; "Form and language of statutes in Iowa," by Jacob Van der Zee; "Codification of statute law in Iowa," by Dan E. Clark; "Interpretation and construction of statutes in Iowa," by O. K. Patton; "The drafting of statutes," by Jacob Van der Zee; "The committee system," by Frank E. Horack; and "Some abuses connected with statute law-making," by Ivan L. Pollock. In October, 1917, the society distributed a biography, written by Dan E. Clark, of *Samuel Jordan Kirkwood* (xiv, 464 p.), governor of Iowa during the civil war and later United States senator and secretary of the interior.

The quarterly publication of the society, known as the *Iowa journal of history and politics*, has contained the following articles during the past year: "The opening of the Des Moines valley to settlement," by Jacob Van der Zee; "Indian agents in Iowa: agents at the Winnebago, Council Bluffs, St. Peter's, and Tama agencies," by Ruth A. Gallaher; "Special legislation in Iowa," by Ivan L. Pollock; "Recent liquor legislation in Iowa," by Dan E. Clark; "History of the Congregational church of Iowa City," by Joseph S. Heffner; "The executive veto in Iowa," by Jacob A. Swisher; "History and constitution of the Icarian community," translated by Thomas Teakle; "The enlistment of Iowa troops during the civil war," by John E. Briggs; "The military-Indian frontier, 1830-1835," by Ruth A. Gallaher; "Council with the Sac and Fox Indians in 1840," "The Iowa loan of 1861," by Ivan L. Pollock; and "The legislation of the thirty-seventh general assembly of Iowa," by Frank E. Horack.

During the summer the state historical society of Iowa began

[1] Reviewed *ante*, 4: 266.

the publication of a series of small pamphlets which will be continued indefinitely, under the title of *Iowa and war*. Since these pamphlets are in no sense a monographic series, bibliographical data and academical citation of sources are omitted. Their contents are none the less based upon critical studies and reliable sources of information. The first four pamphlets in this series are: *Old Fort Snelling*, by Marcus L. Hansen; *Enlistments from Iowa during the civil war*, by John E. Briggs; *The Iowa civil war loan*, by Ivan L. Pollock; and *Equipment of the Iowa troops in the civil war*, by Cyril B. Upham.

The society now has in press a volume on *Marches of the dragoons in the Mississippi valley*, by Louis Pelzer, being an account of the marches and activities of the first United States dragoons between 1833 and 1850; and a volume on *Old Fort Snelling*, by Marcus L. Hansen, including a discussion of the relation of the fort to the early development of the northwest.

The only publication issued by the historical department of Iowa at Des Moines during the period under discussion is *Downing's civil war diary* (vi, 325 p.), edited by Olynthus B. Clark. This diary was kept by Sergeant Alexander G. Downing of company E, eleventh Iowa infantry, and presents an excellent view of many important campaigns of the war from the standpoint of the soldier in the ranks. The quarterly periodical called *Annals of Iowa* has been indefinitely discontinued.

The following contributions are to be found in the pages of the *Missouri historical review*, published at Columbia by the state historical society of Missouri: "Letters of Carl Schurz, B. Gratz Brown, James S. Rollins, G. G. Vest *et al.*, Missourians, from the private papers and correspondence of Senator James Rood Doolittle of Wisconsin," contributed by Duane Mowry; "Howard county has two centennial celebrations," by Walter Ridgway; "Letters of Edward Bates and the Blairs," contributed by Duane Mowry; "Missouri's centennial celebration," "How Missouri counties, towns, and streams were named," by David W. Eaton; "Missouri's centennial," by Walter B. Stevens; "Missouri and the Santa Fe trade," by F. F. Stephens; "Missourians abroad: Major General John J. Pershing," by Ivan H. Epperson; "A state flower for Missouri," by Marie L. Goodman; and "Adair county historical society," by E. M. Violette.

A handsome volume published by the Missouri historical society located in St. Louis is one entitled *Three years among the Indians and Mexicans* (316 p.), and edited with notes and biographical sketches by Walter B. Douglas. It is a reprint of a book by General Thomas James of Monroe county, Illinois, originally published in 1846. The first two chapters have a bearing on the history of this region in that they deal with the author's experiences in the fur trade on the upper Missouri river in 1809 and 1810.

The only publication of the Kansas state historical society during the period under review is the *Twentieth biennial report* of the board of directors for the two years ending June 30, 1916. In addition to the report, the pamphlet contains the proceedings at the annual meetings of the society in 1915 and 1916, and a comprehensive "History of Kansas newspapers," compiled by William E. Connelley.

Volume XVIII of the *Collections* of the Nebraska state historical society has just been issued, but failed to reach the writer in time for further mention in this article. The state department of history of South Dakota has not issued any publications during the past year. The state historical society of North Dakota published a *Bulletin* containing an illustrated description of the museum and library of the society at Bismarck.

The Montana historical and miscellaneous library at Helena has recently issued volume eight of the *Contributions to the historical society of Montana* (376 p.).[2] It contains the following papers: "Partial sketch of the civil and military service of Major Martin Maginnis," "Wilbur Fisk Sanders," by A. K. McClure; "Diary of Colonel Samuel Word," "Holding up a territorial legislature," by Martin Barrett; "Montana's pioneer courts," by W. Y. Pemberton; "Pioneer lumbering in Montana," by A. M. Holter; "Capt. Townsend's battle on the Powder river," by David B. Weaver; "Montana's early history," by Mrs. W. J. Beall; "My trip on the Imperial in 1867," by John Napton; "Boundary survey between Montana and Dakota," by William Crenshaw; "Changing the name of Edgerton county," by W. Y. Pemberton; and "Trip through the Rocky

[2] To be reviewed later.

mountains," by A. G. Brackett. Nearly one-half the book is occupied with portions of the "Bradley manuscript."

In listing the publications of historical societies mention should be made of a number of articles bearing on the history of this region which have appeared in publications of societies and associations outside of the trans-Mississippi northwest. In the Mississippi Valley Historical Review there have been the following articles on subjects entirely within this field: "Additional notes on the Verendrye enigmas," by Doane Robinson, Charles E. DeLand, and Orin G. Libby;[3] and "The separation of Nebraska and Kansas from the Indian territory," by Roy Gittinger.[4] Other articles which touch the field incidentally are: "Effects of secession upon the commerce of the Mississippi valley," by E. Merton Coulter;[5] "Southern railroads and western trade, 1840-1850," by R. S. Cotterill;[6] "Settlement and development of the lead and zinc mining region of the driftless area with special reference to Jo Daviess county, Illinois," by B. H. Schockel;[7] and "Spanish influence in the west during the American revolution," by James A. James.[8] Among the notes and documents are some "Notes on the discovery of gold in the northwest," by P. C. Phillips and H. A. Trexler.[9]

The only paper in the *Proceedings* of the Mississippi valley historical association for 1915-1916 which comes within the scope of this review is the address by Dunbar Rowland on "The Mississippi valley in American history." Other papers read at the meetings which contain data concerning the history of this region are printed only by title, having been printed in full in various other publications.

"The cow country," by Frederic L. Paxson; and "The northern railroads, April, 1861," by Carl R. Fish, are two articles which have appeared during the past year in the *American historical review* which have a bearing, direct or incidental, on the field covered by this paper. Among the documents will be found

[3] *Ante*, 3: 143-161, 368-400.
[4] *Ante*, 3: 442-462.
[5] *Ante*, 3: 275-301.
[6] *Ante*, 3: 427-442.
[7] *Ante*, 4: 169-193.
[8] *Ante*, 4: 193-209.
[9] *Ante*, 4: 89-98.

the proceedings of "The senate debate on the Breckinridge bill for the government of Louisiana, 1804," edited by Everett S. Brown. There is also a communication from James Mooney in reply to some criticisms of his review of Grinnell's *The fighting Cheyennes.*

Among the papers in volume one of the *Annual report* of the American historical association for 1914, which has been distributed within the past year, are the following: "The genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act," by P. Orman Ray; and "Principles of classification for archives," by Ethel Virtue, describing the system in use in the archives of Iowa. There is also "A preliminary survey of the more important archives of the territory and state of Minnesota," by Herbert A. Kellar.

A volume in the series of *Original narratives of early American history*, published by Charles Scribner's sons, under the auspices of the American historical association, is one entitled *Early narratives of the northwest, 1634-1699*, (xiv, 382 p.), edited by Louise Phelps Kellogg.[10] The volume contains the original narratives of several early French explorations in the Mississippi valley. "The Minnesota history teachers' syllabus," by C. B. Kuhlmann, is a contribution in the *History teacher's magazine.*

A volume on the *Economic history of Wisconsin during the civil war decade* (414 p.), by Frederick Merk,[11] published by the state historical society of Wisconsin, contains considerable material concerning the history of Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri during the same period. In the *Proceedings* of the same society at the annual meeting held in October, 1916,[12] there will be found among others the following papers: "New light on the career of Captain Nathaniel Pryor," by Joseph B. Thoburn; and "The dream of a northwestern confederacy," by William C. Cochran.

Among the articles in the *Journal of the Illinois state historical society* is a brief sketch by Orrin S. Holt of the career of Russell Farnham, who was also a prominent figure in the fur trade on the west side of the Mississippi river during the early days. A discussion of the "Origin of the various names of the Mississippi river," by P. T. Thompson, appears in the *Publica-*

[10] Reviewed in this number.

[11] Reviewed in this number.

[12] To be reviewed later.

tions of the Louisiana historical society. Volume XVI of the *Jahrbuch* of the German-American historical society of Illinois contains, among others, an article on "The German element in the state of Colorado," by Mildred S. MacArthur.[13] Special mention should be made of the *Official letter books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816*,[14] in six volumes, edited by Dunbar Rowland and published for the Mississippi history commission.

OTHER HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

A considerable number of publications, other than those of historical societies, contain data of more or less importance bearing on the history of this region. The following books may be mentioned: *A boy on the plains and in the Rockies and other stories*, by William A. Greer (Boston); *Journal of the sufferings and hardships of Capt. Parker H. French's overland expedition to California, 1850*, by W. Miles (New York, 26 p.); *The Ashley-Smith explorations and discovery of a central route to the Pacific, 1822-1829*, by Harrison C. Dale (Cleveland); *Buffalo Bill's own story of his life and deeds*, by William E. Cody (Chicago); *A soldier-doctor of our army, James P. Kimball, late colonel and assistant surgeon-general, U. S. army*, by Maria B. Kimball (Boston, 192 p.);[15] *Land tenure in the United States*, by C. L. Stewart (Urbana, Ill., 135 p.);[16] *A history of the Australian ballot system in the United States*, by Eldon C. Evans (Chicago, 102 p.);[17] *The commerce of Louisiana during the French régime, 1699-1763*, by N. M. Miller Surrey (New York, 476 p.);[18] *Household manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860; a study in industrial history*, by Rolla M. Tryon (Chicago, xii, 413 p.);[19] *History of transportation in the United States before 1860*, by B. H. Meyer, Caroline E. MacGill, and others (Washington, D. C.);[20] *Mine taxation in the United States*, by Lewis E. Young (Urbana, Ill., 275 p.);[21] *Galusha A. Grow, father*

[13] Reviewed *ante*, 4: 265.
[14] To be reviewed later.
[15] Reviewed *ante*, 4: 255.
[16] Reviewed in this number.
[17] To be reviewed later.
[18] To be reviewed later.
[19] Reviewed in this number.
[20] To be reviewed later.
[21] To be reviewed later.

of the homestead law, by Gertrude S. Mathews (Boston, 305 p.);[22] *Birth of Mormonism*, by John Q. Adams (Boston, 106 p.);[23] and *David Thompson's narrative of his explorations in North America, 1784-1812*, edited by J. B. Tyrell (Toronto, xcviii, 582 p.).

From their titles it would appear that the following doctoral dissertations (in addition to many of those noted in the writer's survey last year), reported in progress in December, 1916, at various American universities, touch this field directly or indirectly: "The history of the admission of new states into the union," by Lucia von L. Becker (Chicago); "The confirmation of foreign land titles in the acquired territories of the United States," by T. P. Martin (Harvard); "Social aspects of the temperance movement in the United States," by Jane I. Newell (Wisconsin); "The Norse immigration," by J. O. Hall; "Legislative procedure in the several states," by H. W. Dodds (Pennsylvania); "The development of suffrage in state governments," by K. H. Porter (Chicago); "The state governor," by W. W. Hollingsworth (California); "State administrative control of municipal administration in the United States," by J. R. Douglas (California); "The woollen industry in the Mississippi valley prior to the introduction of the factory system," by H. H. Bass (Harvard); "History of manufacturing," by F. G. Crawford (Wisconsin); "The development of prairie agriculture," by F. L. Cummings (Chicago); "History of the meat-packing industry in the United States," by E. H. Hahne (Harvard); "Federal and state regulation of the issue of railroad securities," by Mary L. Barron (Pennsylvania); "Outline development of state constitutions from 1776 to 1851," by G. V. Burroughs (Chicago); "The constitutional history of the Louisiana purchase, 1803-1812," by E. S. Brown (California); "Social movements, 1825-1860," by Florence Robinson (Wisconsin); "The public lands in the thirties," by Marie P. Dickoré (Wisconsin); "Economic aspects of the campaign of 1860," by G. R. Bedenkapp (Columbia); "Recruiting during the civil war," by Osborne E. Hooley (Wisconsin); "The period of suspension of specie payments in the United States, 1862-1879," by F. D. Graham (Harvard); "The liberal republican movement," by E. D.

[22] Reviewed *ante*, 4: 252.

[23] Reviewed *ante*, 4: 107.

Ross (Cornell); "The mugwumps in the campaign of 1884," by H. K. Murphy (Wisconsin); "The history of the independent movements in the principal cities of the United States," by C. C. Kochenderfer (Cornell); "New England's influence on education and religion in the west, 1815-1860," by C. B. Goodykoontz (Harvard); "Organized railroad-booming in the Mississippi valley, 1837-1857," by R. S. Cotterill (Wisconsin); "The Mennonites of Kansas," by H. E. Jensen (Chicago); and "The history of Protestant missions to the Sioux and Chippewa Indians," by L. F. Jackson (Harvard).

The following articles which have appeared in periodicals may be listed: "The veto power of the state governor," by John A. Fairlie, in the *American political science review*, August, 1917; "The use of private tokens for money in the United States," by B. W. Barnard, in the *Quarterly journal of economics*, August, 1917; "The private coinage of gold tokens in the south and west," by B. W. Barnard, in the *South atlantic quarterly*, April, 1917; "Manuel Lisa," by Cardinal Goodwin, in *Overland*, February, 1917; "Famous pony express riders," by R. N. Reeves, in *Overland*, December, 1916; "Tragedy of the Donner party," by Alice Stevens, in *Overland*, January, 1917; "Pathfinders of '49," by Mrs. A. Irby, in *Overland*, February, 1917; "Path of Hennepin," by Randolph Edgar, in the *Bellman*, January, 1917; "Our preparations for the war with Mexico, 1846-1848," by Justin H. Smith, in the *Military historian and economist*, January, 1917; "A chapter from the Doniphan expedition of 1847," by John T. Hughes, in the *Journal of the United States cavalry association*, January, 1917; and "History of the church of Jesus Christ of latter day saints," by Heman C. Smith, in the *Journal of American history*, July, 1916.

Some data concerning the Indian tribes which lived in this region may be found in the following books which have come to the writer's notice: *Taming the Sioux*, by F. Fiske (Bismarck, North Dakota, 186 p.);[24] *Poems from Sioux and Chippewa songs*, by Frances Densmore (Washington, D. C., 23 p.); *Myths and legends of the Sioux*, by Mrs. M. L. McLaughlin (Bismarck, North Dakota, 200 p.); *An old Kansas Indian town on the Missouri*, by G. A. Chandler (Plymouth, Iowa); and *Stone imple-*

[24] To be reviewed later.

ments used by Indians in the United States and Canada, by Warren K. Moorehead (Andover, Mass., 448 p.).[25]

In the October-December, 1916, number of the *American anthropologist* there is an article on "Indian trap pits along the Missouri," by A. Hrdlicka. The July-September, 1916, number of the *Journal of American folk-lore* contains, among others, two articles by Alanson Skinner, on "European tales from the plains Ojibwa," and "Plains Cree tales." Several articles of interest, written from the Indians' viewpoint, may be found in the *American Indian magazine.*

About the usual amount of material on the history of the various states of this section has been published during the year under review, with the exception that the last few months have witnessed an appreciable but natural lessening of interest in purely local history as reflected in the number of reminiscences and recollections published in newspapers, at a time when the war is the all-absorbing topic of discussion. The county history field seems to have been pretty well worked; at least a smaller number of county histories have been noted than during preceding years. No attempt has been made to list newspaper material or county histories, but the reader is referred to notes which may be found in the quarterly publications of the historical societies of Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri.

The following books and pamphlets relating to the history of Minnesota may be mentioned: *A description of the massacre by Sioux Indians in Renville county, Minnesota, August 18-19, 1862*, by Marion P. Satterlee (Minneapolis, 18 p.); *Visitin' round in Minnesota*, by Caryl B. Storrs (Minneapolis, 175 p.); *Historical sketch of the Grand Army of the Republic in Minnesota from its organization August 1, 1866, to August 1, 1916*, by Watson W. Hall (16 p.); *Woman suffrage in Minnesota*, by Ethel E. Hurd (Minneapolis, 52 p.); *The story of Minnesota*, by E. Dudley Parsons (New York, 336 p.);[26] *Our Minnesota; a story for children*, by Hester M. Pollock (New York, xiii, 373 p.); *Statue of Henry Mower Rice* (Washington, 90 p.); *Janney, Semple, Hill & Co., Minneapolis, 1866-1916* (Minneapolis, 62 p.); *A half century of progress; Walnut Grove, Minnesota, and vicin-*

[25] Reviewed *ante*, 4: 242.

[26] Reviewed in this number.

ity, 1866-1916, by Charles W. Howe (Redwood Falls, Minnesota, 56 p.); *Forty wonderful years; Morgan, Minnesota, and vicinity, 1876-1916*, by Charles W. Howe (Redwood Falls, 64 p.); and *Howe's souvenir history of Lamberton, Minnesota*, by Charles W. Howe (Redwood Falls, 98 p.).

Periodical literature relative to Minnesota history includes the following: "Glimpses into early northwestern history—early French forts and footprints on the Mississippi," in the *Western magazine*, November, 1916; "Wabasha, Minnesota," by C. L. Llewellyn, in the *Western magazine*, November, 1916; "The Minnesota historical society, an exposition of the importance of its public work," by Franklin F. Holbrook, in the *Western magazine*, March, 1917; a biographical sketch of Alexander Ramsey, by Return I. Holcombe, in the *Western magazine*, April, 1917; and "St. Paul, Red river, and York factory," by Aubrey Fullerton, in the *Bellman*, June, 1917.

Contributions to the literature of Iowa history are to be noted in the following publications: *Early days at Council Bluffs*, by Charles H. Babbitt (Washington, D. C., 96 p.); *On the campus*, by Thomas H. Macbride (Cedar Rapids, 262 p.); *Iowa stories: book one*, by Clarence R. Aurner (Iowa City, 138 p.); *Recollections and sketches of notable lawyers and public men of early Iowa*, by Edward H. Stiles (Des Moines, 988 p.); *Iowa manual of legislative procedure*, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh (Des Moines, 223 p.); *Six prophets out of the middle west*, by Frank L. Mott (Grand Junction, Iowa); *Lest we forget—Annie Wittenmyer*, by Lucy S. Stewart (Evanston, Illinois, 8 p.); *The W J McGee memorial meeting* (Baltimore, 121 p.); *Iowa troops in Mexican border service 1916-1917*, by Dick Dreyer (Iowa City); and *Potowonok: an historical sketch of Fort Madison, in verse*, by Earle S. Smith (Fort Madison).

In the pages of the *Journal of history*, published at Lamoni, Iowa, by the Reorganized church of Jesus Christ of latter day saints, there have appeared the following articles, among others: "The great handcart train from Iowa City to Salt Lake City," by Frederick Hansen; "The Mormons," by Alexander Majors; "Pioneer trails across Iowa," and a brief history of Lamoni, by Heman C. Smith. "A cycle of stories on Iowa history," by Grace Shellenberger, may be found in the July-September, 1916,

number of the *Iowa library quarterly*, where there is also a paper on "Literary Iowa," by Johnson Brigham; while in the January-March number John T. Frederick discusses "Iowa's contribution to middle western literature." Articles of some historical value which appear in volume xxv of the *Iowa geological survey* are: "The pleistocene history of Iowa river valley north and west of Iowa City," by M. M. Leighton; and "Physical features and geologic history of Des Moines valley," by James H. Lees. The *Proceedings* of the Iowa state bar association for 1916 contains biographical sketches of a number of Iowa lawyers who died during the preceding year.

Beginning in the January number of *The midland: a magazine of the middle west*, published at Iowa City, there is a series of poems by Edwin Ford Piper entitled "Barbed wire and other poems," depicting incidents in the lives of the early settlers in this western country. In the February number Nelson A. Crawford relates some Indian legends under the heading of "The golden dawn time." The January and February numbers of *The educational digest*, published at Anamosa, contain the following historical articles: "A sketch of an old log school house boy," by Tacitus Hussey; "Lenox college, the old and the new," by Arthur H. McKechnie; "Old Denmark academy," by John Barnes; and an account of the history of the Iowa state teachers' association, by Homer H. Seerley. "The uniform sales act and its effect upon the Iowa decisions and statutes," by H. C. Horack; and "The Webb-Kenyon law and beyond," by D. O. McGovney, are two papers printed in the *Iowa law bulletin*. The *Proceedings* of the Iowa society of Daughters of the American Revolution at the conferences in 1916 and 1917, contain information concerning the society's activities along the line of the marking of historic sites.

Books or pamphlets relating to Missouri history include the following: *The bench and bar of Boone county, Missouri*, by North Todd Gentry (Columbia); and *The story of Missouri from the earliest times to the present*, revised edition, by Perry S. Rader (Jefferson City, 219 p.). Doubtless much other material on the history of Missouri has been published during the past year, but unfortunately the writer was unable to secure information concerning it through the usual channels. The

same is true concerning publications bearing on Kansas history.

Four books containing Nebraska history have been noted: *Collection of Nebraska pioneer reminiscences*, published by the Nebraska society of the Daughters of the American Revolution; *Story of Nebraska*, by Louise U. Mears (Chicago, 35 p.); *The backbone of Nebraska; wherein is contained many interesting matters pertaining to pioneer and more modern days*, by Eugene O. Mayfield (Omaha, 31 p.); and *The pageant of Lincoln, 1917, Nebraska; a semicentennial masque*, by Hartley B. Alexander (Lincoln, 71 p.).

North Dakota, history and people, is a three volume work by Clement A. Lounsberry (Chicago). The *Quarterly journal* of the university of North Dakota contains the following articles bearing on the history of that state: "President Sprague's administration of the university of North Dakota," by Homer B. Sprague; "Law reform in North Dakota," by Joseph L. Lewinsohn; and "The geological history of North Dakota," by Arthur G. Leonard.

Two other publications touching the history of particular states in this field are: *The story of Montana*, by Kate H. Fogarty (New York, x, 302 p.); and *Pathbreakers and pioneers of the Pueblo region*, by Milo L. Whittaker (Pueblo, Colorado, 160 p.).

ACQUISITION OF SOURCE MATERIALS

The acquisitions of the Minnesota historical society include several thousand papers of the late William H. Houlton, a prominent business man of Elk River for about fifty years; a number of books and papers donated by John B. Sanborn, including a manuscript report presented by Father DeSmet to the United States commissioners for the negotiation of peace with the Sioux Indians in 1868; the minute-book of the Minnesota soldiers' aid society from June 6, 1862, to October 6, 1863; a collection of papers of Willis A. Gorman, governor of Minnesota territory from 1853 to 1857; a number of letters relative to politics received by Mark H. Dunnell in the late seventies and early eighties; a record book and other papers of the Clearwater guards, a military company of the civil war period; several hundred letters and papers of the late Wilford C. Wilson relating chiefly to the eleventh Minnesota volunteer infantry; two vol-

umes of business accounts formerly the property of John McKusick of Stillwater; and three volumes of records of the office of surveyor general of logs and lumber for the first district.

The state historical society of Iowa at Iowa City has come into possession of some valuable papers of Leonard F. Parker, who played a prominent part in the educational history of Iowa; and some miscellaneous papers relative to the Mechanics' academy, an early Iowa City institution. The society has recently installed additional steel vaults for the storage and preservation of manuscripts.

The most notable acquisition of the historical department of Iowa at Des Moines is a large collection of the papers of the late William B. Allison. The work of arranging and classifying the papers of John F. Lacey has been completed. The work on the state archives is progressing satisfactorily, and each year more and more of this material is made accessible to the investigator.

The state historical society of Missouri at Columbia has acquired four hundred volumes of central Missouri newspapers, covering the years from 1850 to 1899, from the Edmund Burke estate; and eighty volumes of Cass and Bates county newspapers.

The acquisitions of the Missouri historical society of St. Louis include a log book of the American fur company, containing records of the annual voyages made from St. Louis to the headwaters of the Missouri river during the years 1841-1847; manuscripts relating to Kaskaskia and Cahokia, 1778-1798; manuscripts relating to the civil war and the Spanish-American war; the records of Company A, an early military organization in St. Louis; photographic copies of manuscripts in the archives of the Indies, Seville, 1768-1791, and a number of early Kentucky and Pennsylvania newspapers.

The personal letters and papers of the late Samuel Maxwell, Samuel Chapman, and Robert W. Furnas, which have been in the possession of the Nebraska state historical society for some time, are being classified and arranged in such a manner that they will be accessible to the historian.

The department of history of South Dakota has acquired copies of a Fort Pierre journal and some Fort Pierre letterbooks; and the diary of George W. Dowd, a private in the tenth

Minnesota cavalry, during the Indian war in Dakota in 1863-1865.

Each of the societies has of course made many important additions to its collection of printed source materials in the form of public documents, diaries, records, descriptions of travel, and the like.

As was noted last year the historical societies of Minnesota and Iowa are coöperating with several other societies in the work of calendaring the materials in the archives at Washington, D. C., relating to the history of the upper Mississippi valley. Each society has received a card calendar, and arrangements have been made whereby photostatic copies of the papers and documents may be secured by each institution. The work will be continued indefinitely, so that in time it will be possible to know what materials may be found in the archives at Washington relative to the history of each particular state participating in the enterprise.

CELEBRATIONS, PAGEANTS, AND THE MARKING OF HISTORIC SITES

Historical pageants, celebrations of important anniversaries in state and local history, the marking of historic sites, and the erection of monuments in memory of prominent citizens are year by year becoming more popular in the region under review. An historical pageant was staged in Laird athletic park at Northfield, Minnesota, by Carleton college on October 14, 1916; while a pageant depicting the development of agriculture was performed in the stadium at Anoka, Minnesota, on August 18 and 19, 1916. On August 22, 1916, at the Fort Ridgely state park, occurred a celebration of the fifty-fourth anniversary of the battle of Fort Ridgely. The organization known as the Native Sons of Minnesota observed the sixty-eighth anniversary of the establishment of Minnesota territory on March 3, 1917.

The Minnesota legislature at this year's session authorized the appointment of a committee to investigate the feasibility of constructing a highway from West St. Paul along the Mississippi river to Mendota, to be known as the General Sibley memorial highway, in honor of Henry H. Sibley. Late in September, 1916, occurred the dedicatory exercises of the monuments erected by the state in memory of Minnesota soldiers who lost

their lives in the civil war and who are buried in the national cemeteries at Little Rock, Memphis, and Andersonville. On September 20, 1916, there was unveiled a boulder which marks the site of a stockade built by the early settlers of Sauk Centre, Minnesota, during the Indian uprising of 1862-1863.

Iowa Day was observed in the public schools and the state educational institutions with appropriate exercises on October 20, 1916. The seventieth anniversary of the admission of the state into the union was widely noted in the newspapers. An historical pageant entitled "Louisiana" was performed at Knoxville, Iowa, on May 3 and 4, 1917.

An effort is being made to secure funds with which to erect a monument near Story City, Iowa, on the spot where it is said once stood the first Norwegian church built west of the Mississippi river. The marking of the old Mormon trail across Iowa has been practically completed under the auspices of the Iowa society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, while local chapters have taken an interest in the marking of historic sites in their respective communities. The general assembly of Iowa at its session early this year passed several laws of interest in this connection. The sum of fifty thousand dollars was appropriated for the purpose of fireproofing the old capitol building at Iowa City. The Dodge memorial association was authorized to solicit funds for the erection of a monument to the late Grenville M. Dodge at Council Bluffs. According to another law, the soldiers' monument on the capitol grounds at Des Moines will remain in its present location, while a new site will be chosen for the Allison monument.

Plans for the celebration of the centennial of Missouri's admission into the union are progressing satisfactorily and the cooperation of people in all parts of the state is being enlisted. The seventy-fifth anniversary of the formation of Adair county, Missouri, was observed at Kirksville early in November. A number of centennial celebrations have been held by the various conferences of the Methodist Episcopal church in Missouri. The Baptists and Presbyterians have also celebrated centennials in a number of communities. Moberly celebrated its semicentennial on September 27, 1916. The golden jubilee of the Missouri press association was held at Kansas City about the middle

of September, 1916. The Francois Duquette monument has been restored during the past year.

The semicentennial of admission into the union was properly celebrated by Nebraska. The exact date of the anniversary, March 1, was observed by the legislature and the public schools. At the Aksarben festival in Omaha in October there was presented a pageant of Nebraska history, under the direction of Mr. John L. Webster, at that time president of the Nebraska state historical society. President and Mrs. Wilson were guests of Omaha on this occasion. The main feature of the celebration occurred at Lincoln on June 12-14 under the direction of the state historical society, the state university, and the Lincoln commercial club. The historical society arranged an historical exhibit in the city auditorium which was visited by thousands of people. Moving pictures and lantern slides depicting episodes in Nebraska history were shown. Lectures were given afternoon and evening by the superintendent of the society, Mr. A. E. Sheldon. The most interesting phase of the three days' celebration was a pageant entitled "Nebraska: a semicentennial masque."

The marking of the Oregon trail in Nebraska will be continued as rapidly as appropriations for that purpose will allow. In this work the Nebraska state historical society coöperates with the various patriotic societies of the state.

Due largely to the activities of Mr. F. H. Garver of the state normal school at Dillon, much interest in the marking of historic sites has been aroused in Montana. The Mullen trail, a famous government wagon road running from old Fort Benton, Montana, to Walla Walla, Washington, has recently been marked at eight different places by monuments about twelve feet in height and costing from $1500 to $2000 each. A monument has been erected at Goodcreek to mark the spot where gold was first discovered in Montana. Nine markers, some temporary and some permanent, have been placed along the route of the Custer expedition and the Bozeman expedition of 1874. About twenty camps and several battlefields along these routes have been identified.

Dan Elbert Clark

State Historical Society of Iowa
Iowa City

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Life and Journal of John Sutherland

John Sutherland, the writer of the journal from which the subjoined pages are extracted, was born August 17, 1819, in Wayne county near Richmond, Indiana. When he was fifteen years of age his family moved to the northern part of the state, settling on land near Rolling Prairie, La Porte county, Indiana. That he could take advantage of such education as was afforded him is shown by his diary, for the entries through the final months of 1840 betray, as well in the improved spelling and grammar and the broadening vocabulary as in the recorded impressions, the influence which his attendance at the Michigan City institute was exercising upon him. He married Eliza Piper, a friend of his boyhood, to whom many allusions are made in the journal. He became one of the well-known men of the county, especially in agricultural circles. For many years he was prominently connected with the state board of agriculture, serving for a period as president; he acted for several years as one of the trustees of Purdue university and promoted actively nearly all local affairs of public interest. His death occurred on June 15, 1886, at La Porte, Indiana, where he had resided for a number of years.

His journal, after having been preserved for seventy-five years in the family of the writer, was rescued from the flames of the rubbish-heap by Miss Jennie Jessup, librarian of the La Porte library. The first third of the copy book in which the journal is entered served young Sutherland as an exercise book for arithmetic. His struggles with the rule of extraction of roots, the single and double rule of three, and vulgar fractions, together with the miseries of composition day, afford an interesting insight into the type of instruction furnished by the rural schools of his day. On New Year's day of 1840, with a grand flourish of capital letters, he began his journal. The allusions to his daily pursuits present a vivid picture of rural life in the

central Mississippi valley during the middle of the last century: attendance at a quilting-bee; the closing exercises of school on March 6; the protracted meetings of Newlites, where about "forty went on the anxious seats;" getting out "floorens"[1] of wheat and oats, for sale at fifty and eighteen cents a bushel respectively, "dull at that;" the constant neighborhood borrowing of all sorts of articles, from ink and wheat bags to windmills; the writer's exchange of a deerskin and fifty cents for a handkerchief; the mother's midwinter horseback and stagecoach trip to Cincinnati; and the daily procession of "moovers," who lodged with his parents over night. A system of shorthand seems to have gained the young man's interest, for whenever he ventured to confide to his journal allusions to his ladylove or other secret matters, such as the determination of the young men of his locality to raid the office of a locofoco paper in La Porte for the "Baudest filthiest scandloust pieces" he ever "red," he had recourse to phonography. But by 1841, evidently, he had lost his interest in recording the events of each day and seems to have made his diary merely an excuse for practice in the hieroglyphics, for the entire remainder of the journal, extending only to August of that year, is in shorthand and covers only two pages. Strangely enough a key, tucked between the leaves of the journal, has come down so that with considerable difficulty it is possible to decipher the entries. The pages which record the impression made upon this young farmer when he attended the great whig gathering at the battlefield of Tippecanoe in late May, 1840, may justly claim more than local interest.

Ella Lonn

Journal of John Sutherland

(First mention). May 19. James Andrews was here to day to see about going to Tipacanoe but no positive arraingements wer maid as yet.

May 20 I made the arraingements to day about going to Tipacanoe Frederick Ives is to find a horse and me the other Mr. James Andrews the wagon

[1] Numerous allusions throughout the journal make it clear that grain was spread out thinly over the barn floor and threshed out with a flail by hand or trampled out by horses.

21 I went up to Mr Kellogs and got a silk velvet Vest cutt out he charged 37 cts Mrs. Andrews and Mrs Piper was here and made the tent to, go to Tipacanoe the cloth is Mr Blackburn
22 I went out to Porters and got me a palmleaf hat I went from there to Mr Ivess to see Frederick abot going to Tipacanoe he is not very well to day Mr Ives is going to Tipacanoe . . . frederick came over to Mr Andrews and we fixed it all out how we should go and fixed the wagon some Mother made my silk vest to day and lined my palmleaf hat with black silk so it looks quite sumptous I went up to Mr Drummonds to see his wagon over but it is no account
23 I went over to Mr Belshaws to get some oats but he had none out so I went to Gallions but he had none so I came home and went down to Mr Reynolds and got 2½ bushels of corn to take to Tipacanoe I made a feed trough to take along to feed our horses out of Mother and the girles have doneall of the dumpling[2] cooking to day Nothin is wanting
24 F Ives spoke to me about starting in the morning we arrainged it
25 warm but rained considerable we are to start this morning after Breakfast it slacked some so I took Bay and went down to Mr Andrews to bring the wagon up Mr Ives came over with the beast shortly after I got their we harnessed up and I took the team up to our house to get our Dumplings and clothes which I did as quick as convenient and we started in the rane Father is not in much of a notion to going we stoped at Mr Blackburnes[3] they put in there clothes in our trunk then we went down to Mr Andrews to get thers we had considerable laugh there we loaded up and started in the rane for Mr Ives Mr Blackburn caught up with us by Mr Browns we went up to Mr Ives put in his dumplings and started Mr Ives took his wagon and went as far as Mr Mulkes there they turned back on the account of the city folks and laporte folk[4] was gon we turned of at Mulkes lane we got to the Bridge of Lemons 12 Oclock here we took our dinners fed the horses but they would not eat soon as we eat our dinner

[2] A very old settler has told me that this was a general term for victuals.

[3] The context of the entire journal shows Mr. Blackburn to have been the farmer-preacher of the neighborhood.

[4] This refers to Michigan City, Laporte, and South Bend, places near Rolling Prairie, in the immediate vicinity of which village the writer lived.

we Buckled up payed our toll and started on we caught up with the City and Laporte folks 6 miles on the other side of the Bridge we went in company with them to yellow river here we camped on the other side of the river about 15 minutes after we got ther the south bend folks came up 12 wagons they camped wher we have they had some bad luck about 4 miles from camp a tree fell on one of the wagons and come very near killing one of the men they think he will die yet his skull is considerable injured we all fixed our tents fed our horses and went t bed (one the musitioner got on the brig[5] and played everal tunes it sounded very hansom about 12 Oclock some of youngster crowed others barked I did not sleep one bit all night

26 we arose at 4 they beat they drum to order all to rise 17 Lodged with us to night or last night we got our Breakfast at 5 Oclock started 6 we left the other company and went as far as Judge polks we got ther at 11 Oclock we wated until the Judge fixed he is a going a long while we wer her the other came up they gave the Judge 3 cheers then went on to rochester for dinner they are to wate until we come up then we are to all go to gather which was done we started from rochester abot 12 Oclock all to gather all hands wanted to go next to the Brig one of gentleMen from South Bend did not act the gentle Man he rushed up and would not let the Laporte folks nor city folks go nex to the Brig some of the chaps from Laporte Co rushed up to try if they could not get in next to the Brig but the south Bend gentle Man Bauled out that they were not agoing to Be run ove our company gave Back and let them go on we got along quite well this afternoon evry house we cane to the company would find out which side of Jug(?) they was on if whigs they gave them 3 cheers but if Democrats they hallowed like crowes and Brayed like mules or some other scornful nois we got to 9 miles hous this side of Logansporte here we camped it rained considerabl we all camped in the rode the roads are quite Bad this afternoon rough it is the meenest we will have after supper Mr Judge Sample made a speech for the purpose of regulating the way we should go in to Logansport which was done by the

[5] Michigan City had prepared a "brig," a vessel on wheels, as its contribution for the gathering at Tippecanoe. This float was important enough to receive mention in several accounts of the gathering.

consent of the people we then went to bed some sang comic songs while others crowed and Barked we all rested quite well I slep toleralbe sound some 2 or 3 complaned of sleeping to sound the camp is full to night 18 I think Mr Blackburn and Mr Andrews got supper and No one washed up the dishes

27 cloudy looked like rane but did not much we arose at 4 Oclock Mr Balckburn and Father got Breakfast by 5 0 no one washed the dishes Orland Frederick and myself rolled up the beds and geared up the horses ready for a start all hans was ready for a start at 7 0 the marshal called us according to our Lots we wer No 7 the other teem was N 22 the Brig in front all the musitioner on it in this way we all went to Logansport the roads ar quit bad we had to turn out a number of times the marshal was on a horse and they way he ordered us was a caution I never saw a man act so foolish as he did he run his horse from one end of the procession to the other as hard as he posably could go there was no more need of it than nothing considerable many walk this forenoon for the roads was so bad 23 teems in the company the way we cutt up the roads was right rong all was swel to day we got with in 2 miles of Logansport when we wer met by a full band of Musick from town and 20 or more a horse to escort us in to town the musitioners got on the brig 10 or more musitioner there was 19 on the brig most to heavy a load for 4 horses they played Musick all the way in town some of the Ladies waved there hankerchief out of the window we all waved our hats in silence one lady held the likeness of Martain Van Buren out of a window but No one countenanced it she was put to her best to hold it until all got by some of the gentle Men tryed to get her to take it in but No we marched in front of the printing office and the Mane tavern there holted and according to the marshals orders we gave them 3 cheers then marched around one squar and came up a little a past where we stoped be fore and stoped and done as we did be fore then marched acrost Eal River on the bridge and stoped for dinner rather early only half after ten we took dinner only 10 eat dinner I went over to town I saw a flag in town quite comical on one side was Martain riding in a fine carriag down to the deposit there he had two men halling out the money and putting it in a cart General Harison was standing of lookin on on the other side

was harrison ploughing some of his hands making cider while others was picking up the apples we all started down the river every wagon went as he wanted to we went 16 miles to a place called rattle snakes run this afternoon fall the Man that drove the Brig got mat at Stewart and wanted to fight because some of the youngsters on the Brig Brayed at Irish demicrats but it was all settled in the evening one of the teems upset this afternoon in a mud hole and throwed the Marshal clear under and also Junigan Junigan he took his clothes of and Borrowed a suit of some old Man he looked some green Boy F Reynolds and H Justice caught up with us 10 Miles on the other side of Logansport they stayed sith us Blackburn and Father got supper us boys tended to the horses 13 lodged with us took supper and Breakfast.
28 warm we arose at 4 0 Breakfast at half after 4 0 James Andrews and I got it Mr Blackburn and Father Rolled up the Beds and the rest tended to feeding and harnessing the horses we washed the dishes and started at 5 0 for the Battle ground 14 Miles every one went as he wished until we come within 2 Miles of the place here we was to all stop and march in togather we stoped at the place fed took a bite we wated until all come up while we wer feeding the Lafiett Deligates came out to escort us in with there Log Cabben Drawen By 8 white horses with on line Drove we met them with our flags in five wagons each wagon a flag gave them 3 cheers then they all came up wher we wer feeding Judge Sample ordered all but the drivers to form in a line which was done. and when the cabben came in front of us we gave her 3 cheers which made all ring the cabben then turned around came in the crowd and stoped 3 speeches was given on the top of the cabben to entertain the people until the Brig came up (but we did not get rigid so soon as they expected) we all drawed for our places in the procession our county drawed No 1 we formed and marched with in ½ Mile of the place and stoped until the Brig came up and when she was in the center we all gave 3 cheers to the Brig then she came in front of our company the cabben was in front of all 60 wagons 40 a horse Back in this way we marched into place we made one balk by not going down in to, the crowd with our company it was a mistake in the marshal it raned quite smart just as we wer going in we all camped in a row on the east side of the battle ground abot

3 or 4 hundred yards from the fense people coming in from every part the roads are full as far as you can see 60 Wagons and 90 horse man came from Warren I never saw the Like of people such shouting as there was Beat me there was people on foot on boath sides of Road ½ Mile in Length thick as they could stand so as to let the people pass they cheered every 6 or 8 wagons people came in all night speeches wer made in 3 or 4 different places sky rockets wer sent up which was a great curiosity to me They roasted an ox hole for the people but it was to long in cooking it spoilt we all cleaned up put on our Best clothes Father Brought James Sutherland up to our tent this evening I hadent seen him for 4 years a gra deal of nois to night all night Mr Blackburn and John Andrews got supper 20 ate and Lodged with us Frederick and Orlando washed up the Dishes Remarkable pleasant all day we wer awakened in the 29 morning by a tremendous firing which commensed about 3 Oclock which continued about 2 hours such another stir I never saw the people kep coming in from every parts in droves some in cabbens others in canoes skiffs one from Illinois came in as a representg hard times in a gig. Withed all over with kickry the spring wer Buckeye very ornery horse poor old harness rope Lines on the horses hed was a Bucks horn the Men wer as Raged as could Be it was quite comical one company from union came in with 40 white horses all dressed in uniform good saddles Bridles and Martingals Wayn Co came in with a splendid Banner not very many from this count. the Ladies from Indianapolis presented the handsomest Banner that I saw I supposed there was 300 Banners all to gather there was company marching all day there was 2 companies Dressed in uniform of the neatest kind which kep quards around there tents all night and day just to show how the soldiers do when going to war there was one canoe 64 feet Long another 40 feet long this was Buckeye it had a log cabben in front on the canoe filled with folks around the wal was shirts womeneses pantaloons coonskins deerskins and some other clothin and furrs And a barrel of hard cider there is a cabben Built on the ground 60 f square with 4 Rooms and two passways crossing each other in one of the Rooms was Bread Baked for the people free there was a much as two cord of it their was considerable Hard cider free some

strong drink on the ground But not a grate deal I never saw the Like of people as there was today but not one cross word did I hear spoke nor but one man drunk he was not so but what he could walk strate I saw Jack Downing to day Jonathan McCarty made a cpeech and Doz of others sone sung harrison songs about 10 or 11 O all the people was formed in one line and marched them that came in wagons went a foot them that came on Horse Back and in canoes log cabben and other curiosities rode in the procession Flemen Reynolds and I stood to one side to see we stood as much as ¾ of an hour and they wer going By all the time 4 10 ina brest they did not all get by in that time when we went away they wer still passing coming as far as we could see we boath said it exceeded anything we could think of Flemen and Myself took a hors a piece and went down the wabash River 3 or 4 Miles while we wer on the rode that Led to the ferry we could hardly get along for people Leaving I was diverted to see the canes every man and Boy had a cane and ask him wher he got it say rite wher Davis or Spencer was killed I suppose ther was 2 cord of canes cout from of the ground wher Spencer or Davis was killed their was not 50 canes to found on the ground or not very near wher either of them fell but every Mans cane came rite from the place I got some canes from the rite place I suppose a great many are leaving this evening No principle cook this evening after supper we all cleared out down to the crowd I never saw the Like of the fire works as thier was here on the 29 of May Night it was frightful eligant and wonderful to see James Sutherland and Myself went down to see it it was at the Lower end of grounds they sent up some 5 or 6 sky Rockets they went up 3 or 4 hundred feet there Bursted and went out they had som Bome shell or some thing else so fixed as to wherl around by the forse of powder which made an awful looking sight though splendid they had another fixed like a star when they touched it withe fire it run all over and Baced very nice at last begun to pop until all was out this was the greatest curiosity I seen I suppose ther was 50 Bands of music from Different parts I stayed out until 11 Oclock when I come to camp it was full not Room enough to walk. Father tryed to make Room for me but I could not only get My foot down so I got my coat and crauled in at the head of all and stayed all night on 7 canes a pare of

harness with my hed on a saddle with my coat over me I awoke 2 or 3 times for day But no Day though I went to Bed late it was a long Night 20 took supper 21 Lodged over night
30th very pleasant all day very warm Mr Blackburn and Mr Andrews got Breakfast some of Mr Blackburns friends John Andrews and Frederick washed up the dishes we all went to see what was going on a good many are leaving James Sutherland started for Indianapolis the roads was quite bad when he came out not many from that county I saw James Morrison James Reaves D P Holloway and some others from Richmond we had a meeting in our part of the camps
most of the people have left and the ballence are groing to day the city folk have gone down the river to give there Brig to the Knox county Deligates for guarding them in when they first came their was one solemn transaction took place this fore noon all the companies that had guns was formed around the grave wher most of the persons was buried Judge Polk sayes 49 was killed 40 Buried in this place the cannon was in the center the musitioners was on the South part of company they played one very solemn tune then the General Ordered the Rifle Men to fire which was done this they done 3 times with musick between every fire then the cannon fired 3 times with musick between every fire every thing else was silent several shed tears all seames to know the intention of there meetin then we packed up our things and Rolled up our tent and loaded up ready for a start we are wating for Mr Blackburn he went with the city folk down to the river he got back so we started at 2 Oclock went to Rattle Snakes run 15 miles from the Battleground we crosed tipacanoe at the lower ford it came with in 3 inches of running over the front part of our Wagons we had to putt all of the thing upon the seats it is very warm this afternoon
31 very pleasant all day But extreamly warm all the company was for going on but Mr Blackburn he said that he would rather not travail and on his account we stayed F Reynolds and H Justice went on they are a Horseback we longed around until 10 Oclock there was a meeting about 1½ miles we all went exceptin O Piper he stayed to mend the tent Not many at meeting 30 or 40 I suppose) they are Newlites 3 persons spoke
June 2 (Reached home.)

The Attempted Seizure of the Zaffarine Islands

In an address before the Royal Military academy John Ruskin once said that the strength of a nation was in its men, "in their unity and virtue, not in their standing room; a little group of wise hearts is better than a wilderness of fools; and only that nation gains true territory, which gains itself." No nation has as yet adopted this principle as a whole, and our own country, although it confined its territorial expansion for a hundred years to the western hemisphere, contemplated a military base in the Mediterranean sea during the American revolution. While it would be perfectly futile to imagine what such an establishment would have led to, yet it is an extremely interesting subject for speculation in view of the present war. We might have played a quite different rôle had our young republic succeeded, in 1777, in seizing the Zaffarine islands and in erecting a naval base on their shores.

The attempt was made on the initiative of Baron de Rullecourt, a Frenchman, who proposed the plan to the American commissioners then in Paris, especially to Mr. Deane. Previous to the submission of this scheme the baron had shown a disposition to contribute to the success of the American cause. He had raised a regiment of 600 men and 17 officers, including M. de Condre, and planned to embark with these troops for service in the American revolution.[1] Strange to say this military force never left the shores of France. Although Baron de Rullecourt was unsuccessful in this project his good will for America or his ill will against England — who knows his motive — led him to propose in the following spring a plan to seize and occupy the Zaffarine islands.

According to this plan Rullecourt was to raise 1,000 men and to provide equipment for the fortification of the islands.[2] Arthur Lee, one of the American commissioners then in Paris, gave the following warrant for taking possession of the Zaffarines:

"We the underwritten Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States of North America do in their name and by their

[1] Benjamin F. Stevens, *Facsimiles of manuscripts in European archives relating to America, 1773-1783* (London, 1889-1898), 13: 1364; 14: 1375.

[2] *Ibid.*, 2: 144.

authority take you into the service of the said States as Chief of a Corps which you are to raise and command, agreeable to the Plan by you delivered, respecting the Islands of the Zaffarines understood to be disowned and deserted.

"And we authorize you to fortify and defend the said Islands as Commander in chief of the same, and having agreed to your request to naturalize you and the officers of your Corps, as subjects of the said United States, you are hereby permitted to carry the Colours of the thirteen United States of America and under the same Combat and Vanquish their enemies. Wishing you health and success we are etc."[3] Money was offered to aid this scheme by M. de Aranda of Madrid and M. de Chaumont of France.[4]

At this time the war was scarcely two years old and neither France nor Spain had as yet openly espoused the cause of the colonies. The Americans could barely sustain an army at home, why then should the commissioners seek to obtain control of three uninhabited and disowned islands in the Mediterranean sea? A contemporary writer speaks of Rullecourt's scheme as an attempt to give the continental congress an establishment for admirality jurisdiction in European waters.[5] American privateers were very active at this time in the neighborhood of both France and Spain, and many cargoes were coming from the seat of hostilities in return for war supplies and provisions from friendly foreign sources. When disputes arose over captures in European waters it often required an immeasurably long time to obtain instruction from America. A seat of admiralty jurisdiction in the Mediterranean would furnish a convenient and speedy means for the adjudication of such cases and would greatly facilitate the work of the American privateers. If these ends could have been realized who knows but that another St. Eustatia would have appeared on the other side of the Atlantic?

But what was planned under such promising auspices proved in the end abortive. A survey of the islands brought an unfavorable report and this is a probable explanation of the failure of the proposal to mature. But it is difficult to reconcile this

[3] *Ibid.*, 1: 4.
[4] *Ibid.*, 2: 144.
[5] *Ibid.*, 14: 1450.

explanation with the action of France and Spain in 1848. These nations recognized the value of the Zaffarines as a refuge for ships and both attempted to take possession of them. A Spanish expedition reached the islands a few days before the French, seized the three islands and subsequently fortified the central one. Another probable explanation as to why Rullecourt's scheme was dropped by the American commissioners may be found in Arthur Lee's characterization of Rullecourt, made about a month after he had signed the latter's warrant. Lee said the baron had done "all kinds of things" in Poland, and added, "it is not impossible that he may sell this commission to the English ambassador, who will incense the pirate states against us by giving them notice of our design to possess ourselves of an island which by its position appears to belong to one of them."[6] Indeed this was the recommendation of the English agent at Paris, Paul Wentworth, who, when informed of Rullecourt's plan, advised the British government to persuade the emperor of Morocco to seize the islands.[7] Whatever is the true explanation the fact remains that the scheme was given up, and with its failure the imaginative baron passes out of history.

H. N. Sherwood

[6] *Ibid.*, 6: 641.
[7] *Ibid.*, 3: 250.

The war of democracy. The allies' statement. (New York: Doubleday, Page and company, 1917. 441 p. $2.00)

This volume is made up of a series of papers, letters, speeches, and interviews, twenty-two in all including the introduction, prepared or contributed by English, French, and Belgian statesmen, professors, and publicists. The purpose of the work is to provide a statement of the position taken by the allies with respect to certain phases of the present world conflict, such as the rights of neutrals, the value of small nations, ethical problems of the war, the freedom of the seas, the problems of Belgium, Serbia, and Alsace-Lorraine, and the like. It cannot be denied that contributions from such men as Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Bryce, Lord Grey, Mr. Balfour, M. Paul Hymans, at one time minister of state in Belgium, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher and Mr. Gilbert Murray, come with a certain authority that commands immediate attention; at the same time, it is also true that statements coming from such men are likely to be of an *ex parte* character. It may be doubted whether the interviews included in the volume are of sufficient dignity to have a place in a work of this sort; an interview always looks best in a newspaper, and its form is usually determined by the interest of the moment. It is also a question whether the paper on the death of Edith Cavell and the statement regarding the Lusitania medal should have been admitted; they relate to incidents that have scarcely more than illustrative value. In a measure the same criticism applies to M. Barres' discussion of the "Soul of France." After all the questionable materials have been eliminated, however, there still remain a number of interesting papers, the importance of which will be realized at once and will not be limited to the present.

L. M. L.

Descriptive catalogue of the documents relating to the history of the United States in the papeles procedentes de Cuba deposited in the archivo general de Indias at Seville. By Roscoe R. Hill, professor of history, university of New Mexico. [Carnegie institution of Washington, publication, no. 234; papers of the department of historical research edited by J. Franklin Jameson] (Washington: Carnegie institution of Washington, 1917. 594 p. $4.00)

Early in its career the department of historical researh of the Carnegie institution of Washington announced that in order to carry out

its life purpose of furthering historical research it had mapped out for itself a program which in the present state of historical scholarship may be characterized as being equally wise and unselfish. This program involves three lines of activity: first, the survey of the principal archives of the world with a view to ascertaining what material of importance for American history they contain; second, the compilation of calendars of selected groups of the material pointed out in these surveys; third, the systematic publication of documents selected from the material thus pointed out and analyzed.

Now that the first of these three tasks is practically finished, surveys of the great American and European archives containing material important for investigation in American history having been made by scholars thoroughly competent for their tasks, and the results made available by the publication of guides to this material, the department has begun on the second task. Of this relatively intensive work Mr. Hill's *Descriptive catalogue of the documents relating to the history of the United States in the papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba* is the first offering.

The introduction treats briefly the history of the *archivo general de las Indias* and of the present status of work there, from the point of view of the archivist and the historian, and more at length of the *papeles procedentes de Cuba*; in general, of their organization, arrangement, history, present condition, completeness, content, value; in particular of the Florida occidental series, the Luisiana series, the Florida oriental papers; it includes a list of the principal titles relating to the *archivo* and a list of the indexes and inventories which are contained in the collection.

The facts, brought out in the introduction, that 945 *legajos* were found to contain material which could be described as bearing upon the history of the United States, and that these *legajos* contain some 472,743 documents and 461 account and letter books, make it easy to see how impracticable it was to carry out the original plan of compiling a complete calendar of all these documents. Instead the *legajo* has been chosen as the unit of the description.

This description is more or less minute and detailed according to the editor's estimate of the relative importance of the *legajos treated*: one class being described only very generally, as to title, period covered, arrangement, list of correspondents, a general indication of the subjects treated and the important documents; the second class being more minutely described, the description consisting of heading, statement of scope and arrangement, and "an indication, in the form of calendar or otherwise, of the contents."

The importance of Mr. Hill's excellent work is great in proportion to

the importance of the material treated, which, though obviously of value primarily for the history of that part of the United States formerly comprised in Spanish Louisiana and the Floridas, reaches out far beyond these narrow provincial limits; it is invaluable for instance to the student of Spanish-American colonial administration, commerce, Indian policy, and foreign relations, as well as the territorial development of the United States. The period covered is approximately from 1775 through 1821, though a few documents fall on either side of these dates.

The reputation for uniform excellence of the editorial work of the department of historical research is so widespread that comment upon the good qualities of Mr. Hill's work in this respect seems superfluous. The index is conveniently full and well arranged; it has surprisingly few typographical errors, inconsistencies, or deficiencies in the matter of cross references.

In the very nature of things, an absolutely satisfactory calendar or catalog or index is an impossibility; it is easy to pick flaws in the best. Yet whoever has tried to carry such a task to completion realizes too feelingly the difficulties involved, especially in dealing with a large mass of Spanish papers, to let minor shortcomings interfere with his appreciation of whatever it possesses of usefulness, or with his gratitude to the compiler for the spirit of unselfish service which impelled him to submit to the drudgery inseparable from its successful achievement. He who has passed beyond the youthful stage wherein he feels sorrow that not he, but another, has been the successful doer of a large task will feel personal comfort in the realization that he will not have Mr. Hill's work to do over; he who is impersonally interested in the progress of historical scholarship will feel an impersonal gratitude to the compiler and the institution whose joint efforts have made possible this step forward in historical study.

Elizabeth Howard West

The former Philippines thru foreign eyes. Edited by Austin Craig. (New York: D. Appleton and company, 1917. 552 p. $3.00)

This book, dated "University of the Philippines, Manila, March 11th, 1916," was first published in Manila in 1916, especially if not exclusively for the use of the public schools. The American edition is evidently printed from the same plates as the Manila edition, or duplicates, but with its better paper and binding and its more artistic title-page, it presents a much more pleasing appearance than the latter. An innovation, not often seen in modern books, is the location of the index (not so full as is desirable) immediately after the table of contents, which in a sense destroys the logical make-up of a book, although it is as correct

as the common practice in American and English books of placing the table of contents before the text. The first of the eight items of this interesting compilation (three of which are translations) is the most important. This is a new translation of Feodor Jagor's *Reisen in den Philippinen* (Berlin, 1873), made especially for Mr. Craig by a young German who was sent to Manila by the Japanese after the taking of Tsing Tau; it was made by correcting from the original text the faulty English translation published in London in 1875. The rough woodcut sketches of the German edition, two short discussions on religion and the social evil, and all the appendices have been omitted. Jagor's book is one of the most valuable contributions on the Philippines during the nineteenth century, and Mr. Craig is to be congratulated on at last giving it an adequate English dress. It is especially valuable for its lucid exposition of the social and economic factors that ruled Philippine life during the second half of the nineteenth century. Here occurs the remarkable prophecy so filled with meaning to Americans: "In proportion as the navigation of the west coast of America extends the influence of the American element over the South Sea, the captivating, magic power which the great republic exercises over the Spanish colonies will not fail to make itself felt also in the Philippines. The Americans are evidently destined to bring to a full development the germs originated by the Spaniards. . . A considerable portion of Spanish-America already belongs to the United States, and has since attained an importance which could not possibly have been anticipated either under the Spanish government or during the anarchy which followed. With regard to permanence, the Spanish system cannot for a moment be compared with that of America."

The other items in the book are as follows: a modernized version of Walton's *State of the Philippine islands* (London, 1821), itself a translation of the work of the Spanish liberal, Tomás Comyn, *Estado de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1820), a most valuable account of economic and social conditions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the quality of which is attested by the fact that it met with the disfavor of Spanish officialdom; an excerpt from Commodore Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States exploring expedition* (Philadelphia, 1844), giving a description of "Manila and Sulu in 1842;" an excerpt from the *History of a voyage to the South Sea* (Boston, 1823), by an American naval officer, John White, comprising a description of "Manila in 1819;" O. T. Mason's translation of Rudolf Virchow's *Die Bevölkerung der Philippinen* (Berlin, 1899), which appeared in the Smithsonian report for 1899, and which replaces Virchow's "Ueber alte und neue Schädel von den Philippinen," published as an appendix in Jagor; and three short

excerpts from accounts by English merchants of 1778 and about 1890, respectively, and the English consul in the Philippines in 1878. More complete bibliographical details would have enhanced the value of the book for historical students, and Mr. Craig might profitably have annotated a trifle more widely. The items were all chosen because they show the more pleasing elements of Philippine life and character, and the book as a whole is an attempt to do justice to the Filipino by setting the comments of foreigners against those of many Spaniards, who have furnished in general the criterion by which the Philippines and their peoples have been judged.

James A. Robertson

Middle group of American historians. By John Spencer Bassett, Ph.D., LL.D. (New York: Macmillan company, 1917. 324 p. $2.00 net)

In his admirable sketch of early history writing and history writers in this country, Mr. Bassett has been fortunate in striking upon a style of presentation at once lucid and attractive. This is especially noticeable in the first and last chapters where the subject matter has no intrinsic interest to the average reader. In this part of the work the author has been successful in bringing into juxtaposition a considerable number of scattered fragments and using them effectively in his discussion. In this he recalls that extremely interesting work on American literature by Moses Coit Tyler. Mr. Bassett shows the same ability to run through a rather dry category of names and, by felicitous reference and discriminating phrase, to keep up the interest of the reader.

In his handling of the work of Sparks, Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Force, the author has been able to give us some new impressions of the period in which these historians worked and he has also left us with a distinct impression of each writer. There is none of that laudatory sameness so often encountered in ordinary biographies which blurs down the distinctive character of a man. We are left in no doubt as to the quality of scholarship and the sharp individualism that separates Sparks from Bancroft and both of them from Force. The author has sketched with considerable skill, also, the literary careers of these men, not omitting the various publishing ventures, both profitable and otherwise, on which they embarked. Altogether the volume has a personal touch and glimpses into the intimate life of these historians hardly to be anticipated from its title. It is to be hoped that this work will not be the last of the series and that the author will pursue his studies into the later field of history writing in this country.

Extracts from the itineraries and other miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D., 1755-1794, with a selection from his correspondence. Edited by Frank Bowditch Dexter, Litt.D., by authority of the corporation of Yale university. (New Haven: Yale university press, 1916. 620 p. $4.00 net)

The literary diary of Ezra Stiles, 1769-1795, was printed in three volumes in 1901 as one of the bicentennial publications of Yale university. Before he began his *Diary* Dr. Stiles had been accustomed to preserve miscellaneous memoranda which seemed to him worthy of record. These notes he later designated *Itineraries* as being mainly gathered during his occasional journeys. Mr. Franklin B. Dexter, in editing the *Diary* incorporated in footnotes much of the *Itineraries* for the years after 1769. In the present volume he has made selections from the earlier years, added some further memoranda of the later period, and as a sort of appendix has printed about one hundred and fifty letters to Stiles from some fifty different persons, all of more or less importance. The above description places the volume at once. It should be regarded as a supplement to the *Diary*, edited by the same well-known scholar, and published under the same authority, namely, Yale university. This fact is further emphasized by the editor's statement in the preface that one of the chief aims "has been to include extracts illustrative of the history of New England, especially of Connecticut, and also of the personal history of Yale graduates."

President Stiles was an antiquarian and a scholar. Moses Coit Tyler, in his *Literary history of the American revolution*, said of him that "to be what he called 'a universal scholar' was his ruling passion," and concluded:

"Thus it was, that as his life lengthened, and as his zeal for learning strengthened, he came to have some valid claim, according to the standards of his time, to be called mathematician, astronomer, chemist, electrician, meteorologist, linguist, orientalist, antiquarian, jurist, theologian, Biblical translator and exegete."

These extracts from the *Itineraries* are an indication, if not a proof, of Tyler's characterization. They begin with a brief note of an earthquake in 1755, followed soon by a statement of a number of houses and of inhabitants in New Haven, with a calculation of the number of houses inhabited by one person, how many by two persons, and so on. Before long is given the price of silver in Boston in each year from 1700 to 1750, and then the price of dollars at New Haven. In bewildering confusion will be found the valuation of estates and taxes for each of the towns of Rhode Island; the families and their religious persuasions in various towns of New England; the genealogy of certain Indian sachems;

the owners of vessels in Newport in 1762; a statement of the exports of Philadelphia; the genealogy of the Gardiner family; the number and sizes of houses in different towns; the numbers of Indians, the size and plans of different Indian wigwams; vital statistics; lists of ministers in New Jersey, and lists of physicians in Connecticut; prices of various food stuffs and of clothing; numbers and lists of baptisms, burials, and marriages; many items on church questions and doctrines, and many notes on education, which naturally refer mainly to Yale, but among which are some memoranda that are worth while about Princeton and the university of Pennsylvania.

That anyone should be willing to take all the trouble necessary to ascertain such things and keep a record of them is surprising, but fortunately there are such persons and the results of their curiosity and industry benefit students of later generations. Most of these items, as indicated by the extract from the preface, are of local interest, but many have a general historical value. There is little of peculiar interest to the west. Some interesting figures on land investments and values, though not in the west, are given; there is "A list of the forts upon the River Alleginie now belonging to the French;" and a letter from Samuel H. Parsons, of April, 1786, describes the "big bone lick" in Kentucky which he had visited during the previous winter.

An excellent index, complete as to names, should prove of great service.

MAX FARRAND

The female review (*Life of Deborah Sampson, the female soldier.*) By H. Mann (1797). With an introduction and notes by John Adams Vinton. [Reprinted as the *Magazine of history with notes and queries*, extra number, no. 47] (Tarrytown, N. Y.: William Abbatt, 1916. 191 p. $5.00)

At this time when the Russian women's "legion of death" stirs the imagination, the *Life of Deborah Sampson*, "the only woman serving as a soldier, known to our army until 1861-1865," is read with greater interest. She enlisted in Washington's army, served one year and five months, faithfully performed her duties as a soldier, took part in several engagements, and was wounded, all without betraying her sex.

The biography contains many interesting side lights on the life of the times, in the home, in the town, and in camp, and these are supplemented by the present editor in lengthy footnotes. The verbose and grandiloquent style of the editor of the original edition of 1797 detracts much from the real merit of the story, and no amount of editing can overcome it. The present edition follows the rare original of 1797 and its reprint of 1866, with copious notes and comparisons from the enlarged manu-

script copy completed in 1850 by Herman Mann, and from contemporary newspapers and state documents. There are many discrepancies between the two editions and even between the heroine's signed statements, but every statement of fact down to the smallest detail has been carefully checked. The editor conclusively proves that the main incidents of the biography are authentic history, and as some of them in the past have been open to serious doubt he has by his demonstration performed a real service to students of the revolutionary period.

The book makes a good appearance. It is printed on paper of excellent quality, with wide margins; and it has a heavy paper cover. There are 191 pages, including the editor's preface and introduction in which he states the problems that have confronted him, a preface and an appendix by the original editor, and a small index. Neither as a biography nor as a history can the book rank very high, but the editor has done his work so well that it will never have to be done again.

RUTH E. HODSDON

Mexican war diary of George B. McClellan. Edited by William Starr Myers, Ph.D., assistant professor of history and politics, Princeton university. (Princeton: Princeton university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1917. 93 p. $1.00 net)

As a bit of first-hand evidence in favor of military preparedness this war diary is timely. It will likewise have a certain value for its self-revelation of the writer, later the general who was so captious toward associates and superiors, so beloved by his soldiers. One welcomes the brief, hasty, boyish, and at times uncharitable characterizations of our Mexican war generals, for they will serve as a necessary corrective to previous misconceptions. McClellan was a severe critic of the American volunteer in the forties, and justly so. Our civilian recruits did not gain the favor of either friend or foe, and their officers were even less successful. McClellan's testimony concerning both volunteer soldier and officer is abundantly supported by the testimony of Grant and Meade, upon whom the editor has frequently drawn for information supplied in his footnotes. The description of campaigning on the border reads well in contrast with present conditions. Noting the frequency of hard drinking among the officers, one wonders if the demoralization of the volunteer was not largely due to this cause. The diary gives an interesting picture of individual happenings in camp, on the march, and occasionally on the battle line, but there is no attempt to give the wider setting of campaigns. Obviously a boy of twenty could not give that, nor did he have good facilities for intimate sketches of the army leaders. But the

young lieutenant affords us interesting side lights on an important campaign, his editor supplements the text with valuable personal notes, and the publishers present the brochure in attractive form.

I. J. C.

Reminiscences. By William Fletcher King. (New York and Cincinnati: Abingdon press, 1916. 716 p. $2.50 net)

Few men have been privileged to give greater service to the cause of higher education in Iowa than has the author of these reminiscences, who for forty-three years served as the president of Cornell college. Born in Ohio in 1830, he received his education in his native state, graduating from college just sixty years ago. He came to Iowa in 1862 as a teacher in Cornell college, founded nine years previously, and since that time he has devoted his entire life to the welfare of this institution; to him more than to any other Cornell college stands as a monument. His career as a college president is not only distinguished by its great length, but also by the unusual fact that he has been the largest single contributor to the funds of the institution, having given $200,000 toward its endowment. And the interesting thing about this large contribution is the fact that it was all acquired by the author while president of the college, through fortunate real estate investments. To any one interested in the history of education in the Mississippi valley this book will prove both valuable and interesting.

There are several chapters also which will prove of interest to the general student of American history. The author describes in some detail the frontier community in which he spent his boyhood and youth, the country school of the later thirties and early forties, the text books used, the country church and its influence in the community as a social and religious center. He tells how he was prepared for college, reciting Latin to his tutor, sitting on a log. His college course was interrupted by sickness, and he spent a year in the south in the fifties, where he taught in an academy in Tennessee. Here he had the opportunity of observing the operations of slavery, and of attending a slave auction. His civil war experiences also are well worth relating. The officers of Cornell college conceived the idea of raising a fund to assist returned union soldiers and their children to attain an education. In order to carry out this plan the author was sent to the Iowa regiments in Sherman's army to present the matter to them and to obtain subscriptions. He reached the army at Savannah, and accompanied the troops in their march northward through the Carolinas. The scheme had the approval of the state officials, and met a hearty response from both the officers and men in the Iowa regiments; and Mr. King succeeded in obtaining nearly $30,000 in subscriptions to the fund. This experience gave the author

an opportunity to make observations of Sherman's methods of procedure, and his comments on the burning of Columbia, of which he was an eye witness, gives new confirmation to General Sherman's contention of innocence in regard to this event.

W. W. Sweet

Travels in the American colonies (1690-1783) Edited under the auspices of the National society of the colonial dames of America. By Newton D. Mereness. (New York: The Macmillan company, 1916. 693 p. $3.00 net)

In the selection of archival materials for publication in this interesting volume Mr. Mereness has performed a useful service for students of early western history. Of the eighteen records of travel which he has assembled fourteen are concerned in whole or in part with frontier experiences. On further analysis it appears that over half the collection is devoted to the neglected field of the southern frontier. This portion includes such materials as the journals of the South Carolina Indian agents among the Cherokee and Creek Indians on the eve of the establishment of the march colony of Georgia; the report of a ranger under Oglethorpe during the Florida war, 1739-1742; the journal of the inspector-general of Louisiana in 1722-1728; the narrative of a French *voyageur* made captive by the Cherokee Indians in 1741; the record of a French officer who undertook to check English intrigue among the Choctaw in 1746, the period of the Choctaw "civil war;" the journal of David Taitt, Superintendent John Stuart's deputy among the Creek Indians in 1772; and some part from each of the notable diaries of Lord Adam Gordon and Captain Harry Gordon, which cover the years of reconstruction in the west, 1764-1766. In these documents, and in Hamburgh's description of the Michigan-Illinois country in 1763; in Colonel William Fleming's two diaries of journeys to Kentucky in 1779-1780 and in 1783; and in the three Moravian journals of travel between Pennsylvania and North Carolina, the general reader will find much of geographical, ethnological, and social interest. For the special student of western history they will throw light on various aspects of the intercolonial struggle, on the Indian trade, on the processes of settlement, and on the religious history of the frontier. The editor has increased the usefulness of the collection by introductions setting forth the provenience of each document and its historical bearing, by explanatory footnotes, and by a sufficiently full index. One can only regret that it was not found possible to add to this apparatus a few simple maps with indications of routes and places mentioned.

In the main the work of translation (entrusted to several competent hands) as well as that of editing has been well done. Most of the inac-

curacies noted have been found in the pages allotted to the southern frontier, and are to be explained in large part by the inadequacy of earlier research in this field and in the kindred one of the ethnology of the southern Indians. The date of the establishment of Fort Toulouse — a pivotal event in the intercolonial struggle in the south — is repeatedly given as 1714 (pp. 175, 200 note, 536 note), a year before the Indian rising against the English which made it possible, and two years before the *Conseil de Marine* actually authorized the planting of the post. Colonel Theophilus Hastings became, in 1716, the principal factor of the South Carolina Indian trade, not of the relatively insignificant North Carolina trade (p. 181, note). The extraordinary backwoods Utopian encountered by the *voyageur* Bonnefoy is rightly identified with Priber (p. 239); but it is an open question whether he was in fact engaged by the French to alienate the Cherokee from the English (certainly not in 1736, for in 1735 he was already a resident of Charles Town); and in any case it is highly improbable that he was a Jesuit. "Pierre Albert" is a copyist's error for "Privé Albert," i.e., Priber. Not "Kashita" (properly Kasihta) but Cusawatee was designed as the seat of the Saxon's communistic republic. The Choctaw revolution did not occur in 1735 (p. 259) but ten years later. Again, the reference to the Georgia-South Carolina Indian trade dispute (p. 215) is hardly a fair statement of the merits of a complicated intercolonial controversy. In the identification of Indian place names Mr. Mereness seems to have followed, wisely, the *Handbook of American Indians*; but even this indispensable guide sometimes leads astray, especially when early eighteenth century documents are in question. A collation of Colonel Chicken's journal (pp. 97-172) with the nearly contemporaneous manuscript map of Hunter (1730) in the library of congress will make the course of the Indian agent more intelligible than the editor has succeeded in doing.

This is but to say that the history of the southern frontier largely remains to be written. Not the least service of this attractive volume is to call attention to some of its problems and possibilities.

VERNER W. CRANE

Jeffersonian democracy in New England. By William A. Robinson, Ph.D., assistant professor of political science, Washington university. [Yale historical publications miscellany, III, issued under the direction of the department of history] (New Haven: Yale university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1916. 190 p. $2.00 net)

In his study of the Jeffersonian democracy in New England, Mr. Robinson has assembled and organized a mass of details out of reach of the

majority of investigators. Particularly in his chapters on political conditions in 1789-97 and on party methods he has presented an accurate picture of local conditions peculiar to this section. He points out also the national significance of the growth of the republican party in New England, linking the larger movement with its manifestation in this relatively remote area that had little in common with those states that first championed Jefferson's leadership.

In the two chapters dealing with the growth of republicanism, the author has not been so fortunate. He emphasizes the agitation over the sedition law but he fails to see the bearing of the alien laws on the development of the new party. He omits to note, also, that the narrow and savage temper displayed by leading federalists toward those aliens who were seeking an asylum on our shores produced a decided reaction in and out of congress. Jefferson was quick to see the significance of this popular sympathy for the immigrant and to formulate it as one of the cardinal principles of his new national party. While it is true that President Adams never made use of the large repressive powers given him by the alien laws, nevertheless the mischief had been done and Jefferson rang all the possible changes on the bluundering efforts of the federalists to discourage foreign immigration. As a consequence every state that had not yet received population enough to occupy its lands took up the defense of the alien and supported Jefferson. This explains why the astute Virginian was able to command the support of numerous constituencies that had already publicly repudiated the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions.

In his chapter on party basis, the author seems to have fallen into the same error as Henry Adams who said that the federalists in 1800 "represented the wealth, social position, and education of the Commonwealth (Massachusetts)" (*History of United States*, I: 76). The maps illustrating party distribution to be found in chapter IX, however, clearly refute these conclusions. Particularly, the maps of Massachusetts in 1807 and of New England in 1811 show that the federalists in Massachusetts at least were located largely in the interior counties where the poorer land or lack of communication tended to make them narrow and sectional in point of view. On the other hand the republican party is found predominantly in the eastern third of the state where easy communication and varied occupations would tend to give them broader view than their less fortunate opponents in the interior. If the material in the Massachusetts archives for gubernatorial elections in this state for 1808 and 1812 had been used and maps made showing the distribution of the vote, the results would have shown still more strikingly how lacking in breadth and generosity were the federalists of that time. The conclusion is irresistible that the federalists of this period, as a party of

reaction, were practically idential not with the supporters of the federal constitution in 1788 but with those narrow-minded and ill-informed anti-federalists who so nearly caused the adoption of the constitution to fail in Massachusetts. The behavior of the federalists in the disturbed period, 1800-12, was hardly in keeping with the character conventionally ascribed to them and the one which appears in this monograph. They seem in many instances to have lived remote from the centers of wealth and education and they certainly all displayed qualities that might well raise a reasonable doubt in our minds as to their being the group who led the state so wisely during an earlier crisis.

The excellent maps in this monograph and the use made of them in the discussion cannot be too highly commended. More and more the student in this field will be compelled to utilize these concrete aids to exact presentation. The philosophical point of view must be supplemented in the future by graphic devices showing actual conditions.

O. G. Libby

Confederate literature. A list of books and newspapers, maps, music, and miscellaneous matter printed in the south during the confederacy, now in the Boston Athenaeum. Prepared by Charles N. Baxter and James M. Dearborn, with an introduction by James Ford Rhodes. (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1917. 213 p. $1.25)

This volume is the fifth in a series issued by the Boston Athenæum on the Robert Charles Billings fund. The contents are systematically classified as (1) publications of the Confederate States of America; (2) publications of the several states of the confederacy; (3) miscellaneous books printed in the Confederate States during the period of the civil war; (4) tracts; (5) music; (6) maps, broadsides, etc.; (7) newspapers and periodicals. The format of the book is excellent, and there is an elaborate index. There are occasional editorial notes, limited, however, to a description of the items or to a statement of their contents. An amazing wealth of confederate material is thus cataloged.

Only printed materials are included; and in this connection the comment of Mr. James Ford Rhodes, who contributes the introduction, will be read with particular interest. In genial if not whimsical tone Mr. Rhodes indulges in a gentle diatribe against the partiality to manuscript materials of the younger generation of "source-fiends" and the disposition of these misguided souls to rush from place to place and from collection to collection, while, more wisely, "the older man settles himself in the Confederate room, and as he gazes at the bound volumes of newspapers and at the other volumes, the outside aspect of which is eloquent of the life in the Southern Confederacy, he thanks his stars that he has

such a privilege. . .'' And, if he is reminded that there are other collections to be examined, the ''older man'' replies, ''My mental digestion is not equal to more. Pray let me remain in my comfortable home, independent of the sleeping-car conductor and porter, hotel clerk, and librarian in a strange library, the method of which, however admirable, is not the Athenæum method.''

One is inclined to suggest the availibility of this theme for the writers of future works upon historical method.

St. George L. Sioussat

Brave deeds of confederate soldiers. By Philip Alexander Bruce, LL.D. (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and company, 1916. 351 p. $1.50 net)

Making no claim to be an original contribution to our knowledge of the confederate soldier, this work presents in a popular form, suited especially for younger readers, striking but little known exploits of famous characters, as well as remarkable deeds of less widely known persons.

Of the sixteen chapters into which the book is divided, four deal with the adventures of Mosby and his partisans; two with John H. Morgan; one each is devoted to Belle Boyd, the spy; Bryan and his balloon; John Pelham; Stringfellow, the scout; the Virginia military institute cadets at Newmarket; Gilmor's raid about Baltimore; Wise's dangerous courier service, and the saving of Danville by Colonel Withers.

Perhaps the most valuable part of the book is the first chapter, which is a well-written essay on ''The military influences in the old southern life.'' In this, Mr. Bruce shows how the secluded life of the farmer promoted an intense personal love of his native soil; while the consciousness of the deeds of pioneer forbears, the reading of such authors as Scott and Simms, the tournaments, duels, and musters promoted a military spirit. The out-of-door life led by most of the men, as husbandmen, with hunting and racing as principal amusements, fitted them for the hardships of the soldier's life. The following passage (p. 16) is typical:

''Love of one particular spot, of one neighborhood, of one state, was the foundation stone of the love of the entire region which entered so deeply into the spirit of the Confederate soldier; and men who cared nothing whatever for the political causes of the war fought just as bravely as those who did.''

Written without rancor, the book has a clear, vigorous, swift and interesting style. The press work is good in the main, though the eight imaginative illustrations add little to the value of the work.

Milledge L. Bonham, Jr.

Chronicles of the Cape Fear river, 1660-1916. By James Sprunt. [Second edition] (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton printing company, 1916. 732 p. $4.00)

In this book a highly cultured author and patron of historical research deals with a river and coastal section of country that is possessed of some natural beauty, that favors a commercial life, that has long been blessed with a cultured society, and that has witnessed a wealth of romantic incidents. Nearly two-thirds of the volume chronicles events that have occurred subsequent to the outbreak of the civil war, and during this entire period the author himself has been a prominent actor in the drama. His large success in business and the great esteem in which he has been held by his fellow men have so endeared the community to him that he often warms to a charming fervor of style in the recital of his personal reminiscences. He has also thoroughly searched public records, local newspapers, and some private correspondence, and to his own narratives, which are often rich in historical detail, he has added numerous excerpts from the best that has been written by others.

Having racily discussed and conclusively settled the question regarding the origin of the name Cape Fear the author proceeds by short chapters with the subjects of the Cape Fear Indians; exploration and settlement; colonial plantations; social conditions; the Cape Fear region in the war of independence; the growth of the city of Wilmington with accompanying notable incidents; river and harbor improvements; the building of railroads, "interesting memories;" brief biographical sketches of a long list of confederate heroes; Cape Fear pilots and blockade running to and from Fort Fisher during the civil war; the trade and commerce of Wilmington; the municipal government of Wilmington; Lilmington newspapers; the North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames; Wilmington churches; and Wilmington schools.

The chapters on the Cape Fear pilots and on blockade running are particularly noteworthy. They are a substantial contribution to the naval and economic history of the civil war; they are alive with romantic incidents; and here the author's style is at its best. "From early youth," he writes, "I have loved the Cape Fear River, the ships and sailors which it bears upon its bosom. As a boy I delighted to wander along the wharves where the sailing ships were moored with their graceful spars and rigging in relief against the sky-line. . . In later years, I heard the stories of the old-time Cape Fear gentlemen, whose memories I revere, and I treasured those annals of our brave and generous people; I knew all the pilots of the Cape Fear, whose records of brave deeds and unswerving loyalty to the Confederacy . . . are worthy of all praise." The author himself was purser on the blockade runner

Lilian, was taken prisoner, escaped, and subsequently served as purser on the *Susan Bierne*.

The text of the first edition of this book, which appeared in 1914, has been expanded one hundred pages in this the second edition, and for the grievously inadequate index of five and one-half pages in the first edition has been substituted in the second a carefully prepared index of forty-four pages.

The historical value of the book is somewhat impaired by exaggeration, by excessive eulogy, by an almost exclusively local point of view, and by religious prejudice. On page 604 we read: "The people of the Southern States throughout most of their history have been more homogeneous than those of the North and West, and have maintained their ancestral faiths with a steadiness almost unknown in some parts of our country. They have clung tenaciously to the great essentials of the Christian system, have been quick to see the insufficiency of modern substitutes for the Gospel of God's grace, and have turned a deaf ear to the exponents of mushroom religions."

Who but a North Carolinian could write the following paragraph?

"Through the quiet lanes of Orton to the ruins of Governor Tyron's palace is half a mile. Here is the cradle of American independence; for upon this spot, until recently hidden by a dense undergrowth of timber, occurred, between six and seven o'clock on the evening of the 19th of February, 1766, the first open resistance to the British Stamp Act in the American colonies, by 450 armed men, who surrounded the palace and demanded the surrender of the custodian of the obnoxious symbols of the King's authority." (p. 59.)

The statement on page 538 that the earthquake of August 31, 1886, "nearly destroyed the city of Charleston" is clearly an exaggeration. The idea that must be conveyed by the statement on page 6 that the Black river enters the Cape Fear river "from the east" is not correct.

NEWTON D. MERENESS

Letters on the condition of Kentucky in 1825. Reprinted from the *Richmond Enquirer*. Edited by Earl Gregg Swem, assistant librarian, Virginia state library. [Heartman's historical series, number 22] (New York: Charles F. Heartman, 1916. 76 p. $2.50)

The eight letters herewith reprinted contain much information regarding Kentucky characters and Kentucky conditions at the date indicated. The state was then passing through an economic crisis in which its credit and its judiciary alike suffered. Four of the letters treat of the existing turmoil in politics and describe the chief leaders of the relief and anti-relief parties, as the contending factions were then locally

known, but with marked sympathy for the last named group. The student of the period will appreciate the nameless author's sketches of Barry, Rowan, Desha, Wickliffe, Hardin, Crittenden, and other minor worthies, for though he affects rather than achieves an elegant literary style, he is giving us the results of personal observation and evidently desires to be truthful. His impression of the university of Kentucky (Transylvania) and of other "literary and benevolent institutions" of the state, including the deaf and dumb asylum, are exceedingly favorable. He admires Dr. Holley, then serving as president of the university, and gives a pleasing description of his personality, method of lecturing, and religious views. Dr. Holley's associates did not impress him so favorably, especially those teaching law, but he derived both pleasure and profit from the lectures in medicine and allied subjects. Socially he found much to praise in the people of Kentucky; he was impressed with their physical well-being, but repelled by their religious differences. The description of a visit to Shakertown occupies a whole letter. The smaller towns, the highways, and the major portion of the farms, tilled by slave labor, have little attraction for him. The reprint is well worth while, and is presented in attractive form. One typographical error on page 13 slightly mars the careful editing.

I. J. C.

Records of the original proceedings of the Ohio company. Edited with introduction and notes by Archer Butler Hulbert, professor of history, Marietta college. [Marietta college historical collections, volume I, Ohio company series, volume I] (Marietta, Ohio: Marietta historical commission, 1917. 132 p. $2.50)

The Marietta college historical commission has rendered a signal service to historical scholarship in America by commencing the publication of the original papers of the Ohio company of associates. While the migration of the Marietta pilgrims is almost as well known as the settlement of the English colonists on the Atlantic seaboard, the appearance of the official records of the corporation that formed the first colony in the northwest territory has been long retarded. Probably the delay has been fortunate, since we now have these papers in so attractive a form, and edited with such careful thoroughness. The editor's introduction occupies over one-half of the present volume, and is an unusually successful essay in historical criticism. During the century and a quarter that has elapsed since the corporation was formed, the usual web of historical myths has been spun about its activities. These Mr. Hulbert, with the aid of the original papers and a thorough sifting of other available material, has succeeded in brushing away, and in so doing he has

vindicated the reputation of the founders from unmerited aspersions. He has freed the memory of Cutler and Putnam from the odium due to their seeming connivance in the highly speculative and irregular methods of the Scioto company. He has also satisfactorily proved the legitimate purpose of the Ohio company to settle and develop their property, and not to use it, as the company of Scioto adventurers tried to do with their portion, as a mere collateral for other speculative enterprises. If Mr. Hulbert in his zeal to prove his case has broken a knight's lance upon the shield of the traducers of the Marietta founders, his ardor may be excused in so just a cause.

One virtue of the editor's discussion is the emphasis he places upon other than purely economic factors in the founding of the Ohio company. He shows that social forces were at work in the minds of its promoters, that their common interest in masonry and in the Order of the Cincinnati helped to bring them together in a common enterprise. As for political motives, the desire to offset the separatist and radical tendencies of the settlements south of the Ohio was no doubt uppermost in the minds of the company's founders. But frontier influences were not without their effect even upon the conservative New England minds. Granting the pressure of Maryland as the prime cause in securing the western land cessions to the central authority, may not the frontier policy of organizing compact forms of government have had its weight in the demand for a place among the sisterhood of states that resulted in the famous ordinance of 1787?

Upon the whole the founders proved themselves more democratic than might have been expected of federalist army officers. The rules for the proceedings of the company and for the governance of the new colony were liberal as well as wise. The practical bent of the Yankee mind is evidenced in the resolutions for the welfare of the colony; each situation was dealt with as it arose without doctrinaire limitations upon the colonist's freedom. Modern touches are to be noted in the order that the company's books should always be open for inspection, in the desire for beauty implied in the planting of many shade trees, and in the responsibility of the employer for the care of a workman disabled by an accident.

As all the world knows the immediate success of the Marietta settlement was diminished by the hostilities of the northwestern Indians, who were far from being pacified at the Anglo-American treaty of peace. When Marietta was begun it was confidently hoped that the treaty of Fort McIntosh would end the raids of the red men. This anticipation soon proved delusive, and only after six years of disaster and struggle was a decisive victory obtained and a peace exacted. These unexpected

years of defensive and protective activities placed a heavy strain on the company's finances. Nevertheless on the whole the settlement was secured, and no serious monetary loss was sustained by the associates when the company's affairs were finally brought to a conclusion. The colonists on their part hewed homes from the wilderness which the company's liberal provisions for education and religious worship rendered superior to those of any other community in the western world.

In the notes appended to the records the editor furnishes much useful biographical information, but in so abbreviated a form that they appear like the captions of an index or the sketches of an army register. In a volume where the personnel plays so important a part in evoking interest, it would seem that somewhat more space and grace might have been given to the lives of the founders. Upon the whole, however, the volume is a distinct achievement, and the promise of more to follow will be hailed with satisfaction by all students of western history.

Louise Phelps Kellogg

Spanish exploration in the southwest, 1542-1706. Edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton, Ph.D., professor of American history, university of California. [Original narratives of early American history, reproduced under the auspices of the American historical association: general editor, J. Franklin Jameson, Ph.D., LL.D., Litt.D.] (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1916. 487 p. $3.00 net)

Early narratives of the northwest, 1634-1699. Edited by Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph. D., research department, state historical society of Wisconsin. [Original narratives of early American history, reproduced under the auspices of the American historical association, edited by J. Franklin Jameson.] (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1917. 382 p. $3.00 net)

The story of the *Original Narratives* has in these volumes finally left the Atlantic seaboard and penetrated the interior of the continent, a boldness of enterprise shown only by one other volume of this excellently edited series. In Mr. Bolton's volume a more startling and unexpected innovation is noticeable; instead of confining himself to material in English already printed, one-third of his volume is composed of documents never before printed in English translation, and *mirabile dictu* another third contains documents never before printed in any language. Considering the very large mass of unprinted material which might have illuminated the narratives of other volumes, the present reviewer regrets that a more inclusive policy in the makeup of this series was not adopted at the date of its conception. As the series now stands, it offers illuminating material for the college freshman who is being in-

troduced to the subject of American history, and undoubtedly the professorial influence so potent in the councils of the American historical association had in mind the needs of such fledglings in the science of history; but except to make possible the purchase of copies of scarce tracts by numerous libraries, thus appeasing the appetite of uncritical historians other than college freshmen, the series as a whole falls below the service to the real historians of the country which its excellence in other ways should have performed, for real historians do not care to use translations without consulting the originals, and traveling Americans as they are they can easily secure access to those original English books and pamphlets which form the great bulk of the volumes in the series. The series is no doubt a monument to the ascendency of the college professor in the American historical association.

The two volumes under review show the excellence of those that have previously appeared. The general editor can be congratulated on the high standard of editorial apparatus which he maintains in all which he puts out. Mr. Bolton has wisely chosen "to illustrate with some fullness the cardinal episodes in the history of the region and period covered, rather than to treat more lightly a larger number of topics." The result of this choice is to leave "the history of the seventeenth century New Mexico almost a blank after its founding by Oñate." An excellent map compiled by the editor of the Spanish explorations during the period forms the frontispiece and besides there are reproductions of two original Spanish maps. The new matter that is printed makes the volume a real contribution to the subject.

Miss Kellogg has not undertaken to publish anything new, nor did the field of her editing lend itself readily to such originality. After the explorations of such well-known men as Jolliet, La Salle, and Tonti — whom she calls Tonty — were given adequate space in well-known and oft reprinted narratives, there was left little space for less known documents. She has, however, given us a revised translation of St. Cosme's letter, for which western historians will be greatly indebted. The reproduction of the map of the Mississippi country made after the discoveries of Joliet and Marquette which has never before been reproduced adds greatly to the value of the volume.

C. W. A.

Economic and social beginnings of Michigan. A study of the settlement of the lower peninsula during the territorial period, 1805-1837. By George Newman Fuller, Ph.D. [Michigan historical publications, University series, I] (Lansing: Michigan historical commission, 1916. 630 p. $1.00)

Like the State historical society of Wisconsin, the Michigan historical commission has inaugurated the publication of a series of monographic

studies, the initial volume of which sets a standard that promises much for the value of the series, both in scholarship and significance to western history. In subject matter likewise a parallel may be drawn between the initial volumes of the Wisconsin and the Michigan series. The former is an intensive study of economic conditions in a typical western state, Wisconsin, during the civil war decade. In the latter Mr. Fuller has made a painstaking and scholarly study of the beginnings of the history of Michigan as "an agricultural commonwealth under American institutions." Confining himself to the period 1805 to 1837, he has devoted himself mainly to the economic and social factors in the development of the lower peninsula. The year 1837 marks not only the close of a distinct political period, but also, as a result of the financial crisis of 1837, the end of a distinct economic period in Michigan history. The period to which the study is limited comprehends the beginnings of the social and economic history of Michigan, with the exception, as the author notes, of the fur trade. The monograph is, as the author claims, a "pioneer attempt," for in other works on the history of Michigan the factors which here form the central theme are merely incidental. The author modestly offers his treatise simply as an introduction to the subject, not as an exhaustive study. Not a few topics, necessarily briefly discussed, seem to deserve considerable further investigation. But the work as a whole is well proportioned, and may well serve as a model for similar studies in other western states.

Two introductory chapters treat with considerable definiteness the physical conditions and general influences which materially affected the social and economic development of the whole region. The opening chapter, in particular, presents a valuable geographical background for the detailed studies of localities which follow. The greater part of the book is devoted to the factors involved in the settlement and growth of the six natural areas of settlement in the lower peninsula. These are the eastern shore, the first inland counties, the St. Joseph valley and the Chicago road, the Kalamazoo valley and Territorial road, the Saginaw country, and the Grand river region. This division appears to be logical, and the unity of the work as a whole is considerably strengthened by the inclusion of summarizing chapters, and an elaborate series of plates illustrating graphically the growth and division of counties, the organization of townships, Indian land cessions, routes of travel, and other matters. The index must be resorted to, however, in order to unify some subjects. Under lumbering, agriculture, or manufacturing, for example, one must find references in the index to the development of the industry in all the areas treated. One of the two concluding chapters is a general study of

the sources and character of the population. This chapter forms an interesting picture of the frontier characteristics of the period.

The volume conforms rigidly to the accepted canons of historical workmanship. The text is bulwarked by upwards of two thousand footnotes; the table of contents occupies thirty-one pages, the appendix thirty-four, the bibliography fifty, the index thirty-six, the plates twenty-nine, the acknowledgments and preface seven. Despite the somewhat formidable appearance which it engenders, this elaborateness adds considerably to the usefulness of the work. The bibliography, containing some seven hundred titles, is conveniently classified. The author has worked largely with materials that are difficult to use scientifically. For example, county and other local histories, as well as pioneer reminiscences, have been extensively utilized. In the writing of social history materials of this character are often the only recourse of the student, and if used critically may be of great value. The author lists forty-three local histories, all of which he has used. These sources, as in the study of the settlement of the inland counties of Oakland, Washtenaw, and Lenawee, for example, appear to have been used with careful discrimination, and have yielded excellent results. A number of happily chosen illustrations add to the interest and value of the text.

In his preface the author states that his aim has been "to be logical, accurate and clear, rather than literary." In general this aim has been successfully carried out. The work is an important contribution to the history of Michigan and of the west. Other volumes in the University series will be awaited with interest.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

Land tenure in the United States with special reference to Illinois. By Charles Leslie Stewart, Ph.D., instructor in economics, university of Illinois. [University of Illinois studies in the social sciences, vol. v, no. 3] (Urbana: university of Illinois, 1916. 135 p. $0.75)

This monograph covers a field which is likely to become more intensively worked in all the states, especially in those which have been formed out of the public domain. With reference to Illinois the treatment of Mr. Stewart is very thorough, but the preliminary chapter upon land tenure in the United States as a whole is merely a sketch. The chapter title makes this plain but the book title perhaps leads the reader to expect more. As to Illinois, the treatment is arranged under four heads: (1) tendencies in the agricultural economy of Illinois; (2) changes in land tenure; (3) a description of farm operations; (4) the relation of tenure to rural economy and social conditions. The work is largely buttressed with statistics, in many cases graphically presented, particularly in three

full-page charts and eighteen shaded county outline maps of Illinois. There are also an adequate bibliography and index.

St. George L. Sioussat

Illinois in 1818. By Solon Justus Buck. [Illinois centennial publications, introductory volume] (Springfield: Illinois centennial commission, 1917. 362 p.)

With praiseworthy foresight on the part of those concerned active preparations for the suitable celebration in 1918 of the centennial of statehood for Illinois were begun several years ago. An important and commendable part of the preparation for the projected observance of the centennial was the preparation, under the editorial supervision of Clarence W. Alvord, of a comprehensive history of Illinois from the earliest times to the present. The history thus projected is to extend to five volumes, each devoted to the exposition of a suitable section of the entire period covered. Preliminary to this enterprise, yet logically a part of it, is the issuance of the volume under review, the specific function of which is to make clear to the reader of 1918 what were the several component elements entering into the Illinois of 1818. Although the volume appears under the auspices of the Illinois centennial commission the same group of men who control the publications of the Illinois historical library are responsible for the present enterprise, and to them is due criticism of it, whether laudatory or the reverse in character.

For the conception of this thoroughgoing historical undertaking in the interests of the state of Illinois, only a commensurate degree of admiration can be entertained. Except for the preliminary volume, the manner of its execution still remains to be revealed. My present task is to evaluate, as correctly as may be, *Illinois in 1818.* That unqualified commendation cannot be accorded the work is cause for genuine regret; that a useful and dignified volume has been added to the lengthening list of mid-western local histories, it is a pleasure to record.

Physically considered, the book is well bound and presents an attractive exterior appearance. Within the covers, however, the characteristic workmanship of the public printer is sufficiently evident. Thus, the pagination is carried on the title page of the volume as well as elsewhere, — a matter of trivial importance in itself, but indicative of an attitude on the part of printers of public documents with which the reviewer, unfortunately, is all too familiar. The numerous illustrations in the book are for the most part clearly executed; but if any principle governed their selection and arrangement, a careful perusal of the volume has failed to disclose it. At page 138 occur views of a log tavern and of the ruins of Fort de Chartres; the chapter is entitled "The eco-

nomic situation." Facing page 80 are pictures of Gurdon S. Hubbard and Alexander Wolcott. Wolcott was Indian agent at Chicago for a dozen years beginning in 1818, but his name nowhere occurs in the history, and there is no discoverable reason for presenting his picture. Hubbard is several times mentioned in the first chapter, but almost fifty pages intervene between its close and the presenting of his portrait. Other similar examples might be cited. Accompanying the chapter on "The public lands" are views of a trapper, a flat boat, a keel boat, etc., while a full page view of "a land grant" occurs in the chapter on "the convention campaign," separated by over half the volume from the chapter to which it seems logically to pertain. The view of Chicago in 1820 should be credited to Mrs. Kinzie's well-known volume, *Wau Bun*, from which it is in fact taken.

It is proper to add in this connection that the author is not responsible for the illustrations, or for much else that pertains to the volume. Because of Mr. Buck's removal to Minnesota, nearly three years ago, the completion of this work, begun by him while at the university of Illinois, was subject to numerous difficulties. The effect of these was heightened, doubtless, by the long illness of Mr. Alvord, the editor-in-chief of the centennial history. These facts taken together fairly account, perhaps, for the one general criticism which the reviewer has to submit; while a thoroughly creditable volume it does not realize the advance expectations which the work alike of the editor of the series and the author of the volume fairly justify the historically-minded public in entertaining. That this judgment will be acquiesced in by the author may be inferred from his statements in the preface; it is stated here merely for the benefit of those who have not seen or examined the volume.

The three hundred sixty-two pages of the book comprise eleven chapters, besides an appendix, index, and bibliography. The first six chapters are primarily descriptive; the remaining ones are narrative in character. Chapter I, 'The Indians and the fur trade," contains a useful account of these subjects, which played so important a role in the Illinois of 1818. Here, as usually throughout the volume, the dominant note is economic, in marked contrast to the line of interest displayed by such writers as the late Mr. Thwaites. As compared with the latter's characteristic work the present narrative may be equally useful but it is certainly far less inspiring to the reader.

Chapter II deals with "The public lands;" chapter III with "Extent of settlement" in 1818. Useful maps, compiled by the author, occur in connection with each. Chapters on the pioneers, and on economic, social, and political conditions follow in due order. The latter chapter furnishes the transition from the descriptive to the narrative portion of the

book. The latter chiefly recounts the political conditions and developments centering around the transformation of the territory of Illinois into a sovereign state of the union.

No effort has been made to check or correct the author in matters of opinion; a few errors of precise detail have been noted, but since a second edition of the book is improbable no attempt has been made to list them. The bibliography presented is uncritical and it does not assume to be exhaustive. The style of footnote reference accords well with the general conception of the volume as intended to be scholarly in character yet designed primarily for popular reading. The index seems to be well constructed and reasonably exhaustive.

M. M. Quaife

Illinois. By Allan Nevins. [American college and university series] (New York: Oxford university press, 1917. 378 p. $1.50 net)

In this, the first history of the university of Illinois, the author has wisely decided "to throw a much greater emphasis upon the record of the past than upon the tendencies or characteristics of the present." So few are acquainted with the details in the development of the institution that a "comprehensive account of them" Mr. Nevins regards as the "first requisite of any introduction to the inner spirit of the rapidly-growing University." In this undertaking the author encountered the usual difficulties in the search for documentary material increased by the fact that he did his work at a great distance from the original sources of information.

At the inception of the present great school, we learn, the industrial interests were centered in a movement to establish and develop a school for agriculturalists and mechanics. To one familiar with the system whereby the university and the college of agriculture and mechanic arts are separate institutions, a large part of the present volume on Illinois would appear to be devoted to the division provided for the industries. The author points out the fact that the demand for support of instruction in agriculture and allied industries by the general government arose first in Illinois, and therefore this instruction was the leading feature which the promoters expected to see established. The movement culminated late as compared to similar movements in neighboring states and regret has been expressed that Illinois did not start even with the commonwealths on her borders. It is interesting to know that Mr. Jonathan Turner did not cease his efforts to secure a land grant in support of these institutions, even obtaining both from Lincoln and from Douglas a promise that if elected he would sign a bill for such a grant.

The author calls attention to the fact that the hope of a state univer-

sity in Illinois lay in the acceptance of the benefits of the Morrill grant. At the same time contests at once arose over the plan for separate location of the college of agriculture or the industrial division as against the sentiment for an undivided institution. This rivalry not only delayed action but also aroused much bad feeling. Even when the organization was effected and an executive selected, called at first the regent, there was much dissatisfaction among the original farmer promoters because a clergyman was appointed, and those who favored an industrial university were angered at the old line courses adopted. It was not until 1868 that actual operations were begun and almost at once there were charges and counter charges that the original purpose contemplated was not being followed. At all events the limited student body did not flock to the industrial courses provided. What the author defines as a "clumsy division into nine schools" marked the arrangement at the beginning. But these soon expanded into fifteen schools or departments and these again developed into colleges, those of agriculture, of mechanics and engineering, of chemistry, of natural history, of literature, science and art. Along with these were schools of commerce and military science.

Although years of depression and institutional poverty were to follow, the appropriations of the general government as made in the Hatch act and the Morrill supplementary act were fortunate events in the history of the state university. At least the historian recognizes this period as a turning point in its financial affairs. Again, 1885 is called by some a pivotal year, inasmuch as the authorities began to advertise the institution and a demand arose for a change in name from the "Illinois Industrial University." There were citizens, it seems, who persisted in believing that it was a place to send "obstreperous youngsters." The change in name was not made, however, without opposition and regret, especially on the part of the agriculturists.

As 1885 was called a pivotal year so is 1891 distinguished by largely increased appropriations, by the reorganization of the instruction, by the preliminary movement in extension lecturing, by the establishment of graduate courses, and by the increasing registration of women. The institution finally found itself under President Andrew S. Draper and during his administration the confidence of the state was securely won. Within this period the professional schools in the Chicago group were established; there was a reorganization of the college of agriculture; and the opening of the experiment station was recognized as an epochal event. At the same time the college of liberal arts was given a larger consideration and the summer school was inaugurated. It is shown in this volume that state public service probably had much to do with the subsequent recognition and support.

The administration of President Draper having accomplished the purposes expected, President Edmund J. James was summoned to guide the institution under "advancing intellectual ideals." In the chapter dealing with the introductory events in this administration the reader is shown the rapid changes which took place in equipment, the more liberal support granted by the state, the millage tax which rendered certain the development of a prosperous institution, the growth in the agricultural and engineering groups, the graduate work, the new courses opened in response to new demands, and the advancing standards in professional schools, all of which advanced the university to a position of leadership at no time before assumed. And with this expansion in scope, the registration increased with equal rapidity. It was not until 1913 that the colleges of literature and arts and of science were consolidated under one dean. Prior to that time they seem to have maintained their separate organization although they were "seriously duplicating each other's work," while each was "expanding the privileges of election from the curriculum of the other."

During the last decade the alumni activities have had much to do with the growing prestige of the university and the historian calls attention to the fact that the several changes in the administration have tended to centralize authority, although the heads of departments or colleges have been charged with large independent responsibilities. Great problems have confronted the officers in planning and executing the scheme for building up a university community.

The chapter devoted to students and student life is among the most interesting in the volume. If it is so appreciated by the outsider it should appeal strongly to the alumnus. Throughout the book, indeed, much space is given to the personal side of the institutional history. On this account there is an intimacy of contact which confines it more or less to those who are interested in the commonwealth history, or who have been connected with the institution. The student of politics and legislation might wish for more of the details relative to the presentation of the whole question at Springfield, that is to say, the legal side of the establishment and development. Nevertheless, in a popular work the personal element dwelt upon has a large place.

In the last chapter but one the author calls attention to the intangible services which the university renders the state and at the same time points out the fact that the direct service is much more likely to be appreciated, and perhaps over-emphasized. At Illinois the idea that "distinctively educational activities must primarily be kept before the people" predominates. There is a close connection, however, between the state and the university, notably through a number of state offices

having headquarters there; while the combined services of the industrial and liberal arts agencies are immeasurable. A recent and now well-known activity which has benefited the entire section as well as Illinois is referred to in the commencement of research in western history by the history department in 1905. The outcome is expected to be the "most valuable set of local records in the West." In conclusion there are suggestions relative to ways of bettering the workings of the institution and improving its services for the state. Several appendices throw light upon the growth of the university and a fair index assists the reader.

C. Ray Aurner

Economic history of Wisconsin during the civil war decade. By Frederick Merk. [Publications of the state historical society of Wisconsin, edited by Milo M. Quaife. Studies, volume 1] (Madison: State historical society of Wisconsin, 1916. 414 p. $2.00)

No student of the economic history of the central west who attempts to go beyond its most superficial aspects will fail to be an attentive reader of this monograph. Generalizations concerning the development of industry in this region will be comparatively meaningless without intimate knowledge of such details as are here set forth in abundance. And the working out of these details is of fundamental importance, because, in the author's words, "As an industrial community Wisconsin during the Civil War was typical of the Northwest."

We have in Mr. Merk's book, then, something more than local and state history. Further, he gives us more than a study of the civil war years, 1861-1865. In scholarly fashion he sees events both before and after the period he is studying, and in consequence the story, in some of its topics, covers the entire range of years between the two financial crises, 1857 and 1873. Quoting again: "Developments brought to a close during the war I have attempted to trace to their origin; changes begun during the war I have briefly carried either to their conclusion or to the point at which it has seemed profitable to leave them." Naturally, however, the central motive of the book is found in the task of tracing the effects that civil war conditions had upon the economic life of Wisconsin.

The chapters follow in the main the principal industries of the state: agriculture, lumbering, mining, manufacturing, labor, banking, trade. There are three chapters on railroad history, devoted respectively to the subtitles, mortgages, construction, and consolidation. These are followed logically by a discussion of the anti-monopoly revolt of 1865-1866 and the futile efforts for railroad regulation that followed. Chapters on upper Mississippi river commerce and the commerce of the great lakes conclude the book.

It is almost needless to say that this work is based entirely upon source materials, the author having done his work among the rich stores found in the library of the Wisconsin state historical society. Mr. Merk was also fortunate in having the guidance of the superintendent of that society, Mr. M. M. Quaife.

The outstanding merits of his work reveal the fact that the author possesses striking qualities as investigator and writer. There is every evidence that he has thoroughly mastered the enormous mass of material that it was necessary to study. No such clear and orderly story could have been produced otherwise. There is no place where facts are jumpled together merely because they had been accumulated, leaving the reader to extract something or nothing, as he may by way of digestible product. The facts stated all lead to conclusions or illustrate the movements that are being traced. Indeed, one of the most noticeable features of the work is the careful way in which causes and results are reasoned out and then stated in their clearest terms.

Mr. Merk's style is simple and interesting. It would serve as a model for historical monographs. There are sections, as for instance in the history of Wisconsin railroads, that are of almost dramatic interest.

The book has a map showing Wisconsin in 1865, and numerous illustrations. The editor announces that this is the first of a new series of historical studies to be published by the society. Elsewhere he ventures the prediction that the writers of succeeding volumes will find it difficult to excel this work in the qualities that make the best type of historical writing.

ALBERT H. SANFORD

Story of Minnesota. By E. Dudley Parsons, instructor in English, West high school, Minneapolis, Minnesota. (Chicago: American book company, 1916. 335 p. $.80)

Minnesota has long needed a history of the state adapted for use in the public schools. It was to meet this need that the present volume was written. It fulfills the requirements of a text book in the arrangement of subject matter, questions, and summaries, as well as in the consistent carrying out of the main theme, the development of Minnesota's material resources. Moreover the student's interest is quickened by the numerous illustrations. It is to be regretted, however, that some of these are lacking in historic value while others are actually misleading. Their place might better have been filled by good outline maps which at many points are needed to elucidate the text.

But it is not as a textbook that the volume compels adverse criticism; it is as a history. The author, confessedly, has sought to write a history

based on the sources, but apparently without any attempt to exhaust the material; rather his method seems to have been to dip here and there, often choosing what was interesting in preference to what was informing. This has led to some distorted accounts such as, for example, his description of the Indians and his treatment of the beginnings of Duluth. It has led, moreover, to many errors; for these are to be found not only in dates and references, where inaccuracies are always apt to creep in, but in statements which show lack of information and careless reading of the sources. Space will allow but one illustration. In telling (p. 49) of Major Long's trip up the Mississippi river in 1817, Mr. Parsons writes: "Near the foot of Lake Pepin he found a bluff well adapted for a post, and picked out the site for the post we now call Fort Snelling." It seems needless to say that there is nothing to justify any part of the second statement.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Parsons had not at his disposal an authoritative history of the state on which he could have based his textbook. Then we might have the volume of which Minnesota stands in need.

FRANCES H. RELF

Financial history of Texas. By Edmund Thornton Miller, adjunct professor of economics, university of Texas. [University of Texas, *Bulletin*, no. 37] (Austin: University of Texas, 1916. 444 p. $1.00)

The history of Texas is divided into seven parts, namely: (1) Spanish-Mexican; (2) The republic; (3) The state to 1861; (4) The civil war; (5) Reconstruction; (6) Recovery; and (7) Since 1880. In following a chronological arrangement Mr. Miller has pursued the method of Faukhauser's *Financial history of California* rather than that of Phelan's *Wisconsin*, Bogart's *Ohio*, Sowers' *New York*, or Hanna's *Maryland*. While it is more difficult to follow, it is perhaps the better method for a state whose history falls into well defined periods.

During the Spanish-Mexican period revenue came from tithes, excise stamp and customs duties, tax on silver, sale of privilege to locate cock pits, and tax on billiard tables. There was no land tax but there were land dues. American settlements were usually exempted from taxation. The revolution was financed largely by land grants; other sources were indirect taxes, loans and donations from Americans.

"The history of the Republic is a chapter of difficulties and disappointments, and the ten years were rich in governmental experience. There were few financial expedients which were not resorted to." Frontier defense was a heavy burden. The military appropriations of the

third and fourth congresses aggregated over three millions. In 1840 the total expenditures were $2,175,000, but a period of economy followed so that the average annual expenditures of the last five years were less than one-tenth of those of the first five years of the republic. Governmental functions were very limited; "one looks in vain for appropriations for education, the care of defectives or internal improvements." A tariff schedule with duties largely on necessities produced 58 per cent of the total revenues throughout the whole period, while direct taxes furnished 20 per cent and licenses 4 per cent. The debt of the republic rose from one and a quarter million in 1836 to ten million in 1846. Less than a half million of specie was used while four millions of treasury notes were authorized.

The first decade of statehood was a period of prosperity. Annexation relieved Texas of the expense of maintaining a postal system, a diplomatic corps, and an army and navy. For some years, however, Texas was compelled to patrol her borders, an expenditure for which she was reimbursed by the United States in 1906. The census of 1850 listed twenty-three towns with a combined population of 20,000. The relative urban growth during the fifties was but three-tenths of one per cent. During the civil war Texas spent $3,180,000 for military purposes and in 1865 faced a debt of $8,111,000. Her treasury was not on a cash basis until 1879. "The salient features of the Reconstruction financial period of Texas history are the large growth of expenditures, the great increase in taxation, and the rapid accumulation of a comparatively heavy debt."

During the six years following 1874 expenditures rose 47.6 per cent, while assessed values increased 27.3 per cent. The growth of social legislation is apparent. In 1881 the cost of administering laws under this head was 36 per cent of the total expenditures; in 1915 it was 82 per cent, of which 9.2 per cent was for pensions to confederate soldiers. Corporation taxes in this period rose from 1.5 per cent to 1.9 per cent of the total. The general occupation tax during the same period fell from 18.5 per cent to 7.1 per cent, while the general property tax increased from 56.9 to 74.5 per cent of the total. Texas in 1880 had in free land and unsold land belonging to special funds an area equal to New England and Delaware combined.

Some of Mr. Miller's conclusions are that a new constitution should be framed; that "a more sensible system of appropriations should be adopted;" and that the state should assume control over assessments if the general property tax is retained. He recommends the budget system of appropriations and a tax on income rather than one on property.

The book contains an appendix of sixteen tables, a rather compre-

hensive bibliography, and a good index. Mr. Miller has used a wide range of sources and has produced a scholarly monograph in a very readable style. The proof reading was well done, although there are a few minor errors, for example on page 99.

D. C. Shilling

History of the United States — political, industrial, social. By Charles Manfred Thompson, associate professor of economics, university of Illinois. (Chicago: Benj. H. Sanborn and company, 1917. 560 p. $1.60 net)

No teacher of history who has had experience in the task of presenting the story of America will long hesitate to enquire about the usefulness of any new text that may appear. It is a patent fact not only among educators, but among laymen as well, that until quite recently history has been one of the most poorly taught subjects in our school curricula. Among the many reasons that may be given for this situation two may be designated as peculiarly outstanding. The first is the teachers' lack of adequate professional training; the other is the character of the textbooks which have been available. And so it has happened that most of the men and women now engaged in the work of the world received their historical training under a system which, being remembered, causes them to smile significantly when history as a school subject is mentioned.

But school history has, in these contemporary years, been passing through a little revolution, which in years to come will undoubtedly be recognized as a thing of no small significance. The passing of the old order is especially clearly reflected in many of the newer textbooks.

Mr. Thompson's work is typical of the newer outlook; further, it contains certain elements that are unique in school treatises on the growth of the American nation. Unlike so many books this one does faithfully and satisfyingly stick to its text. It is a political, industrial, and social history. It considers the story of our national development not only in its outward expression in the city of Washington but also in its fundamental bases on the farms of the Mississippi valley, the cotton mills of Lowell, and the lumbering camps of Washington. It was a task of no small magnitude to attempt to portray within the scope of a book of 487 text pages the numerous lines of activity necessary to a well-rounded story of American life; and it is in its felicitous weaving together of the various strands essential to an intelligible account of America's development that we find the most striking characteristic of the work.

History is not portrayed as "past politics," nor does the author go to the equally mistaken extreme of stressing the economic to the exclusion of the political phases, although this might have been easy, since Mr.

Thompson is a student primarily of economics. Is is true that the sections of his book which bear upon this field are especially strong, but they have not been written at the expense of the political chapters; on the contrary, the balance is remarkably sane.

The organization is another feature that will appeal especially to teachers. Many instructors are often perplexed by the problem of how best to present material in logical order both as to time and subject matter. It not infrequently happens that the result is confusing to the pupil in that the teacher either fails to follow a given subject through a time sequence sufficiently long to give the student an insight into cause and effect relations, or he fails to coördinate and interrelate the various factors of a given period. Mr. Thompson has made a genuine contribution in his handling of this difficulty. The text is divided into three major divisions, in chronological order. The title of each indicates the general character of the particular period. Each of these parts is subdivided into chapters which carry the discussion of definite subjects through time periods sufficiently long to make clear the continuity of the events and conditions described.

The citations of supplementary readings at the close of each chapter add considerably to the value of the work. These lists do not contain so large a number of references as to be confusing and most of those given are likely to be found even in very modest libraries. The physical make-up of the book is dignified and pleasing. The illustrations are unusual; they are abundant in number and rich in interest as well as in educative value. There are also many diagrams, statistical maps and tables, and graphs, so arranged as to present with clarity and vividness material which would otherwise require many paragraphs of text.

We predict for the book an enthusiastic reception and a career of widespread usefulness.

Russell G. Booth

The plain story of American history. By John Spencer Bassett, Ph.D., Sydenham Clark Parsons professor of American history, Smith college. (New York: The Macmillan company, 1916. 545 p. $1.00)

This book does not depart materially from the conventional textbook of the past twenty-five years in the selection of its topics, in the proportion of space given to various periods, in the point of view, or in the organization of the material. The questions at the end of the chapters may be of some value, but the "suggested topics" do not seem to be particularly suggestive. The total absence of all references for collateral reading is rather surprising. And so the justification for this, another textbook, must be found in some other direction. Probably it

is indicated by the title, *A plain story.* By an easy, flowing narrative, by the clear presentation of the story of events without a complexity of details, and by avoiding too condensed a style the author has succeeded in making a book much more attractive than the ordinary.

The pictures are not particularly numerous, but they are for the most part really illustrative. Their value is frequently increased by attendant description. A few are not very satisfactory, however. For instance, the picture of the first McCormick reaper (p. 423) presents several curious situations.

The maps might be improved. There are too many inaccuracies in some of them. There are too many battle plans for such a book. Such a map as that between pages 476 and 477 is very common in histories, but it is worse than useless. The insets tell almost nothing and are confusing. Two separate double page maps are the best that can show the territorial development of the United States at all adequately.

The merits of the book, however, tend to counterbalance its shortcomings and imperfections and we regard it as well worth while.

EDWARD CARLTON PAGE

Household manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860. A study in industrial history. By Rolla Milton Tryon, assistant professor of the teaching of history, university of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1917. 413 p. $2.00 net)

This book aims "to portray the system of household manufacturing as it existed up to 1860 in its relation to the industrial life and prosperity of the nation as a whole." It is suggested that it may be used as an adjunct to history courses from elementary schools to colleges and to give an historical background to domestic science and household arts teachers. The term "household manufactures" is defined as comprising "all those articles now made almost wholly in shop or factory which were formerly made in the home and on the plantation by members of the family or plantation household from raw material produced largely on the farm where the manufacturing was done" and excluding products of handicraftsmen, work at home supplementary to factory work, work on outside materials, articles made on plantations primarily for sale, and things still largely made in homes, such as bread and jellies. The importance of household manufactures in helping to win the revolutionary war is emphasized and the social and moral results of the work in the homes are traced. Next the author discusses briefly the effects on household manufactures in colonial times of the English colonial policy, local legislative encouragement, and economic and political conditions such as crops, transportation, and the stamp act. Then the increase or

decrease of home manufactures in the various parts of the country and the various periods from 1640 to 1860 is explained in considerable detail, with statistical material where available. Many interesting accounts are given of processes and many descriptions of machines. Finally the transition to shop and factory made goods is explained. The material bearing on the subject has been thoroughly covered. For information about quantities produced, the author has drawn an old inventories, reports of the colonial governors, lists of premiums, Hamilton's report on manufactures and the materials on which it was based, Gallatin's report of 1810, and finally census figures of New York state and the United States. The bibliography is admirable. It is classified and very full. The book has an excellent topical index but no index of authorities quoted.

The book brings together in compact form many valuable facts and interprets them soundly following well beaten paths. The author has shown more skill in finding material than brilliancy in interpreting the material found.

J. D. Magee

NEWS AND COMMENTS

Plans are well under way for the annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association which is to be held next spring at St. Paul. As chairman of the program committee Mr. Sioussat has appointed Mr. C. S. Boucher of Washington university, St. Louis; the other members are Mr. John D. Hicks of Hamlin university, St. Paul; Mr. R. M. Tryon, chairman of the teachers' section, of Chicago; Mr. Walter L. Fleming of Vanderbilt university, Nashville; and Mr. William J. Trimble of Fargo, North Dakota. The Minnesota historical society is to be the host of the association, and its superintendent, Mr. Solon J. Buck, is chairman of the committee on local arrangements.

The fourteenth conference of historical societies will be held on December 29, 1917, in connection with the meeting of the American historical association, December 29, 1917, at the Historical society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The hereditary patriotic societies, which last year held a separate conference, have been asked to join in this conference in the discussion of the topic "The relation of the hereditary patriotic societies and the historical societies, with especial reference to coöperation in publication." It is hoped that some means will be arrived at to "prevent the really frightful duplication of labor and printing," which at present characterizes the work of these two varieties of organizations. It is further planned to organize a national conference with independent finances and officers. It is also expected that as a result of the conferences there will be published in 1918 a *Handbook of historical societies* including the significant facts regarding all societies known in United States and Canada, which is now being prepared by the secretary of the conference, Mr. Augustus H. Shearer of the Grosvenor library, Buffalo, New York.

A new state historical agency has come into being with the organization of the Georgia historical association, which held its first annual meeting at Atlanta April 10, 1917. Heretofore the only organization for historical purposes in Georgia has been the Georgia historical society, which has an honorable record of seventy-five years. It has, however confined its interests to the colonial and revolutionary period, and its clientele has always been rather narrow. The originators of the new association feel that there is a distinct need for an organization which shall be state wide

in character and which "shall have as its special interest the history of the Piedmont region in its economic, social and political aspects — which shall have as its field nineteenth century history rather than the study of origins and revolutionary history." The association plans particularly to concern itself with the preservation of records and with the making available for the use of students the materials in the state archives. For the present at least no publication will be attempted except the *Proceedings* of the annual meetings, the first number of which has recently appeared. The officers of the new organization are: president, Mr. L. L. Knight, state compiler of records, Atlanta; vice-president, Mr. T. H. Jack, Emory university, Oxford; secretary-treasurer, Mr. R. P. Brooks, university of Georgia, Athens.

Another evidence of the increasing appreciation of the state as a unit for historical activity is the appearance of the *Michigan history magazine*, published by the Michigan historical commission at Lansing. The new periodical is pleasing in form and the contents of its first two numbers give promise that it will prove a useful medium for the publication of material on state history and for the encouragement of county historical agencies. The July, 1917, issue includes: "A sketch of the life of Isaac Marston," by William L. Clements; "The field for the historian in the upper peninsula," by F. X. Barth; "The spirit of the times," by Woodbridge N. Ferris; "The first bank in Michigan," by William L. Jenks; and "Centenary of the settlement of Oakland county," by Mrs. Lillian D. Avery. The October number prints a number of civil war letters, a memorial on Will Carleton, reminiscences of William Hadley Brockway, and a descriptive list of Governor Blair's papers. In addition there are two articles on Holland immigration to Michigan, written respectively by Mr. Gerrit Van Schleven and Mr. Garrit Diekema; a discussion of "Teaching Michigan history in the public schools," by Alvin N. Cody; "History of St. Mary's parish, Marshall, Michigan," by James Cahalan; and "Government survey and charting of the great lakes," by John Fitzgibbon.

The California historical survey commission which was appointed by the legislature in 1915 to make a survey of local historical material in the state has made a preliminary report, in which it outlines its purpose and method of work, and gives a classification of the kinds of material with which it has to deal. Next comes an historical analysis of the archives of the county clerk, and then two specimen archive reports. The commission is to be commendel for the scholarly way in which it has set about its work, and still more is the state to be commended for hav-

ing had the foresight to inaugurate such an enterprise as the commission represents.

The sixtieth anniversary year book of the Chicago historical society which appeared some time ago shows in its 242 pages a very creditable record of the society's activities during 1916.

The Geographic society of Chicago has issued a bulletin on *Stony island* (University of Chicago press. 16 p.) in which the author gives a brief description of the vegetation, geology, and physiography of this unique island, and makes a plea for its conservation as "a pocket edition of the greater part of the history of the continent."

A collection of the essays which during the past ten years have been awarded the George W. Bagley prize by Hampden Sidney college, Virginia, has been published under the title *Studies of the old south.* The essays, all of which were written by undergraduates, deal with conditions in the ante bellum south.

"A federalist of the old school," in the *North Carolina booklet* of July, 1917, is an extremely interesting monograph by Mr. Archibald Henderson of the university of North Carolina. The subject is the former great lawyer of the same name, Archibald Henderson, who was called by Judge Murphey "The most perfect model of a lawyer that our bar has produced." The booklet also contains two other studies of value to local historians: "Our North Carolina Indians," by Fred A. Olds, and "The state navy of North Carolina in the war of the revolution," by Marshall D. Haywood.

A publication in a practically virgin field is Mr. Frank C. Pierce's *Brief history of the lower Rio Grande valley* (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta publishing company, 1917. 200 p.). The book places its emphasis on military operations and exploits in the region defined.

Robert E. Lee, by Bradley Gilman, is one of the series of biographies known as *True stories of great Americans* (New York: The Macmillan company, 1915. 205 p. $.50). Although another life of Lee might seem superfluous, this has a distinct place in the high school library and in juvenile literature. Through its simple narrative, free as it is from sectional feeling and prejudice, a great number of young persons will doubtless come to know and to appreciate the high character and notable attainments of this interesting American.

North America during the eighteenth century, by T. Crockett and B. C. Wallis (Cambridge, the University press, 1915. vi, 116 p.), rep-

resents an effort to set forth in an elementary text a geographical view of the "story of the rise of the United States to nationhood."

Mr. John T. Faris, in preparing *Real stories from our history* (Boston: Ginn and company, [1916]. xi, 308 p.), constantly kept in mind the report to the National education association of the committee on the study of history in the elementary schools, particularly its dictum that "Our history teaching in the past has failed largely because it has not been picturesque enough." He has selected typical events in American history which are aimed to arouse the imagination of the school child, making them unusually vivid by numerous quotations from original documents. The text is generously supplemented by illustrations, which for the most part are extremely well chosen.

Mr. William C. Mills has made a new and significant contribution to the archaelogy of Ohio by his exploration of the Feurt mounds and village site, located in the Scioto valley about five miles north of Portsmouth. A full and careful account of his findings, illustrated with numerous photographs, is published in the *Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly* for July, 1917.

Three articles appear in the *Indiana magazine of history* for September: "The origin and development of the republican party in Indiana," by Charles Zimmerman; "The underground railroad in Monroe county," by Henry L. Smith; and "The pioneer aristocracy," by Logan Esarey. The last mentioned paper was read by Mr. Esarey at the meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association in Chicago in April.

The *Missouri historical review* for October, 1917, contains a translation of Gottfried Duden's "Report," 1824-1827, by William G. Bek; "Missouri and the war," by Floyd C. Shoemaker; and the second of the series "Missourians abroad," by Ivan H. Epperson, this article treating of Mr. G. W. P. Hunt.

The August, 1917, issue of the *Minnesota history bulletin* prints a study by Sidney A. Patchin entitled "The development of banking in Minnesota," which was submitted as a master's thesis in the graduate school of the university of Minnesota. The bulletin also contains two suggestive notes: one on historical activities in war time, by Solon J. Buck; the other on the preservation of newspapers, by John Talman.

Some little time ago the Toronto public library issued a seventy-five page pamphlet, compiled by Miss Edith M. Staton, head of the reference department of the library, entitled *Books and pamphlets published in Canada up to the year eighteen hundred and thirty-seven, copies of*

which are in the public reference library, Toronto, Canada. As the Toronto public library, through the enterprise of the present chief librarian, Mr. George H. Locke, and his predecessor the late Mr. James Bain, contains a really notable collection of early Canadiana, this list will be of exceptional interest and value to historical and other students, particularly as Miss Staton's work as compiler has been exceptionally well done.

Mr. Walter L. Fleming, formerly head of the department of history at Louisiana state university, is now occupying a similar position at Vanderbilt university. In consequence of his removal from Louisiana Mr. Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., professor of history and political science, is devoting his entire time to history this year.

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PROGRAM

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MAY 9, 10, 11, 1918

TOGETHER WITH
A PROGRAM FOR THE

DEDICATION

OF THE NEW BUILDING ERECTED BY THE STATE OF MINNESOTA FOR THE USE OF THE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MAY 11, 1918

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HOMER C. HOCKETT (1920)

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Membership

Membership in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association is open to all who are interested in the history of the Mississippi Valley. The annual dues for individual members are three dollars; for library membership, four dollars; for sustaining membership, five dollars. Life membership may be secured by the payment of a fee of fifty dollars. Members receive all publications issued by the Association, including the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* which is published quarterly.

GENERAL INFORMATION

The eleventh annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association is held in St. Paul at the invitation of the Minnesota Historical Society and in conjunction with the ceremonies for the dedication of the Society's new building. All members of both associations and others interested are cordially invited to attend any of the regular sessions on either program.

Local Arrangements

All who expect to attend the meeting are requested to notify Solon J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul. Prompt compliance with this request will further materially the work of the committee on local arrangements.

Meeting Place

All regular sessions, except those at the University of Minnesota, will be held in the Historical Building, corner of Cedar Street and Central Avenue, adjacent to the Capitol. Headquarters will be maintained in the galleries of the building, where all members of either organization, and all others from outside the Twin Cities, are requested to register as soon as practicable after their arrival.

Hotels

Reservations may be made by addressing the manager of one of the hotels. The St. Paul Hotel, St. Peter and Fifth streets, makes minimum rates of $2.00 for single and $3.50 for double rooms, all with bath. The St. Francis, Wabasha and Seventh streets, is a new hotel about ten minutes' walk from the Historical Building; minimum rates: for single room $1.25, with bath $1.50; double room $2.00, with bath $2.50. Minimum rates at the Frederic, Fifth and Cedar streets, the Merchants, Jackson and Third streets, and the Ryan, Robert and Sixth streets, are: for single room $1.00, with bath $1.50; double room $2.00, with bath $2.50. These are all good hotels operating on the European plan.

Hospitalities

The members of the Association are tendered a reception by the Minnesota Historical Society on Thursday evening; and the University of Minnesota will entertain them at luncheon on Friday. Through the courtesy of the St. Paul Association of Business and Public Affairs, the local committee has arranged for a ride about the city and environs on Thursday afternoon, followed by tea at the University Club, and for a smoker at the Minnesota Club on Friday evening. The members will also be guests at the luncheon on Saturday. Tickets for the various functions should be obtained at the registration desk.

PROGRAM

(All sessions unless otherwise indicated are open to the public. Regular papers are limited to twenty minutes.)

THURSDAY, MAY 9, 10:00 A.M.

HISTORICAL BUILDING

The Literary Spirit among the Early Ohio Valley Settlers

LOGAN ESAREY
Indiana University

Religious Forces in the United States, 1815–1830

MARTHA L. EDWARDS
Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio

An Aboriginal Map of the Turtle Mountain Area

O. G. LIBBY
University of North Dakota

Six Constitutions of the Far Northwest

JOHN D. HICKS
Hamline University, St. Paul

THURSDAY, MAY 9, 2:00 P.M.

HISTORICAL BUILDING

Popular Sovereignty and the Colonization of Kansas from 1854 to 1860

WILLIAM O. LYNCH
Indiana State Normal School, Terre Haute

Missouri in the Kansas Struggle

MARY J. KLEM
Graduate Student, Washington University, St. Louis

The Gadsden Purchase

F. F. Stephens
University of Missouri

The Lost Commission: A Study in Mississippi and National History Centering around Robert J. Walker

James E. Winston
University of Mississippi

THURSDAY, MAY 9, 4:00 P.M.

Automobile tour of the Twin Cities, starting from the Historical Building; followed by tea at the University Club, corner of Summit Avenue and Ramsey Street, St. Paul

THURSDAY, MAY 9, 8:00 P.M.

HISTORICAL BUILDING

Hon. Gideon S. Ives, Presiding
President of the Minnesota Historical Society

Address of Welcome

Presidential Address: Andrew Johnson and the Homestead Bill

St. George L. Sioussat
Brown University

Reception tendered to the members of the Association by the Minnesota Historical Society

FRIDAY, MAY 10, 10:00 A.M.

LITTLE THEATRE, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Commercial Intercourse with the Confederacy in the Mississippi Valley, 1861–1865

E. Merton Coulter
Marietta College, Ohio

Some Relations of the Upper Mississippi Valley with Lake Superior in the Civil War Period

LESTER B. SHIPPEE
University of Minnesota

Indiana State Aid for Negro Deportation

HENRY N. SHERWOOD
Wisconsin State Normal School, La Crosse

South Carolina and the Early Tariffs

JOHN L. CONGER
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois

FRIDAY, MAY 10, 12:00 M.

ROOM 204, MEN'S UNION, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Luncheon tendered to the members of the Association by the University of Minnesota

Address of Welcome

JOHN B. JOHNSTON
Dean of the College of Science, Literature, and the Arts

Business meeting of the Association

FRIDAY, MAY 10, 3:00 P.M.

LITTLE THEATRE, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Trade Conditions in the Kentucky Blue Grass Region, 1810–1820

THEODORE G. GRONERT
Centre College, Danville, Kentucky

The United States Factory System for Trading with the Indians

ROYAL B. WAY
Beloit College, Wisconsin

The Collapse of the Steamboat Traffic upon the Mississippi: An Inquiry into Causes

PAUL W. BROWN
Editor of *The West at Work,* St. Louis

The Population of the Ohio Valley during the Eighteenth Century

J. E. BRADFORD
Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

FRIDAY, MAY 10, 8:00 P.M.

HISTORICAL BUILDING

Session devoted to Agricultural History

The Evolution of Montana Agriculture in Its Early Period

M. L. WILSON
Leader of the Montana County Agents

The History of the Early Range Industry in the Upper Missouri Valley

LEWIS F. CRAWFORD
President of the Board of Regents of North Dakota

An Undeveloped Phase of American History

HERBERT A. KELLAR
Cyrus H. McCormick Library, Chicago

The Relation of the County Farm Bureau and the County Agent to the Collection of Local Historical Data Relating to Agriculture

W. A. LLOYD
States Relations Service, Washington, D. C.

FRIDAY, MAY 10, 10:00 P.M.

Smoker for the men of the Association at the Minnesota Club, corner of Washington and Fourth streets, St. Paul

SATURDAY, MAY 11, 10:00 A.M.

HISTORICAL BUILDING

Joint Session of the History Teachers' Session with the Twin City History Teachers' Club

AUGUST C. KREY, PRESIDING
University of Minnesota

The Method Content in Teachers' Courses

FRANCES M. MOREHOUSE
University High School, University of Minnesota

Individual Instruction in History

BESSIE L. PIERCE
University High School, State University of Iowa

Geographic Problems in American History

H. A. BONE
Principal of High School, Sioux City, Iowa

Map Work in Ancient History

B. F. CREUSHAW
Washington High School, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

General Discussion

SATURDAY, MAY 11, 12:15 P.M.

Luncheon tendered to the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association by the St. Paul Association of Business and Public Affairs, the Minnesota Historical Society, and the Twin City History Teachers' Club, at the Association Dining Rooms, Commerce Building, corner of Fourth and Wabasha streets

Address: The Fight for Public Opinion

THOMAS F. MORAN
Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C.

DEDICATION

OF THE NEW BUILDING ERECTED BY THE STATE OF MINNESOTA FOR THE USE OF THE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ON THE SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADMISSION OF MINNESOTA TO THE UNION

SATURDAY, MAY 11, 3:00 P.M.

READING ROOM, HISTORICAL BUILDING

CHARLES P. NOYES, PRESIDING
President of the Society, 1915–18, and Chairman of the Building Committee

Brief Addresses by:

Hon. RALPH WHEELOCK, Chairman of the State Board of Control, charged with the erection of the building

Hon. J. A. A. BURNQUIST, Governor of Minnesota

Hon. GIDEON S. IVES, President of the Society

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa

WARREN UPHAM, Archeologist of the Society and Secretary from 1893 to 1914

SOLON J. BUCK, Superintendent of the Society

Inspection of the Building

SATURDAY, MAY 11, 6:00 P.M.

GALLERIES, HISTORICAL BUILDING

Supper tendered by the Minnesota Historical Society to the Delegates and Invited Guests

SATURDAY, MAY 11, 8:00 P.M.

READING ROOM, HISTORICAL BUILDING

Hon. GIDEON S. IVES, PRESIDING

Dedicatory Address: Middle Western Pioneer Democracy

FREDERICK J. TURNER
Harvard University

Inspection of the Building

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Membership in the society is open to all who are interested in the history of the state. Life membership may be secured by the payment of a single fee of twenty-five dollars; annual members pay two dollars and sustaining members, five dollars, per annum. The two latter classes may be enrolled as life members after twenty or six successive annual payments respectively. Members receive the publications of the Society, including the *Collections* and the *Minnesota History Bulletin,* a quarterly magazine.

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. IV, NO. 4 MARCH, 1918

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND THE ILLINOIS RADICAL REPUBLICANS[1]

It is a commonplace of present-day historical interpretation that Lincoln's famous "house divided" speech of June, 1858, involved not so much a program for practical political endeavor as a prophetic utterance of grave moral import. The fundamental truthfulness of this forecast, as revealed in the developments of but half a decade, could rest only on the assumption of the existence of a fairly wide-spread challenge to the institution of slavery on moral grounds, a challenge sufficiently positive to constitute a danger to the very existence of that institution. Southerners insisted that Lincoln had in mind such a challenge; when he was elected to the presidential office in 1860, they qualified all denials upon his part of intention to disturb existing conditions by insisting that there would be behind him at least an active minority of abolitionists clamoring for an immediate attack upon the "peculiar institution" in the southern states themselves, which pressure he could not effectively resist.

Radicals of this type were to be found even in Illinois, one of the very last states to develop an effective antislavery organization, though it was the state which put forward Lincoln's claims for political preferment as a favorite son. Circumstances, however, compelled them to keep in the background; not all were active abolitionists in the sense of connecting themselves with the propagandist activities of their more aggressive comrades. Some were calmly dwelling in the proslavery atmosphere of the southern counties quietly biding the time when new political

[1] Read at the annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association in Chicago, April 27, 1917.

issues would enable them to step out into the open and avow the views which they had been smothering in their breasts.[2] Others were serious students of the problems of the day, whose indifference to the institutions of the south was removed by their analysis of the rapid kaleidoscopic changes in the sectional controversy; they concealed themselves in the ranks of the old political parties, and later without display entered the republican party to work in the more favorable atmosphere which it offered. A conspicuous example of this development may be found in the case of William H. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner. At the beginning of his connection with the republicans, he was extremely fearful that they would fail to look comprehensively at the rights of all, "not only the right of the North but of the South" also; he announced that in this event he could not continue to act with them.[3] Two years later, in February of 1858, he was ready in the event of the admission of Kansas as a slave state to strike at "the cause" of the sectional controversy. "I am ready to *go any length for self defence*," he wrote, "though that length *should end in war*, bloody and to the hilt. This is a matured opinion — not hastily expressed: it has grown into the *tissues* of my very existence."[4] But this was a confidential statement, for few were ready to come out into the open with such views. In certain sections of the state the republican party had still to assume the guise of a "People's Party,"[5] lest it should frighten off the more conservative voters who might wish to support its

[2] N. M. Knapp to Lyman Trumbull, January 22, 1861, in Trumbull papers, library of congress. Unless otherwise stated, the letters referred to in this article are in the Trumbull papers, library of congress.

[3] W. H. Herndon to Trumbull, February 15, 1856.

[4] W. H. Herndon to Trumbull, February 19, 1858. On the eve of Lincoln's inauguration Herndon was against any compromise with the south. Fearing that the republican leaders might yield, he declared: "If they do I am their Enemy — now & forever. I may not have much influence but I will help tear down your Republican party and erect another in its stead. Before I would buy the South by Compromises and Concessions to get what is the People's due I would die — rot and be forgotten willingly." Letter to Trumbull, February 9, 1861. Previously, December 21, 1860, he had written: "This thing slavery must be met and finally squelched. Liberty & Slavery are *absolute* antagonisms; and all human experience — all human philosophy says — 'Clear the ring & let these natural foes — these eternal enemies now fight it out — To separate them *now* is murderous to the men, women & children of the future.' "

[5] *Alton Courier*, September 9, October 18, 26, 1858.

candidates. A favorite democratic charge against the republican party was that it was the "negro equality" party.[6] It was still possible to keep voters from supporting party nominees like Owen Lovejoy on the ground that these candidates were abolitionists.[7]

Lincoln's qualifications as a radical, prior to his election to the presidency, seem to be open to very serious challenge. At first associated with and a leader in the conservative whig party, essentially the party of the property-holder and of the aristocrat, he showed a reluctance to give up this connection with the break-up of that party over the Kansas-Nebraska act. While assuming firm anti-Nebraska ground, he showed absolutely no sympathy for the original republican movement in Illinois, which found itself unable to make progress except among the really radical antislavery element. He refused to allow the use of his name as member of the state central committee of the republican movement engineered by Owen Lovejoy.[8] For a time he continued to call himself a whig;[9] later he coöperated with those who sought to keep the antislavery movement in Illinois on "respectable" "conservative" ground.[10] Though a Fremont elector-at-large in the campaign of 1856, he seems in his numerous campaign speeches to have studiously avoided referring to himself or to his party associates under the designation "republican." As late as 1859 he was conferring with conservative opposition leaders in the southern border states on the possibility of a united stand against the Buchanan administration; in a speech at Cincinnati he indicated a preference for a southern man at either end of the presidential ticket, explaining that "the proslavery party must be shown that the Republicans, in opposing the aggrandizement of slavery, were friends of the Union and promoters of the general good."[11] In the campaign

[6] *Ibid.*, July 22, October 2, 1858; *Ottawa Free Trader*, July 18, 1857.

[7] *Abraham Lincoln; complete works, comprising his speeches, letters, state papers, and miscellaneous writings* (Nicolay and Hay ed. — New York, 1894), 2: 365-366.

[8] *Ibid.*, 2: 264.

[9] *Abraham Lincoln; complete works* (Nicolay and Hay ed.), 2: 287.

[10] George T. Brown to Trumbull, May 12, 1856, Trumbull papers. See Lincoln to Whitney, July 9, 1856: "It turned me blind when I first heard Swett was beaten and Lovejoy [radical "abolitionist" republican] was nominated." *Abraham Lincoln; complete works* (Nicolay and Hay ed.), 2: 290.

[11] *National Intelligencer*, September 22, 1859. See *The writings of Abraham Lin-*

of 1860 his claims were pushed as those of a conservative republican standing substantially on Henry Clay ground. Again and again did he repeat the republican guarantee to the institution of slavery in the southern states where it already existed. Even after his election he assured Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia of the absolute safety of the southern slaveholder in his property rights.[12]

Lincoln's inauguration into the presidential office was followed promptly by the call to arms. Meantime he had been standing on common ground with the consistent antislavery extension republicans of his state, refusing to make concessions to the south in order to quiet the advocates of southern rights. While Lincoln turned to face the difficult problems of civil and military administration these sympathizers were left free for an analysis of the ills of the nation and their causes; more and more, and with growing bitterness, did they come to feel that their woes were all bound up with the institution of slavery, the root of all evils. This feeling gave rise to the hope that the war would furnish the occasion for bringing about its ultimate extinction.[13] Lincoln was in no position to keep pace with these developments; overwhelmed by the complexity of his task, he found it difficult to handle with efficiency the practical problems that demanded his attention. It was not long, therefore, before a spirit of criticism began to show itself among Illinois republicans. In the summer of 1861, General Fremont, playing to the galleries, issued a military proclamation providing for the emancipation of the slaves of rebel planters in his military district. Lincoln, embarrassed by this development, felt compelled to disallow it; he therefore issued an order nullifying Fremont's.[14] This step naturally disappointed many republicans, who had welcomed this assault on the institution of slavery.

coln; edited by Arthur Brooks Lapsley with an introduction by Theodore Roosevelt, together with The essay on Lincoln, by Carl Schurz, The address on Lincoln, by Joseph F. Choate and The life of Lincoln, by Noah Brooks (Federal ed. — New York, 1905-1906), 5: 111.

[12] Henry Cleveland, *Alexander H. Stephens, in public and private with letters and speeches before, during and since the war* (Philadelphia, [1866]), 371 ff.

[13] The *Chicago Tribune* reached that conclusion by July, 1861; see *Tribune*, July 22; *Illinois State Register*, September 7, 1861.

[14] *Writings of Abraham Lincoln* (Federal ed.), 5: 359-360.

Some did not hesitate to declare Fremont right and Lincoln wrong.[15] John Wentworth, the prominent Chicago leader, publicly criticized Lincoln's modifying act at a meeting of "German laborers" in Chicago.[16] The *Rock River Democrat*, a republican journal, stated, September 24, 1861: "No act that Mr. Lincoln has done since his inauguration as President of the United States has caused such heartfelt regret to the people of the West as that extracting the pith from General Fremont's Proclamation in regard to the confiscation of the property of rebels and the freeing of their slaves, if any they have, when found in arms against the government. The Proclamation had received the endorsement of the free people of the West—it was just the thing needed, and Fremont was just the man to execute it. . . We believe the principle enunciated in the Proclamation will yet have to be adopted by the Government—it is right, the magnitude of the stake for which we are playing demands it, and we say God speed the day." John Russell, the Bluffdale educator, wrote to Senator Trumbull, December 17: "The repudiation by Mr. Lincoln, of Fremont's Proclamation, manumitting the slaves of Missouri rebels, gave more *'aid and comfort to the enemy'* in that state than if he had made the rebel commander, Sterling Price, a present of fifty pieces of rifled cannon. . . It has been, and probably is yet, the leading policy of Mr. Lincoln to preserve slavery *intact*. Three months longer continuance of that mistaken policy would break down the Republican party so effectually that it would never rise again, and Abraham Lincoln would have become the most unpopular man in the nation."

When next Fremont was removed for his inefficiency, which in the opinion of Senator Trumbull grew out of the failure of the administration to give him proper backing,[17] some of Lincoln's supporters declared their disappointment with absolute frankness. Gustave Koerner, the Illinois German-American leader, claimed that there was universal satisfaction with General Fremont at St. Louis and that the policy of the administration was "outrageous;" "the administration has lost immensely in the

[15] W. Kitchell to Trumbull, December 10, 1861.
[16] *Illinois State Register*, October 7, 1861.
[17] Trumbull to Lincoln, October 1, 1861.

Northwest;" he declared, "we cannot disguise the fact the most energetic and enthusiastic portion of our party in this region are now in the opposition."[18] More and more was the argument brought forward that the abolition of slavery, a cancer which must be cut out and cauterized, was "the only remedy" that could save the union.[19] Old conservatives, even, now became impatient to see this work attacked in earnest; it seemed strange to them that Lincoln and Seward should fail to understand that slavery lay directly in the road to victory.

The recommendations of Lincoln's first annual message came with a shock to those who held these views. Anxious to hold the state of Kentucky to its place in the union, he was unable to take any advanced ground on the question of emancipation; he contented himself with the suggestion that the states might be allowed to confiscate the property of rebels and that congress might buy from them the forfeited slaves and credit their value against their taxes. To the root and branch abolitionists, whose heresy many republicans had now come to embrace, this seemed "one of the most unjust & humiliating propositions that could be conceived."[20] "What a horrible *fiasco*," wrote one of the editors of the *Chicago Tribune*, "We are for going straight through . . . like men."[21] Disappointed Lincoln supporters voiced their sentiments in varied expressions of regret,[22] disgust, and even anger. The radicals, becoming more and more violent in their hatred of the rebels and their cause, charged their bitterness to the account of the extreme mildness with which the "giant crime" had been treated.

Some were affected to a point of almost complete loss of self-

[18] G. Koerner to Trumbull, November 18, 1861.

[19] W. Kitchell to Trumbull, December 10, 1861.

[20] Grant Goodrich to Trumbull, December 5, 1861.

[21] C. D. Ray to Trumbull, December 6, 1861.

[22] "No man it seems to me ever threw away so completely, an opportunity, such as occurs to no individual more than once in an age, to make himself revered, and loved by millions, and secure to himself a place and a name in history, more enviable than often falls to the lot of man." John H. Bryant to Trumbull, December 6, 1861. "I must confess I was highly disappointed and so was the country generally, upon the complete non-committal policy of the President as indicated in his Message upon this subject. It seemed to me to be entirely destitute of that high toned sentiment which ought to have pervaded a Message at such a critical period as this." James C. Conkling to Trumbull, December 16, 1861.

control. "Such a Message!" wrote a disgusted abolitionist. "Not *one single manly, bold, dignified* position taking it from beginning to end — No response to the popular feeling — no battlecry to the 500,000 gallant soldiers now in the field, but a tame, timid, timeserving common place sort of an abortion of a Message, cold enough with one breath, to *freeze* h—ll over. I have not seen *one* intelligent man who approves of it. I take it there are none such in the limits of the Free States."[23] "Every one is surprised and disappointed at the Presidents course, the meekness of his Message disgusts the whole of us —" wrote an Aurora physician, "the first man I met after leaving my house this morning, in a rage declared that if a speedy change in views and acts did not soon occur, he hoped some Brutus would arise and love his country more than he did the president."[24] One of Lincoln's supporters hoped that he might show "more backbone," that he might leave Washington without making Buchanan's administration respectable.

To such critics, the only hope of the country seemed to be action by congress. At this very time, indeed, Senator Trumbull of Illinois was pressing a more drastic confiscation measure which would extend freedom to the slaves of persons resisting the union. Trumbull had been one of the five dissenting senators in the extra session of congress in 1861 to vote against the Crittenden resolution on the "nature and object of the war" in which denial was made of any intention of interfering with the domestic institutions in any of the states.[25] This advanced ground seems to have met the silent approval of Illinois republicans; democratic journals tried in vain to arouse conservative republicans to their duty of censuring Trumbull for his conduct.[26] Now, utilizing his extensive experience in feeling the public pulse through a number of personal correspondents, he received almost unanimous assurance that the republican voters of Illinois were with him on this confiscation proposition; their

[23] Shubal York to Trumbull, December 5, 1861.

[24] P. A. Allaire to Trumbull, December 10, 1861.

[25] *Congressional globe*, 37 congress, extra session, 265.

[26] *Illinois State Register*, September 11, 14, 21, 1861. "That Republicans do not do so is only another proof of the necessity of the maintainance of that party organization which does condemn erring public servants even though such be elected by themselves." *Ibid.*, September 21, 1861.

enthusiasm seemed to be enhanced by their disappointment with Lincoln's noncommittal policy. It soon became obvious that Lincoln was opposed to taking the step advocated by Trumbull. To the radical, the administration seemed to be neglecting the very means best calculated to hasten the suppression of the rebellion; it appeared that there was danger of "being sold out to the Slave Power."[27]

J. M. Sturtevant, the president of Illinois college, prayed for the speedy enactment of Trumbull's bill and for its energetic execution by the president. "Why should we pour out our blood for the purpose of holding our fellow men in unrighteous bondage to the enemies of our country and of mankind?" he asked.[28] John Russell, the Bluffdale sage, boldly denounced "the imbecility of President Lincoln." "Is Lincoln infatuated," he wrote Trumbull, February 4, 1862, "that he cannot see that public opinion demands such a measure as your bill proposes and will hold *him* to a fearful responsibility if he fails to exert all his influence in its favor. Nothing is more common than to hear men who did all in their power for the election of Abe Lincoln . . . say that Lincoln has done more to aid Secessia than Jefferson Davis has done. Were the trial made today, Mr. Lincoln could not receive one in ten of the votes given him in Illinois at the late presidential election." The *Chicago Times* and the *State Register* were unable to arouse serious antagonism to "the plot of Trumbull, Sumner, and Co." to array an opposition to the administration's policy in regard to the slaves; both journals agreed that it was "as completely a revolution as the southern rebellion is revolution."[29] Only a few "old line" conservatives seemed to display any enthusiasm for Lincoln's moderate policies.[30]

Ignoring these criticisms Lincoln continued his efforts to attach the border states more securely to the union. He recommended the compensated emancipation of the slaves in the border states in a special message to congress, March 6, and was able to secure from that body a joint resolution favorable to

[27] Wait Talcott to Trumbull, February 4, 1862.

[28] Sturtevant to Trumbull, December 18, 1861.

[29] *Illinois State Register*, December 15, 1861.

[30] William Kellog to J. Gillespie, February 9, 1862, in Autograph collection, Chicago historical society.

such a policy. Although conferences with border-state representatives in March and in July proved fruitless, he again submitted the proposition of compensated emancipation to congress on July 14, recommending the passage of a bill to accomplish that purpose, the draft of which he submitted with his message.[31] This message can be interpreted only as his decision to close that episode; but as subsequently he gave only qualified approval to the second confiscation act, and voiced his objection to its provision for freeing the slaves of persons convicted under the act, the message was interpreted as a continuance of his policy of pampering the border states.[32] Meantime the pressure upon Lincoln in favor of some general emancipation scheme had begun to influence him.[33] His mind was soon at work on this most serious problem of the war. Inclining more and more to the position recommended by the radicals, he refused them the satisfaction of receiving even a hint of the new policy he was considering. His reply to Greeley's plea for emancipation as the prayer of twenty millions was a mere equivocal union-saving pronunciamiento.[34] As late as September 13, 1862, when a committee from the religious denominations of Chicago waited upon him and urged the issue of an emancipation proclamation, he devoted his reply largely to the practical difficulties involved in reaching such a decision and to the uncertainty as to the value of such a course when entered upon. Only in his closing words did he offer a ray of light when he stated: "I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves, but hold the matter under advisement; and I can assure you that the subject is on my mind, by day and night, more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's will, I will do."[35]

Meantime even the more conservative republicans, men who counted all the costs, immediate and future, were becoming convinced that circumstances required prompt action. W. W. Wright, a conservative advocate of negro colonization, painstakingly analyzed all possible consequences that might follow a

[31] *Writings of Abraham Lincoln* (Federal ed.), 6: 87-90, 91, 92.

[32] *Ibid.*, 6: 94-99. These objections were submitted in the form of a proposed veto message which he had originally intended to send in to check this legislation.

[33] *Ibid.*, 6: 104.

[34] *Ibid.*, 6: 123, 124.

[35] *Ibid.*, 6: 135-139.

general emancipation measure; he asked how it might affect the strength and unity of the government at the north, how it might be received by the peaceably disposed citizens of the south, even what should be done with the manumitted slaves; he became more satisfied that the danger would be greater from forbearance than from rigid and stringent action.[36] He recommended congressional action to allow congress to bear its share of the responsibility of dealing with slavery. "If it can [find] authority nowhere else, let it find it under the 'Common defense,' & 'General welfare' clause of the constitution. The nation has a being, an existence — for all practical purposes — as truly & really as an individual. If Slavery is the enemy of its life or likely to prove the instrumentality of its death, let [it] fall back upon the rights of nature, as recognized in the organic law of the land, & smite its enemy to the dust."

The desire to see slavery put in process of extinction was reenforced in Illinois by practical political considerations. Republican leaders felt that it would be fatal to their party for congress to adjourn without aggressive legislation along the line of confiscation and emancipation. Action, however, would place the democrats who condemned the measures in the position of "repealers." So reasoned Joseph Medill of the *Chicago Tribune* when he wrote: "We can make ten times as strong a fight to uphold a measure once passed as to advocate it before it is a law. . . . So of the measures for emancipation and confiscation, let them be passed and then let the Democrats go before the people on the issue of reenslavement."[37] This political analysis was a natural one at a time when there was so much uncertainty with regard to the prowess of the federal armies and with regard to the political future of the republican party.

It was probably only the irony of fate that during this summer, so full of disappointment and uncertainty for the radicals, Lincoln was formulating his plan for the inauguration of the very policy so insistently demanded by them. When the battle of Antietam, therefore, made possible the promulgation of the preliminary emancipation proclamation, the document was received with mingled feelings of surprise, satisfaction, and relief. To some it was a great act of justice, wisdom, and mercy which

[36] W. W. Wright to Trumbull, July 7, 1862.

[37] Medill to Trumbull, June 5, 1862.

would immortalize the name of Abraham Lincoln and save the nation from destruction; others regarded the delay as so serious that, while they rejoiced at the actual course taken, only continued evidence of firmness, self-assertion, and energy on the part of the president could wipe out the disgrace of his protracted inaction.

What, then, was the significance of this failure of Lincoln to follow the pace set for him by the more restless members of the administration party in Illinois? The answer is not easy. The pressure of the radicals seems to have caused the president no serious embarrassment. His negotiations with the slaveholders of the border states seem in no sense to have been interfered with by the impatience of antislavery impossibilists. Consideration of compensated emancipation for the border states, on the other hand, held Lincoln back in the process of reaching a decision in favor of a more comprehensive adjustment of the slavery question to the extent of enabling public opinion, in Illinois at least, to precede him in reaching abolition ground. Here then, perhaps, is a partial explanation of republican reverses in the fall of 1862; Lincoln, eagerly watching for political results from the emancipation proclamation, was disappointed to find so little in the way of substantial appreciation of his action. The real radicals, convinced that they had already waited too long for the awakening of the national administration, felt little real enthusiasm for the belated act of justice; there were many indications that they would demand further proof of the president's intention to continue to offer evidence that his "devotion to the true principle in this great war" was above suspicion.[38] On the other hand, it would seem from Lincoln's slow and hesitating approach toward abolition ground, in spite of this pressure from his personal friends and party associates, that to this body of radicals belongs some share in the responsibility and credit

[38] H. Barber to Trumbull, October 30, 1863. The *Illinois State Register*, January 13, 1863, called attention to radical dissatisfaction with Lincoln: "Though all has been done that these abolition disunionists have required at his hands, and though he is body and soul a revolutionist as zealous as themselves, he has made no friends among them, for the reason that he has not done everything in their particular way, and at their designated moment. They were impressed with the belief that abolishment should be proclaimed when the army was full and vigorous, but he thought it better to proclaim it when the army was exhausted and diminished, and when no more troops could be raised for an abolition war."

for the act which enrolled Lincoln's name among the immortals as the "Great Emancipator."

But radical criticism of Lincoln had not confined itself to condemnation of his slavery policy. Discontented advocates of emancipation claimed to detect the same fatal indecision in the administration's direction of the military operations and in the conduct of diplomatic relations. The direction of the war department seemed from the start to be entirely inefficient and incompetent; this criticism involved an indirect reflection upon the president, although in general republican leaders in Illinois had in mind primarily Secretary of War Cameron, the necessity for whose appointment many of them had regretted from the day of Lincoln's election.[39] Governor Yates, moreover, confessed that his confidence in Lincoln's ability to lead the country to victory was decidedly limited.[40] Even Herndon became disgusted with Lincoln's apparent timidity. "What is Lincoln doing?" he asked. "Does he suppose that he can crush — squelch out this huge rebellion by pop guns filled with rose water? He ought to hang somebody and get up a name for will or decisiveness of character. Let him hang some child or woman, if he has not the courage to hang a *man*."[41]

Illinois republicans showed dissatisfaction, too, with the slight honor conferred upon the state in the matter of higher military appointments. By the summer of 1861, after Illinois had raised ten regiments of regular troops, not a single colonel, lieutenant-colonel, or higher officer had been selected from the state.[42] Meantime the republican state officials at Springfield from Governor Yates down had been making recommendations for the commissioning as brigadier-generals of such Illinoisans as John Pope and John M. Palmer. When finally Lincoln did acknowledge these claims, Palmer was overlooked, in spite of the fact that Senator Trumbull regarded him as "one of the bravest & in my opinion the coolest, most sagacious & ablest of them all."[43]

[39] E. Peck to Trumbull, August 27, 1861.

[40] R. Yates to Trumbull, February 14, 1862.

[41] W. H. Herndon to Trumbull, November 20, 1861.

[42] John Pope to Trumbull, June 16, 1861.

[43] Trumbull to Lincoln, October 1, 1861. Palmer was later commissioned as brigadier-general.

The army, moreover, was diagnosed as having "too much West Point." Keen observers who had occasion to study the graduates of the national military college in their official activities as army officers pronounced them invariably pure theorists totally unfit for any practical work; they seemed, also, "absolutely disgusting in their relations and business with civilians."[44] Senator Trumbull and his friend, Jesse K. Dubois, the state auditor, agreed upon the "imbecility and inertness of West Point." "The more I see of its fruits in this rebellion," wrote Dubois, "the more I am convinced that we will never see the end of it if the control of it is left in their hands and we will be utterly destroyed unless life and energy is inspirited into them or they are made to stand aside and live men are put into the army who will see that we are not destroyed merely to accommodate the 'army regulations.' Better to turn loose our army of volunteers and tell everyone to fight on their own account as [*sic*] to be snared to death by slothfulness or want of common sense."[45] Another critic proposed that "the regular army be separated from the volunteers, let the volunteers put down the rebels while the regulars take care of the old ladies who are prisoners at Washington."[46]

Some critics felt that the officers of higher rank were conservatives too much out of sympathy with the methods best calculated to bring the rebellion to a speedy close; they urged that radical generals like Banks and Sigel be put at the head of the federal columns.[47] Many came, therefore, to despair of success in the struggle; developments seemed to point to a growing dissatisfaction among the republicans of Illinois that might develop into open opposition to the continuance of the war. There was even talk of a possible revolution in the northwest.[48]

The foreign policy of the government was not regarded by these zealous republicans as characterized by a proper dignity.

[44] W. G. Wheaton to Trumbull, January 9, 1862.

[45] J. K. Dubois to Trumbull, January 13, 1862.

[46] W. G. Wheaton to Trumbull, January 9, 1862. One pious noncombatant felt that the people of the north must take the law into their hands; "My only hope," he said, "will be that the Lord will send us another Cromwell to lead his Puritan army." P. A. Allaire to Trumbull, December 10, 1861.

[47] S. S. Enos to Trumbull, July 14, 1862.

[48] S. S. Enos to Trumbull, January 7, July 14, 1862; W. G. Wheaton to Trumbull, January 9, 1862.

The surrender of the confederate diplomats, Mason and Slidell, disappointed some and enraged others. Joseph Gillespie and his friends felt "disgraced, dishonored, and outraged;" he was ready for war with England, "the tyrant of the seas," and charged "the moneyed men of our commercial cities" with holding back out of selfish motives.[49] As new problems arose in our relations with England and France, patriotic Illinoisans besought the government to "have the pluck and backbone to hurl defiance back at them and meet them as becomes a government that has the nerve and ability to protect itself from rebellious foes within, and a tyrannical and insulting enemy."[50]

Even after the definitive emancipation proclamation of January 1, 1863, radical republicans showed dissatisfaction with the kind of advice Lincoln was receiving from his cabinet advisers. "We Republicans in the Northwest," said one, "Wonder and are amazed to see pro Slavery Blair & Bates and envious ambitious Seward retained as chief advisers in the cabinet."[51] Reorganization was urged by another who declared: "For God's sake, let Congress pass a resolution asking the Prest to make Butler Secty. of War, Banks of the Navy, & Fessenden Secty of State, if he will not do it without."[52] Many believed that Lincoln was trying to avoid the full responsibilities of his position; prominent party men held that he lacked positiveness and self-assertion. It was even proposed that a committee of safety should take the management of affairs out of the hands of the government. The rumor circulated that even Senator Trumbull had admitted that the administration was incompetent to put down the rebellion.[53]

[49] J. Gillespie to W. K. Kellogg, December 28, 1861, Autograph collection, Chicago historical society.

[50] *Rock River Democrat*, July 15, 1862.

[51] T. Maple to Trumbull, December 28, 1862. See also *Diary of Gideon Welles, secretary of the navy under Lincoln and Johnson* (Boston, 1911), 2: 77.

[52] Grant Goodrich to Trumbull, January 31, 1863. He continued: "If he will not do this let him make a Democratic cabinet & give them conduct of the war. . . If the Democrats have the power they will offer all [to the south] and more than anyone could ask, & it will be rejected and the country will [be] united. . . We talk of getting up a petition to this effect. Shall we do it?"

[53] Willison Hopkins to Trumbull, February 11, 1863. In a speech at Chicago in 1863 Trumbull went far toward admitting the incompetency of the administration. *Chicago Times* in *Illinois State Register*, June 6, 1863. One of Lincoln's prominent critics sputtered in righteous and uncontrolled indignation at the

The military victories of the summer of 1863 silenced much of this radical criticism of the administration. It promptly recurred, however, when the time approached for the republicans to prepare for the coming presidential election. It soon became evident that many could not see the way clear for the enthusiastic reëlection of the president. Fremont had become a favorite with many, Chase was preferred by others, and Trumbull was mentioned as available in this connection; all three were regarded as more unequivocally devoted to the antislavery cause than was Lincoln. Governor Yates and other members of the state administration were not ready to support Lincoln for the republican nomination;[54] extensive preparations were reported as going on at Springfield to nominate some other man. General Palmer reported that Lincoln was quite without a following in the western army.[55] Senator Trumbull sent word from Washington that few of the prominent republicans there were really for Lincoln's reëlection. "There is a distrust & fear," he wrote, "that he is too undecided & inefficient to put down the rebellion. You need not be surprised if a re-action sets in before the nomination in favor of some man supposed to possess more energy."[56]

A serious consideration in this situation was the need of securing the German vote. This was an important factor in Illinois as it was in Missouri and in some of the other adjacent

situation that had developed: "Our good President needs bracing up: he needs fully to realize that he is the head, not of the CHURCH, the N. T. Dispensation for dispensing unreserved and unlimited love & mercy, to the children of men, and winning them toward it, by absolute nonresistance and boundless forgiveness of enemies of all sorts under the church laws, or N. T. laws of CHRIST the SON: but that he is the head of the STATE, the original Institute of GOD the FATHER, for ADMINISTERING JUSTICE, ETERNAL JUSTICE, by the power of the SWORD, upon all offenders whatever, according to the LAWS of STATE. . . Mr Lincoln dont seem to me to realize this: He seems to imagine that he is a sort of half way clergyman; and even our people & soldiers have the same confused & paralising ideas: Mr Lincoln has nothing whatever, as commander of the army & navy to do with the N. T. He never ought to read it. . . If I could have had my way in the administration of this war, you would not have had a set of Damnd fools in the senate *spouting treason*, and *opening their letters with their teeth* — for they would have had no teeth to open letters with." Jonathan B. Turner to Trumbull, February 1, 1863.

[54] H. Barber to Trumbull, October 30, 1863; G. T. Brown to Trumbull, November 12, 1863.

[55] J. M. Palmer to Trumbull [December, 1863].

[56] Trumbull to H. G. McPike, February 6, 1864.

states. The German voters were generally republicans and many of them radicals. They had been enthusiastic supporters of Fremont and had been enraged at his treatment at the hands of the president.[57] They grew steadily bolder in their opposition to Lincoln and were encouraged by such papers as the *Missouri Democrat* and the *Chicago Telegraph*.[58] In many instances early announcements had been made of their inability to support Lincoln's reëlection. At the opening of the canvass they busied themselves with the organization of Fremont clubs. The *Illinois Staatszeitung*, to be sure, did urge an endorsement of Lincoln but this action was explained by the Fremont following as having been accomplished by flattery and official favors. Through the columns of the *Mississippi Blätter* many Germans announced their loss of faith in Lincoln and declared their unwillingness to be led or coaxed into the Lincoln camp.[59] The *Highland Union*, a German republican paper, hoisted the Fremont banner. The *Blätter*, March 6, 1864, endorsed the sentiment of the *Indiana Freie Presse*: "We cannot and dare not vote for Lincoln, unless we are willing to participate in the betrayal of the republic, unless we are willing to remain for all future the most despicable step-children of the nation."

Lincoln's many "blunders" made some republican leaders skeptical of his availability as the republican nominee; they were not sure, however, that the party could unite on any one candidate. In order to prevent what seemed certain defeat, it was suggested that the national convention designate five or six presidential candidates, that each state put up their 1860 republican electoral tickets and have every voter instruct the electors by writing in the name of his choice; in this way it was expected that the friends of each candidate would work with zeal and energy.[60] In general, however, sentiment grew that the party

[57] G. Koerner to Trumbull, November 18, December 12, 1861; *Illinois State Register*, October 7, 1861.

[58] See *Chicago Times*, March 28, May 3, 1864. After the convention of radicals at Cleveland nominated Fremont and Cochrane, the *Peoria Zeitung* placed this ticket at the head of its columns and avowed its determination to support it during the campaign, declaring that though these candidates might not succeed in being elected they would at least be able to bring about Lincoln's defeat. *Illinois State Register*, June 14, 1864.

[59] *Mississippi Blätter*, February 14, 1863; March 13, 20, April 10, 1864.

[60] W. T. Baldwin to Trumbull, April 4, 1864.

could ill afford to refuse Lincoln the nomination; it seemed expedient to acquiesce in the necessity of taking the lesser of the two evils; Lincoln might not win, but anyone else was even less likely to succeed. This was one of the considerations which made the republican state convention at Springfield, after a display of serious ill-feeling between the Lincoln and the Fremont delegates, adopt a set of resolutions endorsing Lincoln's claim for reëlection.[61]

By this time the radicals had already held an independent nominating convention at Cleveland in which Fremont and Cochrane were nominated as the true champions of freedom and the union. This cleared the republican ranks of a large group of obstructionists who had given up hopes of securing anything from that organization. The result was that the situation was rendered more favorable for Lincoln's nomination at the regular republican or union convention in June. Chase still canvassed his chances, and his followers did not give up the field until an examination of the political situation at Washington on the eve of the Baltimore convention indicated the hopelessness of his aspirations.[62] The convention, however, was devoid of enthusiasm and there was much evidence that it acted out of a sense of duty.

Lincoln's nomination did not clear the way for victory. Nothing seemed to go satisfactorily during the summer months. On the sea no progress was made by the union navy; attempts to capture confederate commerce raiders and blockade-runners uniformly failed. Land operations seemed to meet with even less success. The first week in July saw a small confederate force under General Early move successfully up the Shenandoah valley ready to strike at Washington. When it attacked the chief defenses of the capital the federal forces were easily defeated; the confederates "might easily have captured Washington" had they followed up their advantage.[63] Even after this danger was over, Grant's attempted offensive failed to secure satisfactory results. Men and money seemed to have been squandered without result. Gold reached the highest point paid

[61] *Carthage Republican*, June 2, 1864.
[62] *Diary of Gideon Welles*, 2: 44, 45.
[63] *Ibid.*, 2: 73.

during the war. Congress set aside a day for fasting, humiliation, and prayer.

The Fremont imbroglio rent the membership of the party. Lincoln's nomination was explained as the work of the spoilsmen: officeholders and contractors. In vain did the moderates praise the president and appeal for union and harmony. Then came Lincoln's break with the republican radicals over reconstruction; the radical leaders issued a manifesto denouncing the president and crying out their defiance.

With all these elements of weakness in the administration party, it seemed to be doomed. Prominent supporters of Lincoln in Illinois, like E. B. Washburne, agreed with their associates elsewhere that they were fighting a losing battle. The republican national executive committee notified Lincoln of his probable defeat. Lincoln resigned himself to his fate and prepared "to so cooperate with the President-elect as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration."[64] Democratic unity and enthusiasm at the Chicago convention late in August seemed to remove all shadow of doubt. Some Illinois republicans who watched these developments felt no qualms about suggesting that Lincoln ought to withdraw.[65] Others, though tried by Lincoln's course, made up their minds that the country could not risk a change of president—with all that would follow with it—and so supported him without enthusiasm.[66]

Just at this crisis came the news of wonderful military and naval successes won by Sherman, Sheridan, and Farragut, news which the republicans capitalized politically at its fullest value. Here was proof that the war was not a failure, as the democrats had been repeating; predictions were common that there would follow a prompt suppression of the rebellion. Republicans took heart in the political campaign; they could now be jubilant over

[64] *Writings of Abraham Lincoln* (Federal ed.), 7: 196, 197.

[65] Gershom Martin to Trumbull, September 3, 1864: "I write you to have you use your influence to have Lincoln's name withdrawn. . . Lincoln's course has not only dissatisfied but *embittered* thousands of Republicans, particularly Germans, against him; the Fremont party and the Chase and Wade-Davis movement, and the anti-slavery dissatisfaction in New England weakens him greatly; there is no enthusiam for him and cannot be."

[66] G. T. Allen to Trumbull, October 4, 1864.

military victories even though Lincoln's name failed to arouse enthusiasm. And so they finished the campaign.

Fremont was induced to withdraw from the canvass in return for the administration's sacrifice of Postmaster-General Blair, the conservative.[67] The canvass developed no new enthusiasm for Lincoln. The best that could be said for him was that he was at heart honest; the strongest argument for his reëlection was that it was best to let "well enough alone."[68] The radicals swung into line out of mere expediency. They tried to convince themselves that Blair's resignation cleared up the situation. At any rate, it now seemed certain that Lincoln was going to be elected; they did not dare to be counted among his opponents. Even the German-Americans went with the tide. The signs of the October state elections were fulfilled in November when Lincoln, admittedly beaten in September, was returned an easy victor.

The radicals interpreted the closing months of the campaign as a truce with conservative republicanism; after the election they again felt free to criticise and even to condemn. Lincoln regarded his reëlection as evidence of a popular readiness for abolition; his assistance in pressing through congress the proposed thirteenth amendment naturally met the approval of the radicals. Reconstruction, however, was coming forward as the leading issue in national politics and there were many evidences that Lincoln was bound to a policy of extreme generosity to the south while the radicals sought to apply a vindictive policy to the section which they felt had caused the nation irreparable woe. In the earliest stages of the war Illinois radicals worked out their own state-suicide and conquered-province theories of reconstruction. They supported the Wade-Davis measure of 1864 and had regretted its defeat by Lincoln. If they were to be given continued satisfaction, accordingly, the situation required of Lincoln serious changes in his own views, changes he was not as yet ready to make. The closing weeks of his life, therefore, were weeks of extreme uncertainty. Criticism was rife to such

[67] In withdrawing Fremont insisted that he still considered that Lincoln's administration "has been politically, militarily, and financially a failure and that its necessary continuance is cause of regret for the country."

[68] *Champaign Union and Gazette*, October 14, 1864.

an extent that harmonious coöperation with congress was doubtful.

Lincoln's last official statement, made on April 11, 1865, contained evidence of an intention to make some change in policy —whether to the satisfaction of the radicals or in open defiance to their demands cannot be said. But the hand of Providence, which placed a martyr's crown upon his troubled brow, rescued him from the dilemma in which he found himself and saved him from possible estrangement from the people of the north and their representatives.

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THE COLLAPSE OF THE CONFEDERACY [1]

It has been customary for writers to account for the collapse of the southern confederacy by reason of exhaustion and strangulation due to the successful operation of the federal "anaconda" system. While the effectiveness of the northern military and naval strategy cannot be denied, there are other factors that tended powerfully to supplement this and these factors are becoming increasingly the subject of careful investigation.

It has well been stated that France in the present great war is in almost perfect state of defense. Every element of her strength is directed to that end, every private interest has been brushed aside in the face of the great menace and a wonderfully united people are fighting to the death. The south, it should be appreciated, was never in that situation. No one can deny that many of her generals possessed fine capacity or can assert that her armies were lacking in valor; but there were some things that she sorely needed which were almost as important as efficient generals and hard-fighting troops. Had she possessed those things, it is doubtful if she could ever have been conquered.

In this study an attempt has been made to point out certain vital weaknesses in the confederate defense which were not preëminently of a military character but which affected profoundly the military fortunes of the south. The factors here to be analyzed are those which may be considered essentially psychological in nature. At least four psychological conditions, it may be suggested, should be satisfied in order to allow a people to prosecute with maximum efficiency any great armed conflict. First, there should be leadership of such a character as to inspire the highest confidence; second, the circumstances giving rise to the struggle should be such as to make a profound appeal to a people's sense of righteousness; third, the end to be achieved should be clear and definite and worthy of any sacrifice; fourth, there should exist a whole-souled consecration of the people them-

[1] Read at the annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association in Chicago, April 27, 1917.

selves to whatever end they have in view. It is proposed to examine the confederate defense, to determine, if possible, how far these psychological conditions were fulfilled.

In taking up for consideration the factor of leadership, it may be stated, first of all, that the sharpest controversies arising out of the creation and the subsequent downfall of the confederacy have to do with the question of Jefferson Davis' capacity to direct southern affairs. It is not too much to say that practically every issue that confronted the south from 1849 to 1865 is most intimately connected with his name. The problem of the expansion of slavery westward; the attitude that the southern states should take toward the abolition propaganda; their attitude toward the republican party; the momentous decision in favor of secession; the relations of the confederate government to the states within it, to the army that fought for it, to the foreign powers that might have recognized it, and to the federal government that at last overwhelmed it, can only be studied in connection with the positive and powerful influence which Mr. Davis exerted upon the course of events as a leader of southern thought.[2] It should be made clear that the south had had every opportunity to study and to learn to know the man that she chose to carry her through the secession crisis. Ever since the days of the Prentiss debate in Vicksburg courtyard in 1843, he had been a marked man. It must therefore be taken for granted that when his name was brought forward in the Montgomery convention the majority of the delegates, at least, were convinced that taking everything into consideration he was the best qualified man available for the presidency. The question arises, what type of man was Mr. Davis in the light of his presecession record?

It is not easy to decide what conceptions formed the basis of Mr. Davis' political faith.[3] He was hardly a nationalist, he

[2] The supposition that Davis' influence upon southern affairs first became pronounced when he was made president is erroneous. As Rhodes has pointed out, Davis was considered to be the ablest senator from the south. James F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the compromise of 1850* (New York, 1893-1906), 2: 294.

[3] Mr. N. W. Stephenson in a recent study has developed the theory that Mr. Davis did not understand himself. "His political philosophy is not a true vehicle for his basal impulses — as Calhoun's was, as Webster's was — but a mere weapon caught ready to his hand from the hands of its makers, the men whom it genuinely ex-

was hardly a states' rights man; passionately devoted to the institution of slavery, which he called a "divine institution,"[4] he would have sacrificed it in his effort to build a strong southern nation, the basis of which should rest upon extreme states' rights principles!

Mr. Davis first came into political prominence as an ardent supporter and disciple of Calhoun. In his memoirs, however, he declared that nullification was "a doctrine to which I have never assented."[5] Calhoun without nullification, in the early forties as well as in the thirties, was almost like playing *Hamlet* without Hamlet. While repudiating nullification, if we can believe his own words, he curiously enough had so sympathized with South Carolina in her effort to exploit that doctrine that he would have torn up his lieutenant's commission in 1832 rather than be a party to coercing her.[6] Neither was there agreement between Calhoun and Davis regarding the war with Mexico nor with reference to internal improvements. Thus while acknowledging Calhoun as the source of his political inspiration, Jefferson Davis up until the late forties appeared to repudiate the most characteristic Calhoun theories and policies.

This inconsistency of attitude appeared also in the positions that at various times he assumed regarding the powers of the president. At one moment he attacked Polk for executive usurpation in bringing on war with Mexico;[7] but he soon not only turned to his defense but enlisted. After the war, in answer to an attack upon Polk by Calhoun, he declared himself, for one, "willing to leave every military question to the President and his advisers;" and "outdid the Federalists of 1789 in ascribing powers to the President."[8] Yet, when Polk appointed him brigadier-general of volunteers for distinguished military service, he refused the honor, declaring that the president had no author-

pressed." N. W. Stephenson, "A theory of Jefferson Davis," in *American historical review*, 21: 85.

[4] Speech in Jackson, Mississippi, October 14, 1857.

[5] Jefferson Davis, *The rise and fall of the confederate government* (New York, 1881), 1: 230.

[6] See *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, July 13, 1850.

[7] For a careful discussion of this see William E. Dodd, *Jefferson Davis* (Philadelphia, 1907), 77 *et seq.*

[8] *Ibid.*, 99.

ity to make such appointments.[9] The same shiftiness characterized him during the crisis of 1849. After Calhoun's "Southern Address," Mr. Davis advocated secession unless the demands of the southern states of 36° 30′ to the Pacific coast were met. Although these demands were denied and he ran for governor on an avowedly secessionist ticket, he felt compelled during the campaign to disavow his position and to declare that there was no occasion as yet for secession. His record in the Kansas-Nebraska issue is still more astonishing. In 1854 he personally conducted Douglas to President Pierce to secure the support of the latter in the repeal of the Missouri compromise and the substitution of the doctrine of squatter sovereignty in its place.[10] Later, he denied that he had ever favored this plan and denounced Douglas for devising it. Moreover, as a member of the Pierce cabinet he lent his support as far as possible to the border Missourians in their attempt to destroy local government in Kansas, exhibiting, as Rhodes says, an utter lack of fairness; but soon afterwards he fell back upon the most uncompromising state sovereignty position. In fact, down to the very hour of the Montgomery convention, Mr. Davis' public career had been an amazing tangle of marches and countermarches. He was, however, consistent in one respect and that was in his support of whatever he thought to be southern interests. Whenever he saw these interests imperiled he was disposed to go to extremes and he not infrequently gave his support to operations which were exceedingly questionable in character.[11]

There were times, it is true, when a big outlook appeared to animate Mr. Davis. In connection with the river and harbor bill in 1846, in his position on the Oregon question, and in his desire to bind the union together by a band of steel, he showed a large and fine patriotism. But one can hardly avoid the conclusion that he was gradually drawn into the meshes of a blind sectionalism which at last shut out any vision of national welfare and which dwarfed what native capacity he might have possessed for sane leadership. In serving his section, he turned his back

[9] Davis, *Rise and fall of the confederate government*, 1: 360.

[10] Rhodes, *History of the United States from the compromise of 1850*, 1: 425-437.

[11] Not only has his conduct been severely condemned in connection with the Kansas issue, but there seems to be substantial proof that while secretary of war he gave his personal support to both the Quitman and Walker filibustering enterprises.

upon statesmanship and embraced a bold opportunism; it is hard to see how this could be done by any man without violating certain of the finer qualities of his nature. In saying this, it is not to be inferred that Jefferson Davis was at all unique in this respect; others in the north, the west, and the south, before and since, have gone off on the bypaths of political expediency. What should be made clear is that the south in the hour of her great crisis felt impelled to lean heavily upon a man of this type. To the southerner who had been able to follow critically and unemotionally Mr. Davis' presecession career, there might well have appeared something ominous in his selection for the presidency.

What served to commend the ex-senator for the post, however, was that he had won his way among men of ability to a position of almost unquestioned leadership in southern affairs; he possessed military training and experience; his practical knowledge of the details of government was a valuable asset to the confederacy; and he was respected for his personal purity, manliness, and courage. He was, moreover, considered to be among the more conservative of the secessionists in 1861.[12]

What now may be said regarding the circumstances that gave rise to the war for separation?

In considering these circumstances it can clearly be appreciated that the south was laboring under a heavy handicap. She was standing in the middle of the nineteenth century in defense of certain property rights and of her unique social order; in doing this she was continually repelling with ever-increasing warmth various accusations which enemies of the slave régime were constantly hurling at her. Like those today who are interested in the sale of intoxicants, she was kept on the defense and like them she sought high moral and spiritual grounds in rebuttal. Unfortunately, she was standing for property rights as against particular human rights which an ever-increasingly large number of people throughout the world passionately believed in; that was a most serious element of weak-

[12] Mr. O. R. Singleton, writing in 1877 of the Mississippi conference held in 1861, says: "The debate lasted many hours and Mr. Davis, with perhaps one other gentleman in that conference opposed immediate and separate state action, declaring himself opposed to secession as long as the hope of a peaceable remedy remained." See Davis, *Rise and fall of the confederate government*, 1: 59.

ness in her cause. Anglo-Saxon legal history has shown that, buttressed as property is in the foundations of our English common law, invariably property rights have had to give way to so-called human rights in any really decisive conflict.

It has been recognized that southern leaders before the war not only had turned their backs upon certain world-wide ideals but also upon the fairest traditions of southern history.[13] When among leading southerners the broad humanitarianism of Jefferson, Washington, Madison, and John Randolph was repudiated, together with the idealism of the declaration of independence, there must have followed a serious loss of moral energy. How otherwise can one account for the sanction given by plantation owners to the vast, illicit, foreign slave trade of the fifties, carried on by lawless skippers hailing from the northern seaports? How otherwise can one explain the support given in congress and out of the western Missouri element which brazenly defied all those democratic principles of government which the south since the days of Jefferson had contended were so precious? The fact is, that the south, after the invention of the cotton gin, gradually became as truly enslaved to a set of ideas, social and economic, which taken together made up the southern "system" as were the blacks themselves. It was "the system" that drove men to this opportunism. Yet, under the tremendous pressure of environmental forces, can it be reasonably doubted that had the Huguenot fugitives landed in Massachusetts Bay and the Puritans at Charleston, the former would have become the advocates of national emancipation and the latter the exponents of the theory that slavery was a divinely ordained and established institution?

It should be understood that no attempt is being made to contrast the moral qualities and ideals of the north and the south. If the present generation of Americans would not tolerate negro slavery they would look with little favor upon the heartless exploitation of almost millions of workers who swarmed in the great mill centers of the north during that period.[14] Indeed, as

[13] It may also be true that the seeds of secession can be traced back to the extreme particularism of early southern statesmen.

[14] There are many facts to illustrate the condition of the mill hands in Carroll D. Wright, *The factory system* (Report on the manufactures of the United States at the tenth census, Washington, 1883). See also his *Industrial evolution of the*

Mr. Dodd has pointed out, the lot of the slave "under the pressure of outside criticism and the influence of religion" was growing better while that of the mill hand was becoming more unhappy in many respects. As an example of the actual advantages of the slave over the mill hand, he says: "Against accident and disease more precautions were taken by masters of plantations than by masters of mills. . ."[15] If the north under fire of southern criticism had attempted to break up the union for the sake of preserving this grinding factory system, it also would have labored under a most serious handicap. It was the misfortune of the south to be plunged into war over the issue of slavery. It could not appeal to all men of southern feeling especially under the given circumstances of secession. A serious and rational provocation was lacking. How differently would the south have been answered in its appeal for help had the northern radicals, for example, been able in 1860 to carry a constitutional amendment providing not only for the freedom of the slaves but also for their enfranchisement? Would not every man in the south have sprung to arms determined to fight to the bitter end? Would not Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and southern Indiana and southern Illinois have poured their legions into the lap of the confederacy? Would not there have been created within the new government a degree of zeal that would have made the south literally unconquerable? But there was no such issue.

The third psychological condition which, it was suggested, should be realized in order to give to a people in a great armed

United States (New York, 1907); Reverend Henry A. Miles, *Lowell as it was and as it is* (Lowell, 1845); J. L. Bishop, *A history of American manufacture* (Philadelphia, 1861). The works, however, in the main defend the ante-bellum factory system.

That the lot of the slave was not an unhappy one, as a rule, is evidenced by such northern writers as Frederick Law Olmstead who traveled extensively in the south. See his *Journey in the seaboard slave states* (New York, 1853) and his *Journey in the back country* (New York, 1860). Doubtless many a slave would have preferred his easy-going plantation life, where he was sheltered from the tragic vicissitudes of a cruel competitive régime, to an existence in the narrow lanes of the tenement section of a northern industrial center with its squalor and woe.

[15] "Under the English common law accidents in the mills were matters of concern only to the employees, and the human toll of the railways was enormous. Years of toil, a worn-out frame, a dependent old age, and finally the potter's field was the weary round of life to the millions of dependent people who swarmed about the industrial centers." William E. Dodd, *Expansion and conflict* (New York, 1815), 210-211.

conflict maximum energy and enthusiasm, was that the end to be achieved should be clear and definite and worthy of any sacrifice.

Why did the south secede? Her leaders in congress avowed that it was for nothing other than the protection of states' rights, which should be given full recognition in the new government to be created. Yet, must there not have been a lack of fine intellectual sincerity behind the promises of these leaders that in seceding from the union the south would be able upon the basis of extreme states' rights theory to build a nation that would not crumble to pieces under the first severe strain and leave that section plunged in the midst of anarchy? But it should be pointed out that many reasons and aims were advanced by southerners as justification for secession; indeed there was no little confusion with reference to the purposes of this movement. J. B. Jones, editor of the *Southern Monitor*, wrote regarding secession: "The time had apparently come for us to set up for ourselves, and we should have done it if there had been no such thing as state sovereignty." He further declared that many "are inclined to think the safest plan would be to obliterate state lines and merge them all into an indivisible nation or empire, else there may be incessant conflicts between the different sovereignties themselves, and between them and the general government." This plan he heartily approved, adding this significant statement, "It is true, states' rights gave the states the right to secede. But, what is in a name?"[16]

If one can accept the conclusions of Gamaliel Bradford, it would appear that Lee, the darling of the confederacy, never knew what he was fighting for except that he must defend his native state Virginia and be true to the trust that the confederacy had placed upon him. There is evidence that even before his first invasion of the north he would have welcomed a peace that would have honorably restored the southern states to the union.[17] He had freed himself from the charge of slaveholding and the idea that he was fighting to preserve slavery would have been well-nigh abhorrent to him. Yet R. M. T. Hunter, one of

[16] John B. Jones, *A rebel war clerk's diary at the Confederate States capital* (Philadelphia, 1866), 1: 24.

[17] Gamaliel Bradford, "Robert E. Lee," in the *Atlantic monthly*, 107: 67. Reprinted in *Confederate portraits* (New York, 1914).

the ablest Virginians, was convinced that the war was fought over that very issue. In the confederate senate in 1864 in opposing Mr. Davis' emancipation scheme, he demanded to know why it was that the south went to war unless it was to maintain its property in slaves.[18] That Virginia went into the struggle for this reason is, however, denied by Mrs. Pryor, who with her husband, Senator Roger Pryor, embraced the southern cause in 1861. In her *Reminiscences* she contends that Virginia left the union and joined the confederacy because she was called upon by President Lincoln to help subjugate the cotton states. Up to that time, according to Mrs. Pryor, Virginia was loyal to the union and it was her sympathy for states' rights which led her to secede.[19] This view has also lately been developed by Beverly B. Munford in his volume on Virginia and secession.[20] But was Virginia simply standing for the integrity of state sovereignty as against national encroachment? Does it seem likely that the Old Dominion state would have seceded if she had been called upon to help subjugate her daughter state Ohio, had the latter, under the influence of Wade and Chase, decided to leave the union for the purpose of setting up a national government which prohibited slavery?

While it is true that such men as Stephens and Rhett were blindly devoted to states' rights conceptions, how different was the attitude of such men as J. B. Jones with his imperial views and Jefferson Davis who "in the interests of the South as a whole . . . would destroy an individual Southern state as ruthlessly as, in the interests of the Union as a whole, Webster might have done so!"[21]

[18] See D. R. Anderson, "Robert Mercer Galiaferro Hunter," in *John P. Branch historical papers of Randolph-Macon college*, 2: no. 2, for facts regarding Hunter's career in the confederate senate.

[19] Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, *Reminiscences of peace and war* (New York, 1904), 124. But as testimony contradictory to this R. M. T. Hunter, replying to those who feared that Virginia would not secede, declared: "You may place your little hand against Niagara with more certainty of staying the torrent than you can oppose this movement." *Ibid.* Indeed Roger Pryor, who went to South Carolina from Virginia, promised the Carolinians that the firing on Sumter would carry Virginia from the union. As it were for a seal of faith, Ruffin, the ardent Virginia secessionist, was allowed to fire the first gun against the fort.

[20] *Virginia's attitude toward slavery and secession* (New York, 1909).

[21] Stephenson, "A theory of Jefferson Davis," in *American historical review*, 21: 84.

Is it not apparent that the purposes behind this grave step were not sufficiently clear and definite? Granted that they were included in that large expression "the protection of Southern interests," were there not many diverse opinions among southern people as to just what those interests were and how best they could be served?

The fourth important psychological condition that manifestly should be realized by a nation hoping to carry forward with maximum efficiency a great armed conflict, is the whole-souled consecration of the people themselves to the desired end. Even if the leadership were excellent, and the circumstances giving rise to the struggle such as to make a profound appeal to fundamental justice and the ends to be attained ever so clear and laudable, there would yet be something of tremendous value lacking if those who were involved were unable to dedicate themselves completely to the task of maintaining the government responsible for leading them successfully to a realization of their hopes.

The confederacy started out with the appearance of great unanimity, but this did not last long. The delegates to the constituent convention, aside from suggesting for consideration the names of Robert Toombs and Howell Cobb for the presidency, did not hesitate long before deciding upon Mr. Davis, who, desiring military glory in the coming war, reluctantly accepted the post of chief executive. Beneath the smooth surface, however, there was the stirring of waters; for, while everyone appeared to be gratified, there were heartburnings and jealousies over that choice which never healed. Such aggressively ambitious men as William L. Yancey of Alabama, Robert Barnwall Rhett of South Carolina, and Robert Toombs of Georgia could not easily be appeased. But, for a time, all was fair. Yancey welcomed the president-elect to Montgomery and Rhett welcomed him in the name of the convention, while Toombs gracefully accepted the highest post of honor in the cabinet. Yancey, also, was quieted temporarily by an appointment as commissioner to England. Although the newly elected vice president, Alexander H. Stephens, had ardently desired that Toombs should receive the highest office in the gift of the people, he also appeared at first well-disposed toward the recipient of that high honor.

The president, indeed, began his administration on a wave of popularity. Colonel Freemantle of the English Coldstream Guards, who was in the south at the beginning of the war, wrote regarding the general feeling toward Jefferson Davis, "People speak of any misfortune happening to him as an irreparable evil, too dreadful to contemplate."[22] His first responsibility was the selection of a cabinet. In doing this, he showed a desire to win the support of those who had not been hearty secessionists. Practically every portfolio, except that of the secretaryship of state, was tendered to a member of the more conservative group. Some of these appointees were distinctly unpopular in their own states. This was Mr. Davis' first grave mistake; other means should have been taken to satisfy the conservatives. He had no illusions as to the possibility of a peaceable establishment of the confederacy; all his previous utterances point to the fact that he anticipated a long and bloody war. How could he expect that these men who were timid and hesitating in thought and action would be able to develop the necessary energy to put the young nation in a proper state of defense? There was not a moment to spare; the task was gigantic; yet even the secretary of war, Leroy P. Walker, the man who above every one else should have seen the importance of mobilizing the entire resources of the south with greatest dispatch, actually went up and down Alabama boasting that he would wipe up with his handkerchief all the blood that would be shed![23] All the cotton bales in Alabama would not have sufficed! It would appear that at the first cabinet meeting Attorney-General Judah P. Benjamin was the only man who saw the seriousness of the situation or who expected a hard fight, and who had a plan to suggest whereby the confederacy might be saved.[24] The other members went so far as practically to ridicule the idea that a great war was upon them. Imagine the paralyzing effect of this attitude!

Another serious error that the president made was in offering to Yancey, the Alabama fire eater, the mission to London. Yan-

[22] Lieutenant-Colonel Freemantle, *Three months in the southern states, April, May and June, 1863* (New York, 1863), 214. Colonel Freemantle was charmed by Mr. Davis' personality.

[23] Pierce Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin* (Philadelphia, [1907]), 232.

[24] *Ibid.*

cey, with his radical ways, was not fitted "in the remotest degree for the delicate and all-important duties of Confederate diplomacy."[25] When too late Yancey himself came to appreciate this fact. It would certainly appear that a group of the most thoughtful and cultured men of the Robert Barnwall and R. M. T. Hunter type should have been selected at this time for the mission to England. They would have done much undoubtedly to inspire confidence among the influential in the southern program. They might possibly have thoroughly checkmated the shrewd moves of Charles Francis Adams and Robert J. Walker, the northern representatives in England, and thus have enlisted the financial support of Lombard street to such an extent that sufficient pressure would have been brought to bear upon the government to insure recognition of the confederacy. But Yancey at St. James' was impossible.[26]

The question of places and appointments was one that presented to Mr. Davis extraordinary difficulties and resulted in a vast amount of discord. It was a serious problem for Lincoln, but Lincoln's problem was comparatively simple as compared to that which confronted the confederate president. It probably would be little of an exaggeration to say that practically every southern man of prominence expected distinguished recognition of some sort on the part of the new government. The act of Robert Barnwall in refusing the secretaryship-of-state must be regarded as most exceptional. The ignoring of such a man as Rhett and the adding of insult to injury by the appointment of a political enemy such as C. G. Memminger to high office could have but one result. As Barnwall put it, "Rhett had howled nullification so long, he felt that he had a vested right to leadership."[27] What was needed was a spirit of self-abnegation; but

[25] Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*, 228. With Yancey was associated P. A. Rost and A. Dudley Mann.

[26] For facts regarding Yancey see John W. DuBose, *Life and times of William Lowndes Yancey: a history of political parties in the United States, from 1834 to 1864, especially as to the origin of the Confederate States* (Birmingham, 1892); William G. Brown, *The lower south in American history* (New York, 1902); and Joseph Hodgson, *The cradle of the confederacy; or, the times of Troup, Quitman and Yancey; a sketch of southwestern political history from the formation of the federal government to A. D. 1861* (Mobile, 1876).

[27] *A diary from Dixie, as written by Mary Boykin Chesnut, wife of James Chesnut, jr., United States senator from South Carolina, 1859-1861, and afterward an aide*

that grace was lacking. That this was so, however, should hardly cause surprise. Almost from childhood, as a rule, southern men of the leading families had been accustomed to command and exact obedience from others.[28]

It is important to bear in mind that leaders in southern affairs, as a class, had developed a habit of opposition and self-assertiveness which had become almost fundamental to many of them. To such men as Yancey, Rhett, Toombs, John M. Daniel, and Henry S. Foote, bitter opposition to government was the normal thing. The government might change but opposition still

to Jefferson Davis and a brigadier-general in the confederate army (Martin and Avary ed. — New York, 1905), 104.

The following letter written from Charleston, South Carolina, May 21, 1863, by A. A. McBryde excellently illustrates the attitude of mind displayed by far too many southerners:

To the Confederate Secretary of State,
Richmond, Va.

Sir: I respectfully desire to be sent to Great Britain by the Confederate government as Secret Agent for formenting and keeping up in those Islands, and consequently in other European States, a political feeling favorable to the welfare and interests of the Confederacy.

. . . . . .

I would like an early reply from the Department. If you should determine *not* to give me the appointment, just say so, and bestow it on a Virginian of course — and *after* the war let South Carolina shoulder the Confederate Debt.

Please address me for three months to come at Randelsville, N. Carolina.

I am, Sir,
With High Regards,
Arch'd Arne McBryde

P. S. Please reply immediately, inclose my commission, my instructions, and a draft on some Confederate depository for the funds necessary for reaching Europe and my residence there. A. A. McB.

This letter is found on page 134 of applications for office, Pickett papers in the library of congress.

[28] Perhaps no one had a better opportunity to observe the effects of this attitude of mind on the fortunes of the government than Mrs. James Chesnut, who with her husband enjoyed the confidence of the highest confederate officials. In her *Diary from Dixie* time and time again she refers to the formidable aspect of this problem for the administration. Mr. Davis was literally hounded by crowds of men each desiring through some avenue or other to take charge of the government affairs. Many, such as ex-Senator Wigfall of Texas, became bitterly hostile when the president would not go into leading strings to them. See also Mrs. Varina H. Davis, *Jefferson Davis, ex-president of the Confederate States of America; a memoir by his wife* (New York, [1890]); Jones, *A rebel clerk's diary*; Jefferson Davis, *A short history of the Confederate States of America* (New York, 1890); Frank H. Alfriend, *Life of Jefferson Davis* (Philadelphia, 1868), besides the applications for office in the Pickett papers.

continues. What does this point to? Surely nothing other than a "personalism" that had grown out of all social bounds. The following pen picture of a southern plantation lord left by a contemporary adequately illustrates this point:

"Colonel Chesnut now ninety-three, blind and deaf, is apparently as strong as ever and certainly as resolute of will. Partly patriarch, partly grand seigneur, this old man is of a species that we will see no more — the last of a race of lordly planters who ruled this Southern world, but now a splendid wreck. His manners are unequalled still, but underneath the smooth exterior lies the grip of a tyrant whose will has never been crossed."[29]

As long as any section of the republic was dominated by men who never knew what submission to the will of another meant, could the United States ever be a nation in the sense of a body of people submitting themselves to great common purposes and ideals? More than that, could any government hope to thrive planted in the midst of such a social régime? Did not that masterful spirit of individualism, fostered by the patriarchal type of life developed in the south, speed, through secession, toward the only possible goal prepared for it, its self destruction? The antebellum south differed in many respects from the south that survived the war; it was not only different on account of the altered status of the blacks and by reason of the general desolation, but also because of the fact, mournfully engraved upon the records of those times, that the most imperious of the defenders of that old individualism, those untamed, fiery men who had rushed to arms at the first bugle call, were almost wiped out of existence on a hundred bloody fields.

It is not surprising, therefore, in view of this extreme "personalism," to read in Mrs. Chesnut's diary that already in July, 1861, "this cabinet of ours are in such bitter quarrels among themselves — everybody abusing everybody"[30] and then again, that "there is a perfect magazine of discord and disunion in the cabinet." Indeed, it is surprising what pluck the south showed in keeping up the struggle as she did in spite of this fearful

[29] *A diary from Dixie, as written by Mary Boykin Chesnut*, 390, 391. "Slavery, by building up a ruling and dominant class had produced a spirit of oligarchy adverse to republican institutions, which finally inaugurated the Civil War." *Report of the joint committee on reconstruction*, 39 congress, 1 session, xiv.

[30] *Ibid.*, 90.

drawback of everybody's trying to be master. When the members of the cabinet found out that there was a will above them more domineering than any of their own, the more high-spirited withdrew; others were withdrawn. President Davis was obliged to appoint five times a secretary of war. But nothing put a stop to the incessant discords within the cabinet. The public, in fact, was fed upon this lack of unity.

Secretary of State Robert Toombs set an example of incorrigible independence to the others by committing the unpardonable breach of official etiquette in openly and insolently denouncing the war policy of the government.[31] Soon afterwards he withdrew in scorn from this post of intolerable subordination to the chief executive to seek laurels on the battlefield. "Incompatibility of temper" was the explanation offered by a contemporary who was acquainted with the facts in the case. "Mr. Toombs rides too high a horse; that is, for so despotic a person as Jeff Davis."[32] But Toombs in the army was just as unhappy and unmanageable as in the cabinet; he stormed at his superior officers when he was crossed, occasionally disobeyed direct orders, and even had the audacity to challenge his commanding officer, D. H. Hill, to a duel. By the middle of 1862, one who knew him well wrote, "Toombs is ready for another revolution and curses freely everything Confederate from the President down to a horse boy. He thinks there is a conspiracy against him in the army."[33] After Antietam he threw up his commission in the army and retired to Georgia to make war on the administration.[34]

[31] Jones, *A rebel clerk's diary*. "He shows Toombs at the war office, while Secretary of State, pouring out his views. He was bold even to rashness in his denunciations of the manly defensive. He was for making war as terrible as possible from the beginning." Gamaliel Bradford, "Robert Toombs," in *Atlantic monthly*, 112: 216.

[32] *A diary from Dixie, as written by Mary Boykin Chesnut*, 108.

[33] *Ibid.* Pleasant A. Stovall, *Robert Toombs, statesman, speaker, soldier, sage: his career in congress and on the hustings — his work in the courts — his record in the army — his life at home* (New York, [1892]), offers many interesting facts regarding the career of this remarkable man. But see especially Ulrich B. Phillips, *Life of Robert Toombs* (New York, 1913).

[34] In a letter written in 1862, Toombs declared: "Davis's incapacity is lamentable and the very thought of the baseness of congress in the impressment act makes me sick. I feel but little like fighting for a people base enough to submit to such despotism from such contemptible sources." "The correspondence of Robert Toombs,

In giving any account of the breaking down of the confederate morale, the name of Alexander H. Stephens cannot be omitted. As vice president he offered a great problem to the head of the confederacy for he was not the type of individual to work harmoniously with Jefferson Davis. The man who could submit to being stabbed eighteen times by a bitter political opponent, Judge Cone, without retracting the lie he had given, and who, as the result of political differences challenged not only Benjamin H. Hill but also Hershel V. Johnson to duels on different occasions, would hardly fail to clash with the man who had become the drillmaster of the confederacy. Previous to secession his attitude had been one of exalted patriotism and unionism, while theoretically conceding the constitutional right of a state to withdraw; he had been very reluctant to leave the union and when things began to miscarry in the confederacy, it could hardly be expected that he should show quite the fortitude of men who were ardent secessionists. Stephens, it should be appreciated, was an "intellectual," and an "intellectual" is apt to be a dangerous man in a great crisis of a people. What is needed at such a time is clear vision and wisdom. Stephens was lacking in this. Standing with fatal consistency for "the ultimate absolute sovereignty of the several states,"[35] he did not seem to appreciate how vitally necessary it was for all southerners in this terrible armed conflict to lay aside for the moment a discussion of political theories only applicable in times of peace. As Gamaliel Bradford has pointed out, Stephens "was a deductive thinker of an older type. He reasoned from accepted generalizations to very positive conclusions and even in this line his thinking was neither profound nor original."[36] His doctrinaire

Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb," edited by Ulrich B. Phillips, in American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911 (Washington, 1913), 2: 595. R. M. T. Hunter, who was called to the vacant post of secretary of state upon the withdrawal of Toombs, although known as a man of genial temper also found it impossible to endure the dictatorial ways of Mr. Davis, and in 1862 he withdrew from the cabinet. Elected to the confederate senate by Virginia, he joined the opposition which was ardently pursuing the president. See Anderson, "Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter," in *John P. Branch historical papers of Randolph-Macon college*, 2: no. 2; and Martha T. Hunter, *A memoir of Robert H. T. Hunter* (Washington, 1903); Resignations from office, 142, in Pickett papers.

[35] "Correspondence of Toombs, Stephens and Cobb," in American historical association, *Annual report*, 1911, 2: 655.

[36] Bradford, "Alexander H. Stephens," in *Atlantic monthly*, 112: 70.

qualities of mind came out in the sublime faith he showed in the efficacy of his own theories when applied under impossible conditions; time and again he was the victim of his own logic.[37]

For two years of his vice presidency, this burning soul, like Saul, sulked in his tent, remaining in Georgia away from his post of duty. He opposed practically every measure that the government brought forth. Conscription, martial law, and various financial measures were his special abhorrence; his loyalty to the confederacy which he had sworn to maintain was at times in question; so far did he lose faith in the Richmond government that he insistently demanded that a peace commission under authority of the sovereign states and quite independent of the confederate administration be sent to negotiate with the federal government![38] How could the activities of such a man with all his magnetic qualities fail to spread broadcast a spirit of distrust and intense dislike for the central administration?

[37] Mr. N. W. Stephenson, however, contends that "Rhett and Stephens were as far from being doctrinaires as is the modern Bulgarian, the modern Montenegrin." "A theory of Jefferson Davis," in *American historical review*, 21: 86. He illustrates his point when referring to Rhett by the following statement: "He is the very type of the thoroughgoing states' rights man who is animated by a real love for his particular state — as real as a Bulgarian's for Bulgaria — who was as resolute not to have his state submerged in the Confederacy as is the modern Bulgarian not to have his own country in, say, a united Byzantine empire." *Ibid.*, 21: 82. While it is true that this devotion to the idea of state particularism was strong with such men as Rhett and Stephens and in that portion of the south where they lived, and while it is perfectly understandable that it should be so, the point may be raised that neither of these men had any proper conception regarding the means that necessarily must be taken under given conditions to preserve these sovereign states from reconquest by the federal government and to establish them in their freedom under the states' rights constitution of the confederacy. Rhett, who had been so willing to make war on the union, could not realize that war to be successfully prosecuted inevitably necessituated an abridgment of individual freedom. This was the trouble with Stephens, crying out against President Davis' program for an efficient conduct of military affairs. "His whole policy on the organization and discipline of the army," Stephens asserted, "is perfectly consistent with the hypothesis that he is aiming at absolute power." *War of the rebellion: a compilation of the official records of the union and confederate armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), fourth series, 3: 279, 280. Stephens took the position "that the idea of getting independence first and constitutional rights afterward was false because 'our liberties once lost may be lost forever.'" *American historical review*, 21: 84. A doctrinaire, according to Webster, is "one who would apply to political and other practical concerns the abstract doctrines or the theories of his own philosophical system without enough regard to actual conditions."

[38] John C. Schwab, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865: a financial and industrial history of the south during the civil war* (New York, 1901), 227.

If what has been said regarding the relations of Toombs and Stephens toward the government had been exceptional, it might not have been so disastrous; but scores of men, prominent in their own sections, were pursuing the administration with the same relentless and outspoken hostility. Out of this situation developed a series of feuds hardly to be surpassed in the intensity of feeling displayed.

What made these feuds most demoralizing in their effects was the way in which the press added fuel to them. For in this life and death struggle of the young nation, when everything depended upon a subordination of private opinion and feeling to the plans of those entrusted with power, southern individualism would not tolerate the thought of restraining the license of a press which in its very blindness actually warred against its own just freedom. Almost from the very beginning Rhett's powerful *Charleston Mercury* was hostile to the government; before the close of the war its vituperation was poured freely upon the head of the confederacy. "Jefferson Davis," it asserted on one occasion, "treats all men as if they were idiotic insects."[39] The even more powerful *Richmond Examiner* under the editorship of John M. Daniel and his associate Edward A. Pollard, changed from ardent support to bitterest hatred of Mr. Davis. The latter at the beginning of the war was a man of "courage, patriotism, experience, and wisdom;" by 1865 he had become "an amalgam of malice and mediocrity."

Hardly anything could exceed the scathing quality of Daniel's language and he never seemed to be happy unless furiously attacking someone. As a result he was involved in a series of personal encounters. Stung to madness by his venomous pen, Marmaduke Johnson in 1861 made a deadly assault upon him with a knife; even Ellmore, in charge of the confederate treasury, felt obliged in 1864 to fight him. The breach between the president and the *Examiner* seems to have originated over the question of conscription which Daniel favored but which Mr.

[39] For this and other press opinions see Bradford's chapter "Jefferson Davis," in *Confederate portraits*. James G. Randall approaches the consideration of the civil war press from another angle in his "The newspaper problem in its bearing upon military secrecy during the civil war," in *American historical review*, 23: 303-323.

Davis at first opposed.[40] Soon this paper became a strong pro-Joseph E. Johnston organ and at last surrendered itself utterly to the enemies of the administration irrespective of the issue involved. If any man ever hated his way into the grave, John M. Daniel might claim that doubtful distinction.[41]

What previously has been said regarding the breaking down of the morale of the confederacy has had to do with those in civil life. It is also necessary to consider the effects of the famous army feud. This arose over the question of the appointment of the supreme field commander. The choice lay between P. G. T. Beauregard, Albert Sydney Johnston, Joseph E. Johnston, and Robert E. Lee. The placing of Albert Sydney Johnston at the head of the list immediately resulted in deep and scarcely veiled resentment on the part of both Joseph E. Johnston and Beauregard. Their friends, many and influential, caught up the cry and the baying of these foes of President Davis was never hushed until he with every one of these rivals for military power was in the grave.[42]

One of the most insistent accusations leveled against Mr. Davis by his enemies was that of favoritism in connection with his military appointments. Scarcely a month after Manassas, Mrs. Chesnut wrote in her diary, "Now if I were to pick out the best abused one, where all catch it so bountifully, I should say Mr. Comissary-General Northrop is the most 'cussed' and vilified man in the Confederacy. He is held accountable for everything that goes wrong in the army. He may not be efficient but having been a classmate and crony of Jeff Davis at West

[40] See *Richmond Examiner*, March 18, 1862.

[41] For a brief account of his career see A. N. Wilkenson, "John Moncur Daniel," in *Richmond college historical papers*, 1, number 1.

[42] A wealth of material upon this army dispute is to be found in official publications, particularly *The war of the rebellion: a compilation of the official records of the union and confederate armies.* The arguments for both sides are to be found in such works as Davis, *Rise and fall of the confederate government*; Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative of military operations, directed, during the late war between the states* (New York, 1874); R. M. [William] Hughes, *General Johnston* (New York, 1893); Alfred Roman, *Military operations of General Beauregard in the war between the states, 1861 to 1865; including a brief personal sketch and a narrative of his services in the war with Mexico, 1846-1848* (New York, 1884); General J. B. Hood, *Advance and retreat; personal reminiscences in the United States and Confederate*

Point, points the moral and adorns the tale.''[43] The allowing of Davis' friends, John C. Pemberton and Braxton Bragg, to keep their commands was denounced everywhere in the south. The *Richmond Examiner*, which was the most popular paper among army men, carried its abuse of these generals into the ranks of their soldiers. This, of course, struck right at the morale of the troops. Who could be expected to fight with confidence and relish under a commander like Bragg, contemptuously flouted as a ''man of iron hand and wooden head?''[44] Is it any wonder that the president should charge in his report that the cause for the escape of the federal army at Chickamauga was the fact that some of Bragg's subordinates disobeyed positive orders? Is it surprising that the president was obliged to reprimand certain portions of Bragg's army because of an utter lack of spirit in the battle of Chattanooga?

General Joseph E. Johnston was perhaps the most implacable foe that Mr. Davis had in the army. He was a thoroughly embittered man. Among those who went over to the southern side he had the highest rank in the federal army; in tendering his services to the confederacy he was given every reason to expect the leading command which, however, as has been previously noted, was tendered to Albert Sydney Johnston. Added to this affront, when he was wounded at Fair Oaks his command of the army of Virginia was permanently given to Lee. Later, transferred to the west, he was obliged to submit to the president's determination to leave Pemberton and Bragg under him although he had no confidence in them. The extent of distrust that General Johnston and President Davis displayed towards each other would be hard to parallel in American history. Johnston actually came to believe that Mr. Davis cared more about ruining him than saving the confederacy; he felt that he did not dare to communicate his plans of operation to the president.[45] On the other hand, Jefferson Davis practically accused

States armies (New Orleans, 1880); Mrs. Louise Wigfall Wright, *A southern girl in '61; the war-time memories of a confederate senator's daughter* (New York, 1905).

[43] *A diary from Dixie, as written by Mary Boykin Chesnut*, 97. Northrop is strongly defended in Alfriend, *Life of Jefferson Davis*.

[44] See the sketch by A. N. Wilkinson on ''John Moncur Daniel,'' in *Richmond college historical papers*, 1, number 1.

[45] ''Joe Johnston does not exactly say that Jeff Davis betrays his plans to the

Johnston of betraying him into the hands of the enemy in the last hours of the confederacy and of weakly allowing the bottom to fall out of the southern cause.

If there was anything lacking to complete the destruction of morale among southerners it seemed to have been supplied in the quarrel that broke out between the confederate government and the separate states over various questions such as conscription and martial law. Governors Joseph E. Brown of Georgia and Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina rivalled each other in setting up states' rights pretensions. These influential men went about denouncing President Davis's despotic methods. In 1864 North Carolina even became mutinous; her troops, according to Lee, deserted almost by the company and when the president tried to recover the men owing military services, Vance went so far as to threaten to take North Carolina out of the confederacy![46]

As a climax to all this confusion of counsels, when states' rights, according to the enemies of Mr. Davis, had become a mockery, the confederate government, turning its back upon the last possible valid excuse that it had to offer for the breaking up of the union, embraced the policy of emancipation. The negroes were not only under certain conditions to be freed, but what is more astounding, they were to be freed for the purpose of turning them into fighters with arms in their hands. The mere thought of having the southern negroes ever become skilled in the use of arms was something that since the days of Nat Turner the south had been able to contemplate only with horror! But no such desperate plan could then save the confederacy, a sad wreck toppling into a grave that only too largely had been prepared by its own hands. The time had passed when any but the most devoted would raise an arm in its name. Over a hundred thousand soldiers, it is estimated, taking counsel of themselves, had deserted the ranks; the loyal who stayed were the starving victims of a broken down commissary and a helpless administration. In the midst of this accumulation of disaster and

enemy, but he says he dares not let the President know his plans as there is a spy in the war office who invariably warns the Yankees in time. That's Wigfall's way of talking!'' *A diary from Dixie, as written by Mary Boykin Chesnut,* 320.

[46] For a good discussion of this see Dodd, *Jefferson Davis,* 334-340.

woe that would have crushed the spirit of a Napoleon, President Davis clung with pathetic tenacity to the idea, now an obsession, that the cause would still be saved. Not until he was a deserted fugitive did that hope fade away.

The south, agricultural in its economy, was throttled by the blockade,[47] paralyzed by the breakdown of her arteries of communication, the railroads,[48] and crushed through military prowess. Yet there was much truth in Lee's declaration, when, even so late as February, 1865, he insisted that the confederate "resources fitly and vigorously employed are ample." An abnormal individualism joining hands with its concomitant extreme state particularism had borne all its bitter fruit. The prophecy that Robert Toombs made in 1861 when he warned President Davis never to open fire on Fort Sumter had come true. For, declared Toombs, it will "lose us every friend in the North . . . legions now quiet will swarm out and sting us to death." But it was a people stung to death who were at the same time distracted unto desperation by internal strife, a people in need of a great leader, many of them now questioning the justification of secession and still more uncertain as to the end in view.

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[47] The standard authority on this, of course is John C. Schwab, *Confederate States of America 1861-65.*

[48] Mr. C. W. Ramsdell is making a very important study of the relationship of the disorganization of the southern railway system to the military fortunes of the confederacy. See his "Confederate government and the railroads," in the *American historical review,* 22: 794-811.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE WEST ON THE RISE AND FALL OF POLITICAL PARTIES[1]

The chief bases of modern political groupings are differences of economic interest or social status. In the United States the cause of such differences is to be found in the variation of types incident to the westward movement of population. It was the development of a group of inland settlements differing in important ways from the coast communities which gave rise to the first party groupings; and each epoch of our party history is associated with changes resulting from the settlement and growth of a new western area. The geographical basis of the first parties was the strip of territory between the Alleghenies and the Atlantic. But within a generation the nation rested its outposts on the Mississippi, and this geographical extension resulted in new problems which necessitated a reshaping of party lines. So the federalist and republican organizations disintegrated and gave way to groups which corresponded more nearly with the new order. Each generation of the nineteenth century witnessed the introduction into our national life, through expansion of settlement, of vital new forces and problems, and the reorganization of parties was the natural concomitant. The whigs and democrats who succeeded federalists and republicans could not solve the problems of the fifties. The advance of the frontier to the Rio Grande and Pacific raised the fateful slavery issue, and against its disrupting force they strove in vain. The eve of the civil war saw therefore the destruction of the whig organization, the division of the democracy, and the birth of the republican party. Again, as the century drew to its close, the readjustment of national life due to the occupation of the western plains and mountains brought also a virtual re-creation of parties, in spite of the retention of the old names.

The influence of geographical expansion upon parties may be

[1] This paper was read before the annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association in Chicago, April 27, 1917.

illustrated by the history of federalism and republicanism. The basis of these parties was laid by the social differentiation incident to the movement inland from the Atlantic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Long before the frontier reached the Alleghenies, the dominant members of the communities first settled had worked out an adjustment between their ideals and environment in the form of institutions which they desired to perpetuate. Those who undertook the task of settling the interior, on the other hand, came chiefly from those elements of the population which were more or less ill-adjusted to the coastal order. A contrasting society thus developed in the region between the fall line and the mountains, from the Mohawk to the Savannah, and strove for the mastery with the social order of the coast.

This conflict was the prophecy of party cleavage in the first days of the new nation. The continuity of these early divisions with the parties of the constitutional era can be traced through the struggles of the revolution and the disturbances of the "critical period." The contest over the framing and adoption of the constitution was an episode in the conflict between the coastal and interior societies, and the political philosophy and practical programs of the leaders of the federalist and republican parties respectively were those of the coastal interest on the one hand and the agrarian interior on the other. To this statement there is one notable exception, for the planters, who represented the coastal order of the south, joined hands in national affairs with the farmers of the interior under the leadership of Jefferson, because both groups opposed measures which advanced the interests of a class of owners of fluid capital, located chiefly in the northern states. This union of planters and farmers made republicanism favorable to expansion and western development, while federalism fell heir to the old antagonism between coast and interior.

The original adjustment of parties to this geographical basis was overthrown by the development of the country during the first generation under the constitution. In the interval between the adoption of the constitution and the presidency of Jackson an empire arose beyond the frontier of 1790 which exceeded the whole settled region of the former date in both population and

area. The inhabitants of the United States according to the first census numbered somewhat less than four millions, of which by the most liberal estimate, the entire transmontane region contained not more than two hundred and seventy-five thousand.[2] This ratio of about one in fifteen was the measure of an almost negligible influence in the affairs of the nation. But by 1830 Kentucky and Tennessee boasted of nearly a million and a half inhabitants, the wilderness of western New York had become the home of nearly half as many more, and transmontane Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia added a like number to the total population of the west. Moreover, into the old northwest, into the gulf plains, and even into the acquired territory beyond the Mississippi, there had poured a flood of migration which had peopled these vast spaces with two and a half millions more. Thus it came to pass that the west of the Jacksonian era contained more than five million inhabitants, exceeding by more than one-fourth the population of the entire country at the epoch of the first census, while the area settled after 1790 exceeded that occupied before by two-thirds.[3] As in population and extent, so

[2] This estimate is reached as follows: Kentucky, 73,677; Tennessee, 35,691 (*Thirteenth census of the United States: population*, 1: 30); to which must be added figures for the population northwest of the Ohio river, and in the western counties of some of the old states. The first census did not include the northwest territory in the area of enumeration, but Governor St. Clair estimated the inhabitants at 4,000. *Century of population growth* (Washington: Bureau of the census, 1909), 54. Jedediah Morse's estimate for 1792 was 7,820 (cited *ibid.*). In New York, settlement had not yet passed the lake region, the whole western end of the state being embraced in Ontario county with about 1,000 inhabitants. *Twelfth census of the United States: population*, 1: 32. County maps of the states for 1790 are given in *Century of population growth*, 61-70. The trans-Allegheny portions of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia contributed about 160,000 to the total, — Virginia counties now composing West Virginia, 55,873; Allegheny, Washington, Fayette, Westmoreland, Bedford, and Huntington counties, Pennsylvania, as bounded in 1790, 84,211; Allegany and Washington counties, Maryland, 20,631. As some of the population of counties included was intramontane rather than transmontane, the estimate of the text is generous, even without making allowance for Northumberland county, Pennsylvania, which lay beyond the mountains in part, but for which figures are not available. These estimates are based on statistics in *Thirteenth census of the United States: population*, and maps in *Century of population growth*. Timothy Pitkin, *Statistical view of the commerce of the United States of America: including also an account of banks, manufactures and internal trade and improvements* (New Haven, 1835), 533, says: "In 1790, the whole population of this country . . . was only two hundred and thirty-seven thousand and eighty-four."

[3] Kentucky, 687,917; Tennessee, 681,904; New York, counties west of Syracuse,

in economic importance, the west of 1830 approached the whole United States of 1790. The value of the exports of 1790 is fairly matched by that of the surplus produce of the west forty years later; and the tonnage employed in export trade at the former date by that employed on the western waters at the latter.[4] This transformation of the wilderness was only partially counterbalanced by the growth of the older region, which shows an increase between 1790 and 1830 of about four million souls. The change in relative weight is indicated by a sixfold increase in the ratio of transmontane population to the total, and a corresponding movement westward of the center of population and of economic and political power. New states carved from what was wilderness when Washington was inaugurated elected more than one-third of the members of the house of representatives under Jackson — more than all the South Atlantic states, and nearly twice as many as the whole of New England.[5]

	Apportionment of 1790	Just before apportionment of 1830	Just after apportionment of 1830
New England	29	39	38
Middle States	29	67	75
South Atlantic	45	60	60
West	3*	47	67

* (Kentucky 2, after 1792; Tennessee 1, after 1796.)

625,452; Pennsylvania counties west of Bedford, 384,891; Washington and Allegany counties, Maryland, 35,877; counties now composing West Virginia, 176,924. In Georgia, counties created west of the frontier of 1790 contained 281,612 persons in 1830. Adding the population of the northwestern, southwestern, and trans-Mississippi states and territories, the total for 1830 is 5,172,532. Pitkin's estimate (1835) was "between four and five millions." *Ibid.* In 1790 the settled area (territory having at least two inhabitants to the square mile) measured 238,935 square miles, in 1830, 632,717. *Century of population growth*, 54.

[4] Value of all goods exported from the United States for the year ending September 30, 1790, $20,205,156. *American state papers: commerce and navigation*, 1: 34. "We hazard nothing in estimating the whole surplus produce of what we have called the western country, in 1834, at from $28,000,000 to $30,000,000, being about fifty per cent more than the whole exports of the United States in 1790." Pitkin, *Statistical view of the commerce of the United States*, 534 ff. If the gulf region and lower Mississippi valley were included in the estimate the total would be much larger. The total tonnage, American and foreign, employed in export trade in 1789 was 233,983. *Ibid.*, 352. The total tonnage employed on western waters in 1834 was about 230,000. *Ibid.*, 536.

[5] Representation in the house, compiled from *Thirteenth census: population*, 1: 37. The relative decline of the old states is shown even more strikingly by the loss and gain in the representation of individual states, as the ratio of representation rose. Thus Massachusetts, represented by 14 members under the first apportionment,

The result of this development of the west was a disturbance of the former order. The weight of the commercial, manufacturing, agrarian, and planting interests was altered, and new adjustments, new combinations and alliances, were necessitated. Politically the results were new issues, new sectional antagonisms and affinities, and finally new party groupings. As the development of the west was a prime cause of the disturbance of the old adjustment and the source of many of the new issues, so its growth in political power made it a leading factor in determining the new alignment.

The perpetuation in the federalist party of many of the old views and policies of the coastal class foredoomed it to destruction through the growth of the west. Into the wilderness beyond the mountains the discontented poured when conditions became unsatisfactory in their former homes, just as the pioneers had come to the "old west" east of the mountains. A type of society similar to that which first developed at the eastern base of the Alleghenies struck its roots more deeply than ever into the soil of the western slopes, and with its wider geographical base gained influence at the expense of federalism. South of the Ohio federalism was never a force to be seriously reckoned with. North of the river, although first on the ground, it failed to hold its own as a colonizing force in competition with republicanism. Indeed, it proved unable to withstand frontier influences long even in those regions where the settlers were almost exclusively of New England stock, as in central and western New York. The opening of the cheap lands there drew swarms of farmers from Connecticut and Massachusetts, while the establishment of new countries attracted young lawyers and merchants to the county towns. But the federalism of these settlers from New England proved to be conventional rather than vital. As always, the appeal of the wilderness was strongest with the younger and less prosperous men, the very class

rose to 17 under that of 1800, but fell to 13 in 1810 and to 12 in 1830. Connecticut likewise fell from 7 in 1790 to 6 in 1830. On the other hand, states with a "west" within their bounds gained: Georgia's increase was from 2 to 9; New York's from 10 to 40; Pennsylvania's, from 13 to 28; Virginia's, from 19 to 21. After 1830 even New York felt the drain of the newer west and lost representation through the higher ratio, its delegation falling to 34, 33, and 31 at successive census periods.

least steeped in the orthodoxy of their native communities. Transplanted from its original environment, federalism of this type yielded readily to the strong solvents of the frontier and blended with republicanism.[6]

It was the vote of the new settlements that turned the scale against the federalists in 1800. In view of this fact, an acute analyst of political forces and tendencies might have read *finis* for federalism in the light of its first defeat. Indeed, some of its chief leaders had long perceived the incompatibility of western development and the interests represented by federalism. In the federal convention of 1787, Gouverneur Morris had declared: "If the Western people get the power into their hands they will ruin the Atlantic interests. . . Provision ought therefore to be made to prevent the maritime States from being hereafter outvoted by them."[7] "In thirty years," Timothy Pickering predicted in 1804, "the white population on the Western waters will equal that of the thirteen States when they declared themselves independent of Great Britain."[8] "The people of the East cannot reconcile their habits, views, and interests with those of the South and West."[9] At the time of this prophecy, the acquisition of Louisiana had just added a vast new world certain to hold republican views and in time to swell the number of republican states. In desperation, the more extreme members of the minority party contemplated secession and the formation of a northern confederacy. But a separation could not free them from the rising democracy within New England itself, nor, to meet the enemy within the gates, could they turn back to the aristocratic régime of colonial days.[10] Nothing,

[6] See Homer C. Hockett, "Federalism and the west," in *Essays in American history dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner* (New York, 1910), 113-135.

[7] *Records of the federal convention* (Farrand ed. — New Haven, 1911), 1: 583, 533, 534.

[8] Letter to Rufus King, March 4. *Documents relating to New England federalism, 1800-1815* (Adams ed. — Boston, 1877), 352.

[9] *Ibid.*, 339.

[10] *Cf.* Cabot to Pickering, February 14, 1804: "If no man in New England could vote for legislators who was not possessed in his own right of two thousand dollars' value in land, [we might] do something better." *Ibid.*, 346-349. Pickering was a leader of the Essex Junto, "composed chiefly of hard-headed merchants and lawyers of Essex County, where mercantile and maritime interests were even stronger than in Boston. Stephen Higginson, George Cabot, and Theophilus Parsons were its earliest leaders . . . a few Boston Federalists, such as Fisher

indeed, prevented the speedy dissolution which the election of 1804 portended save the unpopularity of the foreign policy of the republicans from 1807 to 1815. The restrictions on commerce and the war which followed fell with crushing weight upon the maritime class, driving many of the recent republican converts back to the federalist party as the means of voicing their protest, and galvanizing the dying party into the semblance of returning life where there was in fact no enduring source of vitality.[11] Even while the issues arising from foreign relations were uppermost, the antipathy of federalism for the west was strikingly manifested. In all the clamor of disaffected New England during the period of foreign controversy there sounds the note of dislike and dread of the growing west.[12]

Ames, Timothy Bigelow, Christopher Gore, and John Lowell, Jr., afterwards became identified with the group. This Essex Junto, the ultra-conservative and ultra-sectional wing of the party, refused all compromise with democracy . . . failed entirely to sympathize with the South and West, and, in short, was blind to the fact that the world had moved forward since 1775 and 1789.'' Samuel E. Morison, *The life and letters of Harrison Gray Otis, federalist, 1765-1848* (Boston, 1913), 1: 48. *Cf.* Anson E. Morse, *The federalist party in Massachusetts to the year 1800* (Princeton, 1909), 17, note.

Federalist control in the old states was doubtless prolonged by the emigration which drained off many who would have been republicans if they had remained. It has been estimated that Massachusetts alone lost 180,000 souls between 1800 and 1810, through the westward movement. Haight, in *Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 25, 1900.

Cabot did not support Pickering's secession scheme. ''I greatly fear that a separation would be no remedy, because the source of [the evils] is in the political theories of our country and in ourselves. . . We are democratic altogether; and I hold democracy, in its natural operation, to be the government of the worst.'' *Documents relating to New England federalism* (Adams ed.), 346-349. *Cf.* Hamilton's advice, *ibid.*, 365. For views of others, see *ibid.*, 144-148, 438-439.

[11] Alden Bradford, *History of Massachusetts, for two hundred years: from the year 1620 to 1820* (Boston, 1835), 3: 99, 100; Jabez D. Hammond, *History of political parties in the state of New York, from the ratification of the federal constitution to December, 1840* (Cooperstown, N. Y., 1845), 1: 265; Charles H. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776 to 1861* (Chicago, 1910), 87, 90, and *Thomas Ritchie; a study in Virginia politics* (Richmond, 1913), 47, 48, 56, *et passim.*

[12] See debate in congress on the admission of Louisiana, in *Annals of congress*, 11 congress, 3 session; documents relative to New England's opposition to measures of the United States government, 1812-1815, in *Niles' weekly register*, volumes 2-8 (many of these are reprinted in *State documents on federal relations: the states and the United States* [Ames ed. — Philadelphia, 1900-1906], volume 2); *Documents relating to New England federalism* (Adams ed.), 382, 390, 391, 405, 418, 425-426, *et passim.*

With the return of peace and the recurrence of general interest to questions of domestic development the end came. The westward movement was resumed with unprecedented volume, and a half dozen states entered the union within as many years. Such an increment of western power would have destroyed federalism had it survived the war, but with the election of 1816 it ceased to maintain a national organization. Its aristocratic temper and its identification with the moneyed and commercial class of the seaboard had unfitted it for expansion into regions where society was of the primitive agricultural type, and it had been left hopelessly stranded by the movement of the tide toward the setting sun.

Triumphant republicanism was now to be destroyed in its turn by the forces of a new era. For a decade following the war of 1812 the chief element in the settlement of the west was supplied by that stock which had pioneered the way into the transmontane region a generation before, and which had won the early west for republicanism in its race with the federalist party. Superficially the expansion of the new period seemed to insure the continued power of the victorious party. But between 1815 and 1825 the economic development of the west and south diverged until the republican name and organization was no longer able to hold together the old party elements.

The clue to the economic history of the west in these years is the search for a market for the agricultural surplus. The abundance of cheap land was the lure which drew the great majority of the newcomers, and while the growth of manufactures was considerable, it did not keep pace with the expansion of agriculture.[13] At no time did the farmer find the local demand sufficient to consume his produce. Moreover, the disadvantage under which he carried on trade with distant parts, even of the United States, was very great. The cost of transportation reduced the price of all his products and increased that of all imports. The disadvantage of the west in such exchange is shown by the estimate that it required four bushels of

[13] "The attraction of the laboring class to the vacant territory . . . is the great obstacle to the spontaneous establishment of manufactures, and will be overcome with most difficulty wherever land is cheapest, and the ownership of it most attainable." Madison to Clay, April 24, 1824, *Works of Henry Clay: comprising his life, correspondence and speeches* (Colton ed. — New York, 1897), 4: 91.

corn to buy at Cincinnati what one bushel would command at Philadelphia.[14] Yet the abundance of the fruits of the soil seemed to give the power to command the wealth of the world if the natural impediments to commerce could but be overcome. It is doubtful, therefore, if any single policy so united sentiment in the Ohio valley at the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century as the policy of internal improvements.

The western population contemplated the benefits to be derived from access to the world's markets by means of canals and improved roads with an enthusiasm which was for some time undimmed by any doubt of the power and readiness of those markets to absorb all the produce it could offer. Under stress of poverty and need, moreover, the belief in the sufficiency of private initiative, which Jefferson had made a part of the creed of the early republicans, gave way generally to a demand for government action, and even the jealousy for state rights yielded to the necessity for federal aid.[15] Then in the early twenties came the realization that foreign countries could not or would not receive the surplus food products of the western farms, and that a home market must be obtained if agriculture were not to suffer permanent depression.[16] Thus the west

[14] F. P. Goodwin, "The rise of manufactures in the Miami country," in *American historical review*, 12: 768.

[15] The following, from the *Cincinnati Inquisitor Advertiser* for October 30, 1821, is a typical western comment of the time: "The immense benefit that would arise to the nation from an unobstructed navigation of these two immense rivers of the Western country, the Ohio and Mississippi, is so palpable to every person acquainted with the geography of our country and with the state of the population west of the Alleghany mountain [*sic*], that I should suppose the subject worthy of the consideration of congress. . . [The west] must now look to the enlightened advocates of internal improvements in the national legislature for assistance."

[16] Light is cast upon the process by which the western farmer arrived at this conclusion by the following extract. "A Farmer" writes to the editor of the *Western Herald*: "Being over the other day at the Squire's and happening to get into conversation about the tariff and the support of domestic manufactures, both of which I confess I was not disposed to encourage, on the ground that it would have a tendency to interrupt our commercial relations with England and would perhaps cause them to retaliate on us by throwing obstacles in our way, the squire informed me that there was a regulation for some years past, which prevented our flour and grain from entering their market. Now Mr. Wilson, I want to make inquiry through the medium of your paper if any such restriction does exist. (I think he called it a corn law). . ." If correctly informed by the "squire," the "Farmer" declares he will become a supporter of "all such measures as will have a tendency to counteract such restrictions, and if we can not obtain a market

reached at last the conviction that the growth of agriculture had too far exceeded that of manufactures, and that a more equal balance should be brought about between them by means of a tariff which would encourage manufactures.[17] Under the leadership of Henry Clay the economic creed which the west had arrived at by dint of its experiences was formulated in the so-called "American system."[18] It was an adaptation of Adam Smith's theory of free trade among nations in which the great sections of the union took the place of nations, and the ideal world economy was replaced by a theory of national self-sufficiency based upon the vastness and diversity of resources of the different parts; the sections, bound together by improved means of communication, were to become reciprocally helpful but collectively independent of the rest of the world.

The reciprocal relations of the farmer and manufacturer were sufficiently obvious, but the shipowner and the planter refused to accept the American system. The reaction of the sea-

abroad will encourage the system which will afford a market at home." The editor confirms the information given by the "squire" and asks: "Such being the case, the question arises, Ought we to receive the products of any nation that will not take our products in exchange? Every farmer can answer this question." *Western Herald,* April 10, 1824.

[17] "It appears pretty evident that there is already too much land under cultivation, witness the price of its produce. What use can there be in cultivating land when its produce cannot find a market. . . Does it not prove, to a moral certainty, that the time is arrived that they [the people of the United States] should turn their attention to manufactures. . . Is it not plain . . . that something ought to be done to find a market for this redundancy of produce, and to find employment for that portion of our population which must eventually be thrown out of employment when the agriculturalists relax in their exertions, a relaxation which is naturally to be expected when they cannot have their produce taken off their hands? Yes, we say, now is the time for the ranks of the manufacturer to increase. Agriculture has been pursued to its acme. The number employed in it is disproportionate to that of the mechanical branch — and the true interest of the whole community will be promoted by producing an equilibrium between them. . ." *Cincinnati Inquisitor Advertiser,* April 2, 1822.

[18] See speeches on tariff bills of 1820 and 1824, in *Works of Henry Clay* (Colton ed.), 6: 219-237, 254-294, and letters, such as that to Francis Brooke, *ibid.,* 4: 78 ff. Examination of the utterances of the Ohio valley press during the presidential campaign of 1824 indicates practical unanimity in support of the American system. "So far as we have been able to learn the sentiments of the editors of this state, we believe, however they may differ on other subjects, that they pretty generally agree in this one important point: — that we ought to support that man for the Presidency, other things being equal, who will most effectually encourage domestic manufactures and internal improvements." *Liberty Hall,* January 6, 1824.

board south towards sectionalism proceeded *pari passu* with the growing nationalism of the western republicans. The cotton planter, as the producer of a raw material which could nowhere be grown so advantageously as in the rich, cheap lands of the gulf plains, enjoyed the control of a monopolist over a commodity for which the demand was increasing. The cotton region had but slight interest in the development of the textile industry at home, and it would add inconsiderably to a demand already ample, while the cost of manufactured goods taken in exchange would be enhanced by the tariff, whether imported or purchased from the domestic manufacturer. The case of the planter was concisely put by John Randolph when he declared: "It eventuates in this: whether you, as a planter will consent to be taxed, in order to hire another man to go to work in a shoemaker's shop, or to set up a spinning jenny. For my part I will not agree to it. . . I will buy where I can get manufactures cheapest, I will not agree to lay a duty on the cultivators of the soil to encourage exotic manufactures; because, after all, we should only get much worse things at a much higher price."[19]

By 1824 the basis of the old party system was gone. The federalists, quitting the field in 1816, had left their rivals in undisputed possession. Within a few years thereafter the republican party also had been reduced to a name. The two geographical sections which shared it were wide apart in their views of national policy and in their interpretation of the constitution. The decade following the war of 1812 was, in short, a period in which both the old parties disintegrated, and their original elements, with the addition of those contributed by the new west, were poured into the melting pot to emerge in new forms and combinations.

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[19] *Annals of congress*, 14 congress, 1 session, 687 ff. *Cf.* anti-tariff memorials in *ibid.*, 18 congress, 1 session, 2; appendix, 3075 ff.

A PLAN FOR THE UNION OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES, 1866[1]

A recent book on the Canadian annexation movement of 1849-1850 says, "The question of the incorporation of the British-American colonies in the American union has been a recurrent subject for political consideration since the War of Independence."[2] Canadian political thought has been considerably affected by this question, and it has proved several times a practical issue between parties, the settlement of which has influenced to no small degree the history of British America. The movement of 1849-1850 came at a critical period in the domestic relations of the United States, and no political party took up the question. When this movement collapsed, American interest in the subject became for a time practically negligible. "The question of annexation never became a vital political issue in the United States," write Allin and Jones.[3] It has at times been revived in the period since 1850, usually in connection with the consideration of commercial relations. These agitations, in so far as they have been more than mere academic discussions, have significance because of their ramifications. The movement of 1866 and the years immediately following is of considerable interest in connection with the question of reciprocity, and our relations with Great Britain, but more especially because of its bearing upon the relations of the American and Canadian northwest.

The subject was brought officially into prominence by a plan for the union of British America and the United States pre-

[1] This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association in Chicago, April 27, 1917.

[2] Cephas D. Allin and George M. Jones, *Annexation, preferential trade and reciprocity; an outline of the Canadian annexation movement of 1849-50, with special reference to the questions of preferential trade and reciprocity* (Toronto, [1912]), preface, v.

[3] *Ibid.*, 384.

sented to the house of representatives by General N. P. Banks, chairman of the committee on foreign affairs. The inception of this plan lay with James Wickes Taylor, then special agent of the treasury department for the northwest.[4] As early as 1855, Taylor, as state librarian of Ohio, had established himself as an authority upon the resources of the northwest, interested in the problem of railway expansion to the Pacific coast, and the possibilities of the Saskatchewan plain.[5] After his removal to St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1856, he devoted much of his time to the study of the resources of northwest British America, and became widely known as an authoritative writer on the subject.[6] In 1860 he presented a report to the Minnesota house of representatives on northwest British America and its relations to the state of Minnesota. In this, after analyzing the agricultural possibilities of the territory west and northwest of the Red river, he urged, as an accompaniment to the then imminent extension of the British colonial system, the extension of the reciprocity treaty to the Pacific ocean, renewed for a long period

[4] There is a sketch of the life of Taylor and an estimate of his work as a pioneer of the northwest in *Minnesota history bulletin*, 1: 153-219.

[5] In 1855 Taylor delivered before the general assembly of Ohio a series of lectures in which he concluded that ultimately a railroad would be constructed from lake Superior to Puget sound, an enterprise that required systematic settlement along the route. Tributary to that enterprise and to the river and lake transportation of the United States, he declared, was the "extensive and hitherto unexplored Saskatchewan plain — an area ample for four large States — with a soil of extraordinary fertility, and summers long enough to mature all the hardy cereals and fruits — thronged by fur-bearing animals . . . skirted and perhaps traversed by coal deposits, compensating for any possible deficiency of forests — in short, a region of health and physical development, which we are not at liberty to doom to sterility and solitude with the analogies of European geography and history so clearly indicating a hardy and populous settlement of this American Scandinavia at no distant period of time." *Cincinnati railroad record supplement*, April 14, 1856.

[6] *Minnesota history bulletin*, 1: 161-171. In 1857 Taylor declared prophetically, "Ten years will not elapse before the beautiful valley of the Saskatchewan will be the scene of British and European colonization, instead of, as now, a preserve for a hunting and trapping monopoly; and the geography of the continent indicates, that Lake Superior in one direction, the channel of the Mississippi at a lesser angle, and a direct railway extension through Southern Minnesota to Chicago, will be the eager contestants for the route of this immense and fertile area to the markets of the world." *St. Paul Advertiser*, February 28, 1857. The discovery of gold on the Frazer river gave impetus to the movement for a railway to Selkirk and Saskatchewan. As a result of American enterprise, navigation was established on the Red river in 1859. *Minnesota historical bulletin*, 1: 168.

of years and enlarged in its provisions.[7] In 1859 Taylor was appointed special agent of the treasury department for the northwest. In urging his appointment, Senator Rice wrote, "The anomalous relations of the Hudson Bay Company to the vast country between Lake Winnipeg and the mountains rendered it eminently necessary that the Government should be fully advised upon whatever is there transpiring."[8] Taylor's first report, submitted by the secretary of the treasury to the house of representatives on June 16, 1860, was a defense of the reciprocity treaty, and an argument for its territorial extension, and enlargement into a *zollverein*.[9] In 1862 Secretary Chase presented to the house an elaborate report by Taylor called *Relations between the United States and northwest British America*.[10] The particular basis of the report was the possibility of the organization of the Red river and Saskatchewan districts as a crown colony. The dark aspect of our relations with Great Britain led Taylor to declare that in the event of a war Minnesota was competent "to hold, occupy, and possess" the Red river to Lake Winnipeg.[11] He disclaimed any desire for annexation, however, saying, "By treaty stipulations and concurrent legislation it seemed possible to work out the mutual destiny of the American states and the British provinces of the Northwest."[12]

On March 28, 1866, shortly after the expiration of the reciprocity treaty, the house of representatives passed a resolution

[7] *Northwest British America and its relations to the state of Minnesota; a report communicated to the legislature of Minnesota by Governor Ramsey, March 2nd* (St. Paul, 1860). He argued that a policy of free trade and navigation would give to the United States all the commercial advantages, without the political embarrassments, of annexation. He said, "Who can doubt that it would speedily be followed by overland mails and the telegraph on the Pembina and Saskatchewan route, and a Continental railroad, as advocated by Maury, which Engalnd would recognize as essential to her interests in Northwest America and the Pacific coasts." *Ibid.*, 8.

[8] Taylor to President Buchanan, June 13, 1859. He sums up a communication sent by Senator Rice to the president on May 25, 1859. All manuscript material referred to will be found in the Taylor papers in the possession of the Minnesota historical society.

[9] *House executive documents*, 36 congress, 1 session, 13: no. 96 (serial 1057). Taylor's report occupies pages 48-60.

[10] *Ibid.*, 37 congress, 2 session, 10: no. 146 (serial 1138).

[11] *Ibid.*, 40.

[12] *Ibid.*

requesting an extensive report on the subject of commercial relations between British North America, especially Canada, and the United States.[13] Taylor was asked by the secretary of the treasury to prepare this report. In presenting it to the house on June 12, 1866, Secretary McCulloch wrote, "Its closing pages contain some views upon the political relations of the United States and British America, upon which I am not prepared to express an opinion at this time, but to which I invite the attention of the House of Representatives."[14] In the pages referred to, Taylor alluded to the stipulation in the plan of provincial union proposed at Quebec, October, 1864, that "the federal government shall secure, without delay, the completion of the intercolonial railway from Riviere du Loup, through New Brunswick, to Truro, in Nova Scotia," the estimated cost of which was $17,500,000. There was already railway communication from Riviere du Loup to Ottawa. "Will England aid by imperial guarantee the immediate construction of a railroad from Ottawa, by way of Fort Garry and the valley of the Saskatchewan river, to the Pacific coast? Or will the provinces, with or without the aid of England, undertake such a continental highway?"[15] Taylor declared that the destiny of British America was involved in the extension of an ocean coast to the western limits of the great lakes, and a railway from Halifax to the capital of the confederation, and thence exclusively on the soil of the confederation to the North Pacific coast. He believed that England would not support materially such an undertaking, and that the federal government of the provinces would "doubtless regard the promised communication between Halifax and Quebec as the utmost possible limit of its railway liability, at least for this century."[16]

He therefore proposed that an overture be made to the people of the English colonies looking toward their union with the United States. This proposal he formulated as a bill entitled: "An act for the admission of the states of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada East, and Canada West, and for the organization

[13] *Journal of the house of representatives*, March 28, 1866, 471.

[14] "Commercial relations with British America," in *House executive documents*, 39 congress, 1 session, no. 128 (serial 1263) 2.

[15] *Ibid.*, 31.

[16] *Ibid.*

of the territories of Selkirk, Saskatchewan, and Columbia."[17]

It provided that as soon as the governments of Great Britain and of the provinces[18] indicated their acceptance, the states and territories should be admitted. The conditions of admission were set forth in twelve articles.[19] In the first two, provision was made for the taking over of public works, and the assumption of the funded debt and liabilities of the provinces. In the apportionment of the latter, about one half of the total amount suggested is offered to Canada West — a key to the whole curious proposal.[20] Articles three to six made provision for organization, representation, and territorial divisions of the proposed states and territories. The next article proposed the assumption of the expenditure of $50,000,000 to improve the navigation of the St. Laurence and the great lakes.[21] Land grants of twenty sections per mile were next suggested,[22] to aid in the construction of a railroad from Truro, Nova Scotia, to some point on the Pacific coast north of 49°, by way of Riviere du Loup, Ottawa, Sault Ste Marie, Bayfield, Superior, Pembina, Fort Garry, and the valley of the North Saskatchewan.[23] An offer of ten million dollars was proposed to be made to the Hudson's bay company for all their rights in North America.[24] The last section of the plan ingeniously provided that if Prince Edward Island declined to enter, the benefits offered it should be omitted, but for the others all the provisions would be retained. Similar omissions were to be made in case Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Bruns-

[17] *Ibid.*, 32.

[18] New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, Canada, British Columbia, and Vancouver's Island.

[19] "Commercial relations with British America," *House executive documents*, 39 congress, 1 session, no. 128, 32-34.

[20] The apportionment of the sum proposed, $85,700,000, was as follows: to Canada West, $36,500,000; to Canada East, $29,000,000; to Nova Scotia, $8,000,000; to New Brunswick, $7,000,000; to Newfoundland, $3,200,000; and to Prince Edward Island, $2,000,000. In addition to these provisions, an annual grant of $1,646,000 in aid of local expenditures was offered.

[21] So that vessels of fifteen hundred tons could pass from the gulf of St. Laurence to lakes Superior and Michigan.

[22] Article nine.

[23] In addition, a guarantee of five per cent dividends upon the stock of the company authorized by congress to construct such a road was promised. Surveys, school lands, and funds for internal improvements were next dealt with.

[24] Article eleven. The twelfth article provided for the conforming of local institutions to the constitution and laws of the United States.

wick, and Canada declined to accept. There remained then the northwest territory and the Pacific provinces, to which were offered aid in the construction of a railway from the western extremity of Superior, to the Pacific coast, by way of Pembina, Fort Garry, and the valley of the Saskatchewan [25] — and this was the heart of the proposition.[26]

General N. P. Banks introduced this bill, exactly as drafted by Taylor, into the house of representatives on July 2, 1866, and after a second reading it was referred to the committee on foreign affairs, of which Banks himself was chairman.[27] No definite action on this bill resulted, yet it precipitated a large amount of newspaper discussion, particularly in relation to the question of reciprocity, and thus served as a means of testing opinion on the whole subject of annexation, though the real purpose of the measure in connection with the northwest provinces was little understood.

As a result of its abrogation by the United States, the Elgin-Marcy reciprocity treaty came to an end on March 17, 1866.[28] The precise reasons for its abrogation have been the subject of considerable discussion. In a budget speech A. T. Galt declared, "If there was one thing more than another, apart from the irritation growing out of the events which happened during the late war, which instigated them in abrogating the reciprocity treaty,

[25] The organization of the territories of Selkirk, Saskatchewan, and Columbia, was also promised.

[26] In concluding his report Taylor defended its details, and declared finally, "I will not extend this paper by any presentation of what I regard as the great preponderance of benefit to the people of the provinces. I only reiterate that they have a right to demand of their present rulers two great objects, a Mediterranean to Superior, and a railway to the Pacific Ocean, and these before 1880; and I cannot believe these objects will be assured to this generation by a provincial confederation, or by the intervention of England. The United States may interpose, with the requisite guarantees; and if so, why shall we not combine to extend an American Union to the Arctic Circle?" "Commercial relations with British America," in *House executive documents*, 39 congress, 1 session, no. 128, 35.

[27] *Journal of the house of representatives*, 39 congress, 1 session (serial 1243), 945; also *Congressional globe*, 39 congress, 1 session, 3548.

[28] For concise accounts of the reciprocity treaty and its abrogation, see Frederick E. Haynes, "The reciprocity treaty with Canada of 1854," in American economic association, *Publications*, 7: 417-486; and Chalfant Robinson, *A history of two reciprocity treaties: the treaty with Canada in 1854, the treaty with the Hawaiian islands in 1876, with a chapter on the treaty making power of the house of representatives* (New Haven, 1904).

it was the belief that they could compel us into a closer political alliance with them."[29] Sir John G. Bourinot writes, "The commercial classes in the eastern and western states were, on the whole, favourable to an enlargement of the treaty, but the real cause of its repeal was the prejudice in the northern states against Canada on account of its supposed sympathy for the confederate states during the Secession war. A large body of men in the north believed that the repeal of the treaty would sooner or later force Canada to join the republic. . ."[30] There was a general feeling in the United States that the advantages accruing to Canada under the treaty were far greater than those to the United States. American manufactured goods were rather highly taxed, and it was felt that Canadian legislation was damaging the trade of American carriers.[31] There seems to be no actual proof that the abrogation was brought about with the hope of securing annexation, but in Canada the belief was general that such was the motive. Mr. Robinson shows that in the debates on confederation at Quebec from February 3 to March 14, 1865, there was but one opinion, namely, that "the abrogation of the treaty was a lever to force Canada from her allegiance to England and into the United States."[32] England's indifference to the whole matter caused this to be the more keenly felt.[33]

[29] Quoted in J. S. Willson, *Sir Wilfred Laurier and the liberal party* (London, 1903), 2: 76, note.

[30] Sir John G. Bourinot, *Canada under British rule, 1760-1900* (Cambridge, 1900), 303. See also J. Laurence Laughlin and H. Parker Willis, *Reciprocity* (New York, [1903]), 57; and Robinson, *A history of two reciprocity treaties*, 70-75. "There is very little doubt," writes Haynes, "that the attitude of the English towards the North during the civil war, was the direct cause of the abrogation of the treaty." "The reciprocity treaty with Canada of 1854," in American economic association, *Publications*, 7: 473.

[31] *Ibid.*, 463. Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, 62. Haynes says, however, "The business sentiment favored a continuance of the policy of reciprocity, but it was overruled by the burst of patriotic feeling aroused throughout the nation." "The reciprocity treaty with Canada of 1854," in American economic association, *Publications*, 7: 473. James W. Taylor, as an agent of the treasury department, examined the operations of the treaty, and reported in 1860, "There is but one sentiment west of Buffalo on the line of the great lakes, and that is hostility to the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty. If any change is demanded it is in a different direction — in favor of its territorial extension to the new province soon to be organized northwest of Minnesota and British Columbia, and of its enlargement, as soon as practicable, so as to merit the designation of a *zollverein* or customs union." *House executive documents*, 36 congress, 1 session, 13: no. 96 (serial 1057), 60.

[32] Robinson, *A history of two reciprocity treaties*, 71.

[33] *Ibid.*; Laughlin and Willis, *Reciprocity*, 58. In speaking of the treaty before

Certain utterances made at the commercial convention at Detroit in July, 1865, stimulated the belief that abrogation was a political lever. To this convention came representatives of boards of trade and chambers of commerce of the United States and the British North American provinces. The convention favored enlarged reciprocal commercial intercourse, including the Selkirk settlement, British Columbia, and Vancouver's Island.[34] Before the convention, Mr. Potter, United States consul at Montreal, made the following statement: "Now we are ready to give you in Canada the most perfect reciprocity. We will give you complete free trade, but we ask you to come and share with us the responsibilities of our own government. . .[35] I believe that in two years from the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty the people of Canada themselves will apply for admission to the United States."[36] Taylor was present at this convention as a delegate of the St. Paul board of trade. Such utterances as that of Potter were widely quoted and discussed,[37] but the truth of the situation appears to be as stated in a recent study of the treaty: "It cannot be denied that there was a feeling that if Canada desired annexation she would be welcomed as a part of the Union, England being willing, and there seems to be no doubt that if the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty were to bring about that result, the United States would look with complacency upon such outcome."[38]

Naturally those who believed annexation to be the motive of

the English house of commons, Sir Edward Watkin said that it had been allowed to expire "owing mainly to the culpable negligence and maladroit management of those who have had charge of British interests." Sir Edward Watkin, *Canada and the states, recollections, 1851 to 1886* (London, 1887), 389. Goldwin Smith wrote, "To the anger which the behaviour of a party in England had excited in America, Canada owes the loss of the reciprocity treaty. . ." *Canada and the Canadian question* (London, 1891), 141.

[34] *Proceedings of the commercial convention held in Detroit July 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, 1865* (Detroit, 1865), 8, 31, 98-195.

[35] Laughlin and Willis state that much of the annexation talk owed its origin to the disadvantage of the American producer of articles subject to heavy internal revenue taxes — under the system developed during the civil war — as compared with producers in Canada who had no such burden. *Reciprocity*, 61.

[36] Quoted in Sir Edward Watkin, *Canada and the states*, 422.

[37] The *Chicago Tribune* said on January 6, 1866, "They [the Canadians] will stay out in the cold for a few years, and try all sorts of expedients, but in the end will be constrained to knock for admission into the great Republic. Potter was right when he predicted the abrogation of the treaty would cause annexation."

[38] Robinson, *A history of two reciprocity treaties*, 74.

the treaty abrogation received the Banks bill as evidence that their fears were warranted.[39] Some of the newspaper comment is of interest. "The door is open and a gentle rap will let them in," said the *Utica Telegraph.*[40] The bill would encourage a strong sentiment in favor of independent nationality, in the opinion of the *Chicago Republican.* "It is made public at a time when the Provinces are preparing to change their form of government for one that will render them practically more independent of the mother country, and that, by combining their strength, will enable them to dictate and control their own future destiny, so long as the Government of Great Britain remains at peace with the United States." "It is the best anti-Fenian measure that could be devised," said the *Detroit Post.* "It is probably intended to serve as the handle of a basket into which the fruit, when fully ripe, may drop," wrote the *Troy Whig*—and a large number of similar explanations were offered in American newspapers. By the Canadian press the bill was received with condemnation or ridicule. "Mr. Taylor might next try his hand on a plan for the annexation of the moon," said the *Toronto Globe.* In the opinion of the *London Review*, however, the ridiculous side disappeared when improvements in navigation were considered, and it declared, "Canadian politicians may be turned away from their bickerings and intrigues to consider a policy which will advance every interest in the province and will give a healthy stimulus to trade. . ." Sir Edward Watkin regarded the bill as an illustration of the "consequences of vacillation and delay in the vigorous government of the Hudson's Bay territory, and in all distant parts of the Empire."[41] A writer in a Winnipeg newspaper, ascribing to the bill an influence that may truly be ascribed to the abrogation of the treaty, writes that it "proved a powerful motor in

[39] The debates in the senate on abrogation had shown, however, that the real reason was not the hope of annexation.

[40] The newspaper comments are to be found in a scrap book in the Taylor papers.

[41] *Canada and the states*, 227-247. The author prints the bill in full, introducing it as follows: "Here is this insulting document printed verbatim. I challenge the quotation of any similar outrage on the part of any civilized nation at peace with the Empire attacked." *Ibid.*, 228. Had a similar bill, as applied to the southern states, been introduced in the British house of commons, Mr. Watkin declares that the United States ambassador to the court of St. James would have been promptly recalled. *Ibid.*, 227.

advancing Confederation and assuring the marvellous achievement of a Canadian inter-oceanic communication."[42]

But the real meaning of the proposition is to be found in its references to the British northwest, in two directions, possible annexation, and stimulation of interest in aiding a northern Pacific railway. "If the plan of union," reads the bill, "shall only be accepted in regard to the northwestern territory and the Pacific provinces, the United States will aid the construction, on the terms named, of a railway from the western extremity of Lake Superior, in the state of Minnesota, by way of Pembina, Fort Garry, and the valley of the Saskatchewan, to the Pacific coast, north of latitude 49°, besides securing all the rights and privileges of an American territory to the proposed Territories of Selkirk, Saskatchewan, and Columbia."[43] The construction of a Pacific railway was one of Taylor's chief interests, as was the annexation of the British northwest. He believed that a popular vote in the northwest would favor union. On November 23, 1867, he wrote to Edward Cooper, "West of the Great Lakes — from Lake Superior to the Pacific Coast — there are only three isolated points where civilized society is established, namely, Selkirk Settlement, north of Minnesota and south of Lake Winnipeg; and a few miners from Montana on the source of the Saskatchewan; and the colony of British Columbia, including Vancouver and Queen Charlotte Islands. Over this immense area, large enough to make five States equal in all respects to Minnesota, the European population does not exceed 30,000, nine-tenths of whom desire annexation to the United States. The press and people of British Columbia make public demonstrations in favor of the American connection."[44] There were many forces in the direction of the annexation of the British northwest from 1860 to 1870, through the period of the war, during the Canadian confederation movement, and during the period of the first Riel disturbance, and the events preceding the organization of the province of Manitoba. Recently a Canadian writer, discussing the strong annexation

[42] *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, December 20, 1890.

[43] "Commercial relations with British America," in *House executive documents*, 39 congress, 1 session, no. 128, 34.

[44] Letter in Taylor papers.

movement at Red river, the Fenian activities, and the indifference of England, together with the Riel revolution, said, "Hardly do Canadians of this generation recognize by what narrow margin of chance Manitoba and indeed a large portion of the fertile belt in Rupert's Land was saved to Canada and the Empire."[45]

On March 6, 1868, the legislature of the state of Minnesota, in a memorial to the president and congress, said, "We regret to be informed of a purpose to transfer the territories between Minnesota and Alaska to the Dominion of Canada, by an order in council at London, without a vote of the people of Selkirk and the settlers upon the sources of the Saskatchewan River, who largely consist of emigrants from the United States; and we would respectfully urge that the President and Congress of the United States shall represent to the Government of Great Britain that such action will be an unwarrantable interference with the principle of self-government, and cannot be regarded with indifference by the people of the United States."[46] This resolution was presented with the suggestion that the cession of British northwest America to the United States might balance the account between Great Britain and the United States.[47] On July 27, 1868, Senator Ramsey of Minnesota introduced into the senate, in revised form, a resolution based upon Taylor's earlier bill, the main provision of which was that the committee on foreign relations should take under consideration the advisability of a treaty between Great Britain and the United States providing for the cession to the United States of British America west of longitude 90°.[48] Other provisions relating to reci-

[45] H. Beckles Willson, *Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal* (Boston, 1915), 1: 432.

[46] *Minnesota general laws*, 1868, p. 190. A draft of this resolution is to be found in the Taylor papers for 1868, and it is probable that Taylor was the author of the resolution.

[47] *Minnesota general laws*, 1868, p. 190. The more immediate concern of the legislature was the construction of a northern Pacific railway, specifically mentioned in the resolution.

[48] *Journal of the senate*, 40 congress, 2 session, 777; *Congressional globe*, 40 congress, 2 session, 4503-4506. In preliminary form Senator Ramsey had brought his resolution to the attention of the senate some three months before the passage of the resolution of the Minnesota legislature. He had first introduced the matter on December 9, 1867 (*Congressional globe*, December 9, 1867, 79). Somewhat changed in form the resolution was again brought before the senate on January 31, 1868 (*ibid.*,

procity, excise, navigation of lakes and canals, rights of vessels, and fisheries, were included, these being similar to those in Taylor's plan. The conditions of the cession, as proposed by Senator Ramsey, were: (1) the payment of six million dollars, to the Hudson's bay company for its claims, (2) the assumption of the public debt of British Columbia, (3) aid in the construction of a northern Pacific railway, and (4) the organization of the territory into not less than three United States territories.[49] This resolution of inquiry, after a minor change proposed by Senator Sumner, was adopted by the senate.

During the negotiations preceding the treaty of Washington there was considerable feeling in favor of the cession of British America to the United States. Senator Sumner took the position that the claims of the United States against Great Britain should be settled by the withdrawal of the British flag from this hemisphere, including provinces and islands. This proposition was set forth in speeches, and in his memorandum of January 17, 1871, to Secretary Fish.[50] Up to a certain point Secretary

880). Thus it was presented in a second revision on July 27. About the same time that Ramsey first presented his resolution, Taylor wrote a letter to Edward Cooper, advocating a reconsideration of his earlier proposition. He believed that the voluntary annexation of Canada was not far distant, and attempted to analyze the situation in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Canada, and the west. Writing of Nova Scotia, he said, "Hon. Joseph Howe, the foremost man of this Province, led a party triumphantly in the late elections with the watchword Repeal: and, failing of repeal, he and his party openly proclaim that they prefer Annexation on the terms of the bill presented to Congress in June 1866 by Mr. Secretary McCulloch. This was deliberately said in a Protest against Confederation, filed in the Colonial office by Messers Howe, Annan and others last winter: and has been often repeated on the hustings in Nova Scotia during the summer of 1867." Taylor to Cooper, November 23, 1867. Before the International commercial convention which assembled at Portland, Maine, August 4 and 5, 1868, Taylor advocated the Ramsey plan. *Proceedings of the convention*, 45-47.

[49] *Journal of the senate*, 40 congress, 2 session, 777. On December 9, 1867, in presenting his resolution in its first form, Senator Ramsey called attention to the approaching union of northwest British America and Canada. He believed that the people of Selkirk Settlement and British Columbia preferred admission to the American union, and therefore he regarded it advisable to indicate the terms and conditions of such admission. He felt that such an arrangement "might not only result in a desirable extension of our institutions in northwest America, but would go far to remove all grounds of offense and antagonism of interests between the communities planted in the valley of the St. Laurence." *Congressional globe*, 40 congress, 2 session, 79.

[50] Charles F. Adams, "The treaty of Washington," in *Lee at Appomattox, and other papers* (Boston, 1902), 101-104, 146-177. The entire subject of Sumner's at-

Fish urged upon the British minister the advisability of a British cession of British America.[51] Sir Edward Thornton made no secret of his feeling that such a separation would be welcomed by Great Britain.[52] President Grant himself hoped for the annexation of the provinces to the United States during his own administration.[53] It was frequently suggested that the question of Canadian independence or even annexation be submitted to the voters of the provinces. Such a vote on independence was favored, for example, by President Grant.[54] Taylor wrote to C. J. Brydges, "It is suggested that the English ministry might submit to the inhabitants of Selkirk and British Columbia, whether their preference is for political union with the Canadian Confederation or the United States: that, upon the unquestionable declaration in favor of the latter alternative, the United States should assume the discharge of all private claimations on account of the Alabama and similar cruisers: that a treaty determining a rule for international law for the future should be framed."[55]

titude in relation to the Alabama claims is discussed in this work. See also James F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the compromise of 1850 to the final restoration of home rule at the south in 1877* (New York, 1907), 6: 342.

[51] *Ibid.*, 6: 354; Adams, *Lee at Appomattox, and other papers*, 156-161.

[52] *Ibid.*, 156-160. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the compromise of 1850*, 6: 354. On being urged in December, 1869, and January, 1870, by Secretary Fish that England should withdraw from America, Sir Edward Thornton on one occasion replied, "Oh, you know that we cannot do. The Canadians find fault with me for saying so openly as I do that we are ready to let them go whenever they shall wish; but they do not desire it." Adams, *Lee at Appomattox, and other papers*, 157.

[53] *Ibid.*, 161. Of the views of Grant, Sumner, and Fish, Mr. Adams writes, "Mr. Sumner never contemplated forcible annexation as the result of a war with Great Britain growing out of his theory of national injuries. He did look to a voluntary and peaceable consolidation of adjacent English-speaking territories and their inhabitants. Grant also looked for such a consolidation, but was quite ready to have it come as the result of a campaign, and incidental beneficent compulsion. Again, Secretary Fish stood between the two." *Ibid.*, 153, note. On May 15, 1869, Taylor wrote as follows to N. W. Kittson, " 'But what,' you will ask, 'if Canada declines these measures of Western Improvement?' In that case there will be a great pressure brought upon England and Canada to cede the territory west of 90° or the longitude of Fort William to the United States. Senator Ramsey's proposition to that effect is before the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and I know that Pres. Genrl. Grant is most anxious for a Treaty with England which shall transfer the country between Minnesota and Alaska, in settlement of the Alabama Controversy and as a consideration for the establishment of complete Reciprocal trade with Canada." Letter in Taylor papers.

[54] Adams, *Lee at Appomattox, and other papers*, 161.

[55] A letter dated January 15, 1870, in Taylor papers.

Realizing the nature of the Canadian attitude on the subject of annexation, and the impracticability of the idea, Secretary Fish abandoned the thought of it.[56] The treaty of Washington, as well as the success of confederation, and the settlement of the Riel disturbance in the west, with the subsequent organization of the province of Manitoba, and above all, the plain fact that the Canadians themselves did not want to be annexed, effectually quieted the movements in that direction. It is of interest to note that in connection with the Riel revolt, the senate of the United States, on December 8, 1869, passed a resolution requesting the president to communicate information to the Senate "relating to the presence of honorable William McDougall at Pembina, in Dakota Territory, and the opposition by the inhabitants of Selkirk settlement to his assumption of the office of governor of the Northwest Territory."[57] On December 30, 1869, Hamilton Fish issued a secret commission to James W. Taylor, appointing him a special agent of the state department, to investigate the revolt, as well as the general subject of the commercial and political relations of the northwest territory and the United States.[58] On February 2, 1870, President Grant submitted a message to the senate on the matter, largely consisting of reports from Taylor to the state department.[59]

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[56] Rhodes, *History of the United States from the compromise of 1850*, 6: 355. "Fish saw clearly the insurmountable obstacle to our possession of Canada: the Canadians preferred the government of Great Britain to our own. Like the wise diplomat he was, he then dropped the unattainable from the discussion and on November 20, 1870 'asked merely an expression of regret on the part of Great Britain, an acceptable declaration of principles of international law and payment of claims.' " *Ibid.*, 355.

[57] *Senate executive documents*, 41 congress, 2 session, no. 33.

[58] The commission is to be found in the Taylor papers. Taylor accepted the post, and the department was advised fully on the situation north of the boundary.

[59] *Senate executive documents*, 41 congress, 2 session, no. 33. In 1870 Taylor was appointed United States consul at Winnipeg. On November 24, 1870, he wrote to Banks, "I have accepted the Winnipeg Consulate, believing that I can advance the annexation policy with which you are identified more effectively here than elsewhere." Banks replied, "I shall be glad to renew the proposition for the admission of the British Provinces to the Union, which you propose, and do not doubt that it may produce a good effect upon the public mind, both in the Provinces and in this country." Banks to Taylor, December 17, 1870. Some time after January 12, 1871, Taylor sent a redraft of his bill to the speaker of the house.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

American Historical Periodicals

At the present time about fifty periodicals devoted to history are published in the United States, but as the circulation of most of these is limited to certain localities, and to persons particularly interested in the subject, the number of these periodicals and the historical activities calling for their publication is not generally known. A complete list of all that have been published is even harder to find, but as such a list will be published this year, some observations on these periodicals may be of interest to others besides historians, especially to those interested in the literary and cultural development of the country.

Besides the journals devoted to history exclusively, there are others which have so much history and historical material included in them that one is inclined to think of them in that class. Such are the economic, political science, international law, folklore, geographic, sociological, archaeological, ethnological, and similar journals. Other fields, however, may be considered parts of the historical field, such as genealogy, with periodicals which, though catering to a selfish, narrow-visioned, albeit industrious class, may some day be found of more use to the historical student than they have been as yet; numismatics, whose periodicals deal with one line of tangible sources for history; and antiquarianism, the blind alley of history.

Two other kinds of periodicals are removed from consideration with reluctance and yet quite logically — the general periodicals and those dealing with a locality. The general have poetry, literary and political essays, besides the occasional his-

[1] This paper was read before the annual meeting of the American historical association in Cincinnati, December 29, 1916. Since it was delivered it is worthy of note that no less than five historical periodicals have been started, all of them in 1917 and of great promise. These are the *Louisiana historical quarterly, Georgia historical quarterly,* the New York historical society, *Quarterly bulletin, Michigan history magazine,* and the *Wisconsin magazine of history.* Three are published by the privately endowed or voluntary membership societies, and two by state supported societies; all of them start with a high standard.

torical article. They were the earliest kind of periodical to develop in the country; perforce, because the country could not support particularized journals, nor were there models of such in Europe. Some of this kind in earlier years were the *American magazine and historical chronicle*, published in Boston from 1743 to 1746; *The United States magazine, a repository of history, literature, and politics*, which appeared in Philadelphia in 1779; and Carey's *American museum*, which ran for twelve volumes in Philadelphia from 1787 to 1792. In our own years such magazines are *Atlantic, Harper's, Century*, and *Scribner's*, and these frequently have real historical contributions. A mention only of Gideon Welles' diary would serve to recall that many people read it, enjoyed it, and were informed thereby who would never have thought of purchasing that material when it appeared in book form or even of securing it from a library. Even a host of less high-class magazines sometimes allow something which has a semblance of history with a modicum of intellectual effort to appear in their pages. Similarly, the local magazines appealing to certain states or sections of the country, from the *New Hampshire magazine* (1793) and the *New Englander* (1843), and including such well-known and high class periodicals as the *New England magazine* (1884) and *Granite Monthly* (1877), because they cater to a locality, have an interest in the local history, notable events, disputed happenings, old landmarks and their preservation, reminiscent stories, preservation of account books, diaries, and other records, which tends towards the development of historic interest and in some rare cases of the historic sense.

If the subject matter presents questions as to what should be included among historical periodicals, so also does the matter of regularity and frequency of publication. Some of our libraries in making their classifications and lists have despaired of finding a stable definition, and have adopted the word "serial" to cover everything not a collection of documents or archives — everything which has appeared once with a prospect of indefinite continuance. Since there is, however, a fairly numerous class which appears with more or less regularity oftener than once a year, and less frequently than newspapers (as well as with a different character), much of the

"serial" matter can be excluded, even though with it go many publications of historical societies and other agencies which are decidedly historical in character.

It might seem to the scientific historian that a great number of periodicals masquerade under the designation of "historical," and are not worthy of the name. If one turns to the premier historical periodical of the country, *The American historical review*, it is found to contain articles which are the result of research, documents which are worthy of preservation, book reviews and news notes. To be a real historical periodical, a publication need not have all these classes in each number, but certainly no one class ought to be omitted all the time. If this is borne in mind, there are but few periodicals which will satisfy all scholars, and there are not many which are perused merely for enjoyment issue by issue. But just as the *American historical review* is consulted at some time by every historian, so even the lowliest historical magazine contains in its files material which even the historians at the top of the profession may consult as a valuable mine on some point. Further, it contains for periodical reading articles and news notes which are interesting and illuminating to the average layman. It is true, however, that there are still too many specimens of the fourth of July or obituary address, or anniversary celebration speech (frequently by a politician with enough oratory to kill trustworthiness) which find their way into some of our would-be serious and high class periodicals.

In the matter of documents, letters, and the like, it is probable that those printed by our historical periodicals and accumulated through the years are such that they have given the greatest aid to historical research. Especially is this true of such as the *Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography*, the *Virginia magazine*, the *William and Mary College historical quarterly*. The publication of documents in these places allows scholars in different parts of the country to get illustrative material, and in some cases final notes, which distance and lack of knowledge of storehouses would otherwise make inaccessible.

In book reviews, it is only very occasionally that anything worth while is done by the local or smaller historical periodical, but as real book reviewers are rare at the present time, even for

the best journals, scorn need not be heaped overmuch on the reviewer in an obscure periodical for his inexpertness in this particular field.

As for news notes, they are sometimes trivial, but sometimes are worthy of the periodical, and if read consistently, give a picture of historical activity in a locality which is worth while even to a stranger. The *Minnesota history bulletin* and *Iowa journal of history and politics* are examples of excellence, but frequently columns of news notes are not worth while even for the local readers.

In point of time, the first American historical periodicals came as an expression of the patriotic feeling in the era of the war of 1812. These publications (all in Philadelphia) were: Walsh's *American review of history and politics*, 1811-1812; *The war*, 1812-1813; *The American weekly messenger, or state papers, history, and politics*, 1813-1815; *The historical register of the United States*, 1814-1816. Publications prompted by war feeling were found later in the civil war period, as they are to be found today in Europe. Other short-lived publications, approximating more closely to the modern standards, appeared mainly in Philadelphia, but also, in 1823, in Concord, New Hampshire (*Collections, historical and miscellaneous*), in 1825 in Worcester, Massachusetts, and in 1836 in New Haven, Connecticut.

In 1842 the *American pioneer* appeared in Cincinnati, the organ of the Logan historical society, and the first of that numerous collection of magazines in Ohio, some nominally literary, but all having historical interests, and indicating — short-lived though most of them were — that the literary and historical spirit was bound to find expression in the trans-Allegheny region which was still considered very new by the more cultured east. The *American pioneer* is typical of the class of pioneer journals, containing much material about frontier life in the form of reminiscences, or of interviews with old settlers. This material is of course sometimes mixed with fiction and frequently contains exaggerated conceptions of the part the relator played. Other periodicals of this type are *Olden time* (Pittsburgh 1846-1848) and the *Firelands pioneer* (1858).

The first of the genealogical publications was started, natur-

ally enough in New England, with the *New Hampshire repository*, which in 1847 became the *New England historical and genealogical register*. This is the oldest of these periodicals existing today, and although it is classed mainly as genealogical, it has contained much local history, documents, and some treatment of larger historical questions. Other genealogical magazines followed, notably the *New York genealogical and biographical record* in 1870; there have even been magazines pertaining to particular families, such as the Keim, Kimball, Paine, and Grant families.

Dawson's *Historical magazine* was the first successful magazine of prominence devoted to history, and in its twenty-three volumes from 1857 to 1875 it established the possibility of such an enterprise, not, it must be noted, as a result of the labors of a body of men interested in the historical cause, but as a business venture. Later came other such magazines, the *Magazine of American history* (1877-1893), out of which Mrs. Lamb is said to have made money; and others still in existence.

With all the literary activity in certain southern capitals before the civil war, it is perhaps strange that no historical publication was started, unless the feeling that literature and history are not congenial, either as to method or results, was potent there long before modern cavilers could utter their beliefs. The *Virginia historical register* (1848-1853)—its successor was *The Vriginia historical reporter*—was an annual publication, and it was the only historical publication in the south before the civil war. After the war, it was first the intense feeling developed by believers in a lost cause which brought forth periodicals which were historical in character, as soon as there was time and money to spare,—*Land we love* (1866-1868); *Our living and our dead* (1874-1876); *Confederate annals* (1882). It was not until 1892 that the *William and Mary College historical quarterly* began, and the next year *The Virginia magazine of history and biography*; then followed the *Quarterly* of the Texas state historical association in 1897, which became the *Southwestern historical quarterly* in 1912; the *North Carolina historical and genealogical register* in 1900 and the *South Carolina historical and genealogical magazine* in the same

year. Whatever the reason for the late appearance of this class of periodicals in the south, certainly the publications of the new south have had a large degree of excellence.

To the west belongs the credit of the first state magazine of history, and to the newer west, too. This was the Iowa state historical society's *Annals*, which began in 1863. Similar periodicals devoted to the historical interests of a state and becoming foremost in their field are the *Pennsylvania magazine* (1877), the *Virginia magazine* (1893), the *Maine historical and genealogical recorder* (1884-1898), and others more recent which show great promise in Maryland, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Iowa, Tennessee, Kentucky, Oregon, Washington, and Utah.

But not only did these state periodicals start and find a constituency which would support them but smaller localities too were establishing periodicals to record their history. The *Mad river valley pioneer* in Ohio, which appeared for one number in 1870, is probably the first of this type, but others followed in different parts of the country—*Old times* in North Yarmouth, Maine, which ran for nearly eight years from 1877; the *Newport historical magazine* (Rhode Island) for four years (1880-1884), and then for three years more as the *Rhode Island historical magazine*; and so on, mainly in New England. Of these, note must be made of the *Dedham historical register* (1890-1903), the *Medford historical register* (1898-date), and of the most recent, *The Vineland* (New Jersey) *historical magazine* (1916). Most of these were established without hopes of gain by a local enthusiast or a group in an historical society, sometimes with faulty methods or misdirected aims, but all giving evidence of the outbreak of the historical instinct mixed perhaps generously, with the antiquarian.

It will be noted that of historical periodicals devoted to a locality, the state magazines were the first which could find a supporting constituency, then those of the smaller region. After these, with an increase of the historical sense which sees things in larger relations than those of small units, came the historical periodicals devoted to sections of the country, such as the *Magazine of western history* (1884); the *Gulf states historical magazine* which lasted for only two volumes (1902-1904); the *Maga-*

zine of New England history (1891-1893); the *Southwestern historical quarterly* (1912) developing out of the Texas *Quarterly*; *Old Santa Fé* (1913); and the Mississippi Valley Historical Review (1914). These ought to be, and in some respects are the best of the historical magazines in the country after the *American historical review.*

Yet this does not exhaust the kinds of historical periodicals which have sprung up in later years, for there are journals which are denominational (*Journal of the Presbyterian historical society* [1901]; *Catholic historical review* [1915]); racial (*Journal of negro history* [1916]; *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* [1901]); military (*Military historian and economist* [1916]); teaching (*History teacher's magazine* [1909]); and those issued by colleges and containing more than monographs (William and Mary; Smith).

These historical periodicals are evidence of certain stages in the literary and cultural history of the country. They are found first in localities where there was the earliest leisure, the greatest educational advantages, and a due proportion of the professional classes. As to whether homogeneity of the population was a necessity for such efforts is a question. Outside of Philadelphia, of Boston and its vicinity, and a little later of New York, the things of note are the scarcity in the south, and the prolificness of the Ohio valley region. It remained for the further west to establish the state-supported and state-directed periodicals, as in Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Illinois. As with their historical societies, it has seemed difficult for the unsubsidized association of individuals to do so much, either locally or generally; but though this statement is absolutely true for the local and state societies and their periodicals, it is to be noted that the formation of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the publication of its Review was directly due to the same spirit which manifested itself in the earlier societies and publications.

With the development of the historical sense and a desire for information comes the popularizer and the commercial exploiter. Some of the earlier business historians — Mrs. Lamb, Lossing — made money out of their ventures, but they deserve credit,

nevertheless, for keeping a high standard and for educating while popularizing. In later years gaudy covers, profuse illustration, and unexpected headlines tend to attract and interest the populace and result in certain beneficial effects, such as familiarizing the lay reader with the interest and value of documents (as occasionally printed), and with the broader significance of well-known places and events, and with information worth while in itself (at times). The trouble is that much well-written trash, or popular articles, or even misinformation, passes for history along with the rest. By reading such material people are deceived into thinking themselves real historical students, just as by reading some popular magazines they are deceived into thinking they are reading literature, or, at the theatre, by the scenic effects, costumes, lighting, music, they are deceived into thinking they are witnessing real drama. The encouraging thing about the subject is that there have arisen as many first-class publications in their own fields as there have in the past ten or twelve years. At the head stand the Mississippi Valley Historical Review and other publications covering more than one state, then a number of excellent state periodicals, and then certain local publications. It is rather a hopeful outlook from the historical point of view for the cultural development of the country.

Augustus Hunt Shearer

Grosvenor Library
Buffalo, New York

The Alton Riot

A copy of the following letter has been sent the managing editor by Mrs. Charles P. Noyes of St. Paul, Minnesota, a descendant of the writer, Winthrop S. Gilman. He was one of the firm of Godfrey and Gilman, prominent traders, and owners of Alton's first commission house in the day when that humming little city was the rival of St. Louis. So far as it is known, this letter, addressed to Dr. Chandler Robbins Gilman of New York,

has never before been published. Written the day after the Alton riot by an active defender of Lovejoy's press, it is a document of peculiar interest and value.

Dr. C. R. Gilman
care
Mess. L. M. Hoffman & Co
New York.

postmarked Upper Alton
Nov. 9
Ill.
Mail.

Alton 8 Novem. 1837.

Dear Doctor,

Yours of — ulto with the prison sketch is at hand & will appear in the November number of the Herald — I have but a few moments to spare to write to give you early information of the mob of last night of which I presume you will hear an early account. Great excitement has prevailed here against abolition — Mr. Lovejoy had a press arrived night before last, & I consented to have it stored in our warehouse,[1] there being about 30 of our citizens well armed in the building to defend it.

Thro' yesterday we did not hear much noise & last night about 14 citizens of whom I was one remained in the building with plenty of fire arms, which under the authority of the Mayor were to be used in defending the property. — it was a bright moonlight night & at about 10-o'clock an armed mob of some 30 desperadoes assembled in front & demanded the Press — I assured them that we would not deliver it & that we had been told by the Mayor to protect our property & we would do it with our lives — They then threw stones in the windows & broke the 2d story ones in in a few minutes & they fired upon us at the doors — our men then fired & killed one of their number — they then were more quiet for a few minutes, but returned again having ladders lashed together & materials prepared to set the Warehouse on fire at the roof — Occasional guns were fired & dreadful cursings & threats on their part — They ran up the ladder & we found the only way to prevent them was to come out of the building & fire — We did so & slightly wounded two or three of them, but they had the advantage by this time of some 40 or 50 in numbers & I learn they [*sic*] (a number of them were sent up from St. Louis) which I presume true — We again went out on their renewed attempt at the roof, but they had fearful advantages having stationed men behind the adjoining building & at a pile of boards on the landing. — Mr. Love-

[1] Winthrop S. Gilman was one of the firm of Godfrey and Gilman of Alton. Captain Benjamin Godfrey, the founder of Monticello Seminary, was the senior partner.

joy & Mr. Weller were then shot by the mob — Mr. Lovjoy lived only to reach our Compting room & expired on the floor in a few minutes — Mr. Weller was shot in the leg about the knee joint — not dangerous. — Our men retired into the building & altho we had been about 1½ or 2 Hours in Conflict & the Church Bells ringing — so numerous were the mob & its friends that the Mayor & Constable could not do any thing & the citizens could not be rallied in sufficient force to offer any chance of success. — We then called to them that Mr. Lovejoy was dead & we wished to end the affray on some terms — They replied with dreadful curses that our lives should all be forfeited in the building. — With the roof of our warehouse already on fire, it was folly to resist longer, as it would only be at the almost certain sacrifice of our lives & the complete destruction of some 20 or 30.000 of property by fire — Mr. H. T. West who was outside the building acquainted with many of the mob acted nobly — Came to our lower door & told us to escape down the river (that the mob would not fire on us when leaving) — All of our men but two or three who staid by the wounded (two wounded in number, Mr. Roff & Weller, both in the leg) ran on the river bank without arms & escaped, notwithstanding the heartless creatures fired at us as we ran. — Mr. Long was one of our Company — I had taken my wife [2] to Upper Alton expecting some trouble & after sleeping till daylight in the house of a friend here I walked up there & returned immediately after breakfast. — The mob entered the building threw out & destroyed the press, but did not injure (as I knew of) any of our property, not even the guns which we left. Mr. West ascended the ladder & put out the fire on the roof which had not kindled much — If we had staid in a short time longer, the whole property must have been destroyed as the mob were determined to blow up the house by powder if necessary. — To-day (their object being accomplished) all is as quiet as could be expected & we anticipate no further trouble — Thus has ended our attempt to sustain law, which we felt it a solemn duty to do & which we engaged in with prayer — The result is we cannot do it — resistance is useless & we must yield for the present to the powers that *be* —

I do not apprehend further serious disturbance — My wife is quite well & our baby [3] (Arthur Gilman, born June 22, 1837) grows finely —

[2] Abia Swift Lippincott, eldest daughter of Rev. Thomas Lippincott by his first wife, Patience Swift. Mr. Lippincott was one of the pioneer home missionaries of the Presbyterian church in Illinois and was living at this time in Upper Alton.

[3] Arthur, Mr. Gilman's second son of that name, was a writer and educator of Cambridge, Massachusetts. He and his second wife, Stella Scott, of Alabama, conceived the plan for the higher education of women, which resulted in the establishment of the Harvard annex, later Radcliffe college.

Dont fail to send the Prison Sketches monthly — They are very much admired by Mr. Corey & our Exct. Com.

With kind & affectionate remembrances to Eliza [4] I remain, your attached brother W. S. Gilman.

Mr. Lovejoy had three buck shot or small balls in the breast.

P. S. Abia sends a great deal of love to Serena [5] & Eliza — Benjamin [6] left about 8 days since for Galena & will not probably be back for a week. — I cannot send you any money immediately but will endeavor to do so ere long — I expect to send you the Alton Telegraph giving acc of our Public Meeting & by my protest you will see I was in a very small minority — Did I do right? W. S. G.

[4] Elizabeth Hale Gilman, Mr. Gilman's sister, who married in 1830, Martin Hoffman of New York, a member of the firm of L. M. Hoffman & Company.

[5] Serena Hoffman, daughter of Martin and Beulah (Murray) Hoffman and sister of Martin Hoffman mentioned above, was the first wife of Mr. Gilman's brother, Dr. Chandler Robbins Gilman, to whom this letter is addressed. Dr. Gilman was a practising physician and a professor in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, of New York.

[6] Benjamin Ives Gilman, another of Mr. Gilman's brothers, who afterwards entered the firm, when its name was changed to Godfrey, Gilman & Co. Bejamin I. Gilman moved later to Monticello, where he died in 1866.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Spiritual interpretation of history. By Shailer Mathews, A.M., D.D., LL.D., professor of historical and comparative theology and dean of the divinity school, University of Chicago. [William Belden Noble lectures] (Cambridge: Harvard university press, 1916. 227 p. $1.50)

Does history mean the "utilization of documents," — the expression in literary form of the results of research in "sources" and synthesis in accordance with ascertained principles of method? Or does the word properly connote that which has happened, — *das Geschehene*? Whichever view one takes, one meets further questions. Viewed from the standpoint of method, can history be a science? Viewed as the events themselves, does history consist of scattered facts or groups of facts, or of an unfolding whole? And if the latter, what is the principle of the unfolding?

In the volume before us, which contains six lectures delivered at Harvard university upon the William Belden Noble foundation, Mr. Shailer Mathews, with much learning and profundity of thought, and with great charm of expression, attacks that interpretation of history, in the second of the senses suggested above, which posits as fundamental or predominant the materialistic or economic factors; and offers instead a "spiritual interpretation of history." Almost at the outset Mr. Mathews declares that he sets before himself "no such task as that of the philosopher;" but the reader will question this disclaimer and will find in the book an impressive presentation of philosophical idealism, held close, indeed, as the author intends, to the actualities of life. If it is not with the other-worldliness of the city of God that Mr. Mathews would deal, it is because he sees the city of God nascent in this world of men.

In the first lecture, he brings to the bar of criticism the economic interpretation of history, emphasizing the tendency of those who adhere to this school to neglect the "plus" factors of personality, great men, ideals in social customs, and other non-economic elements of human life. At the close of this discourse he discusses the limits of a spiritual interpretation of history set by a real world; then, contending that, instead of a single hypothesis, the historian should employ a "multiple" hypothesis, because "it may very well be that he will discover that human history

is carried along by a variety of forces which are capable of no synthesis this side of metaphysics," Mr. Mathews in his next lecture declares that tendencies and directions in history may not be judged except by the examination of long periods. "It is through perspective that history is to be interpreted." Carrying this thought over into a rapid survey of history as a whole, he proceeds to support his thesis by a selection of special periods — the development of Greece, the early years of christianity, and the protestant reformation. In modern times he sees a proof of the recognition of spiritual forces in the growing emphasis which economic thought lays upon consumption as over against production. But a larger proof is attempted in the three following chapters, which adduce, as evidence of the justness of maintaining the presence of a spiritual factor in the world's progress, the substitution of moral control for the control of force; the growing recognition of the worth of the individual; and the increasing transformation of "rights" into "justice." The last lecture of the series makes practical application of the principles evolved in their bearing on the intellectual life, on social reconstruction, and on foreign missions.

If this summary suggests to the professional student of history in the narrower sense something of the "all History shows" type of sermon which he not infrequently hears with sorrow, the reading of the book will dispel the false reminder: for it is Mr. Mathews who speaks and it does not need the apparatus of references to works of German, French, and English writers in the fields of religion and church history, sociology, philosophy and comparative law, to persuade one that here is a product of a deep and wide scholarship. The learning is accompanied with a felicity of expression that delights: as when Mr. Mathews describes a certain type of historiography as "an infinite number of doctors' theses united by a card catalog;" and when he says that "the general curves of statistics are not composed of individuals. They are only the fences on each side of the road we individuals travel at our own pace, and they in no way prevent some of us every now and then from jumping over the fence." Sometimes, indeed, this manner of argument by an illustration or by an analogy has its dangers, but it is always entertaining.

Of course, as the argument proceeds, questions arise in the reader's mind. What tribunal shall pass on the "long periods," necessary for historical inductions? What estimate shall be made of periods of retrogression? Some of the deductions as to a super-person, applied to some times and places of history, might be used to prove anything but beneficent tendency or guidance. After all, the technical student of

history may be tempted to say, how much do we really know of these long periods, particularly of those which are so little documented?

Nevertheless, if the over-skeptical student of documents be disposed to apply to Mr. Mathews the latter's own saying — that the historian who enters into metaphysics "has gone to a far country from whose bourne he will never return a historian," he will readily concede the stimulating effect of this review of the past with outlook towards the future, and will greet it as a highly suggestive critique of those materialistic philosophies of history which are no more historical, and which are certainly far less inspiring.

St. George L. Sioussat

Purpose of history. By Frederick J. E. Woodbridge. (New York: Columbia university press, 1916. $1.00 net)

The lectures comprised in this volume constitute an endeavor "to discover in what sense the idea of purpose in history is appropriate." It is contended that history is pluralistic, having many practically disconnected strands, so that there are in fact as many histories as there are interests. Historic evolution is presented in Bergsonian fashion as a continuous creative process in which surviving elements are temporarily reshaped, but in which there is no unity, direction, beginning, or goal except what may be arbitrarily assumed by the acceptance of some limited point of view. Historic continuity is, however, emphasized, but the danger into which evolutionists fall of confusing continuity with causation is clearly pointed out. And a degree of purpose, humanly speaking, is admitted in that man in the pursuit of spiritual ends may seek to round out to some fulfillment certain traditional tendencies.

The book is an able presentation of the trend of philosophic thinking as applied to the interpretation of history. Its thesis is in contrast, however, with the later point of view of the social sciences, which looks with more favor on an interpretation of social evolution as a convergence toward "one far-off divine event" in the form of the eventual realization of social ideals.

Foreign policy of Woodrow Wilson, 1913-1917. By Edgar E. Robinson, assistant professor of American history, Leland Stanford Junior university, and Victor J. West, assistant professor of political science, Leland Stanford Junior university. (New York: Macmillan company, 1917. 428 p. $2.25 net)

The aim of the authors of this book has been to present a concise review of the development of President Wilson's foreign policy from his accession to the presidency in 1913 to the entrance of the United States

into the great war in 1917. The descriptive matter in the text is supplemented by an appendix which constitutes more than half the volume and which contains some ninety documents consisting of addresses delivered by President Wilson before congress and before various public and private gatherings; diplomatic notes written by himself or by Mr. Bryan or Mr. Lansing; and other papers which relate to the American foreign policy.

The principal questions of foreign policy which have occupied the attention of President Wilson are those arising out of our relations with Mexico in consequence of Huerta's accession to the presidency, with Japan on account of California's anti-Japanese land ownership legislation, the question of the Panama tolls controversy with Great Britain, and the various controversies with Great Britain, France, and Germany, precipitated by the outbreak of the European war in 1914. President Wilson's policy in dealing with these questions and his views on the larger aspects of international politics to which they gave rise are briefly analyzed and set forth in intelligible and popular language. Unfortunately the authors have followed the chronological method of treatment, in consequence of which we find the president's Mexican policy considered in some eight or ten different parts of the book. The effect is a little disconcerting to the reader and we think it would have been better to have followed the topical method and treated fully each subject in one place without constantly jumping from one question to another throughout the book.

The attitude of approach of the authors is distinctly sympathetic and expository rather than critical. They refrain from condemning even the Mexican policy of the president which has been the subject of attack from so many quarters. That policy, they assert, merited praise even if it did not lead to the immediate restoration of order. "The motives which actuated it," we are told, "the ends which it tried to achieve, the principles which guided it and the means which it used would have been precisely the same." They must, therefore, be judged "not primarily by the immediate results but with reference to their permanent value to serve the desirable permanent purposes they are calculated to serve." They point out that in consequence of the democratic party's having been out of power for sixteen years President Wilson in taking office in 1913 had not only to formulate a foreign policy but to interpret that policy to the American people. Mr. Wilson accepted the task with a deep sense of responsibility and in expounding the principles of an American policy he made a great, if not the greatest, contribution to the preparation of America for participation in the world war. With a few justifiable exceptions, we are told, his policy was logical and consistent and was

characterized by high ideals, the spirit of humanity, a strong faith in democracy and a high regard for justice, the equality of nations, and the right of peoples everywhere to govern themselves. Not the least significant features of his policy was in boldly cutting loose from the old policy of isolation from Europe and advocating the policy of international coöperation through the organization of a league to enforce peace.

JAMES W. GARNER

Foreign relations of the United States. By Henry Raymond Mussey and Stephen Pierce Duggan. [Proceedings of the academy of political science in the city of New York, volume VII, numbers 2 and 3] (New York: Academy of political science, Columbia university, 1917. 460 p. $1.50)

This publication consists of the addresses and discussions delivered at the national conference on foreign relations of the United States held at Long Beach, New York, May 28 to June 1, 1917, under the auspices of the Academy of political science with the coöperation of the American society of international law. The object of the conference, as stated in the report of the director, "was to create and diffuse what President Butler so happily phrased as the 'international mind,' " since "a proper attitude towards the international situation upon the part of the American people could come only as the result of a campaign of education, for it is generally admitted that because of our comparative isolation, even intelligent Americans were not properly informed upon the historical, political, and economic background of the great war raging in Europe."

To this end, representatives of the leading newspapers and magazines, and societies devoted to the study of international relations, national policies, peace, and kindred subjects, were invited to attend. Representatives of various political parties, the leading universities, and several foreign states also participated.

The speakers were evidently chosen with a view to representing all shades of opinion. Besides statesmen as Charles E. Hughes, Simeon E. Baldwin, and the diplomatic representatives at Washington of a number of states, and authorities on international law and diplomacy as Professors John Bassett Moore and George Grafton Wilson, the program contained such names as Felix Adler, Hamilton Holt, Jane Addams, Oswald Garrison Villard, William English Walling, and Frederick C. Howe. The program committee clearly felt themselves tied to no propaganda or school of thought and as a result the actual diversity of opinion which exists on many questions of international relations was well brought out in the papers and discussions. Judged by the suggestive ideas developed, the stimulating discussion, and the wide publicity given through the

hearty coöperation accorded by the press, the conference attained its object. It is particularly fortunate at this time, that this valuable material should have been so promptly put in a form, conveniently arranged by topics, and made available by an adequate index.

In accordance with the objects of the conference the papers attempt to present the various problems now before the world with suggestions for their solution. Their value is practical rather than historical or scientific. The volume is divided into four major sections dealing with the democratic ideal in world organization, future Pan American relations, future relations in the far east, and investments and concessions as causes of international conflict. Among the questions considered are the league to enforce peace and methods of world organization, the problem of nationality, freedom of the seas, secret diplomacy, the Caribbean question, the Monroe Doctrine and Pan Americanism, the relations of the United States to China and Japan, the constitutional position of treaties in the United States, economic imperialism, and dollar diplomacy.

While as was to be expected the papers differ greatly in value, the volume deserves careful study by all interested in the problems of constructive statesmanship which beset the world.

QUINCY WRIGHT

Thirty-seven years of Holland-American relations, 1803-1840. By Peter Hoekstra. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans-Sevensma company, 1916. 184 p. $1.00)

This book opens with a short general introduction in which are sketched several different lines of connection between Holland and the North American continent during the past three centuries. The author takes occasion incidentally to point out that Dutch emigration to the American middle west in 1846 was begun by "Seceders (AFGESCHEIDENEN) from the Established Church" and was, therefore, due to religious persecution rather than to economic forces. The use of a word in capital letters does not prove the statement, but to do that is not the author's purpose; having afforded the reader some historical background, he devotes the remainder of his study to international relations.

In the years from 1803 to 1813 relations between Holland and the United States grew out of trade and navigation. Americans reaped considerable profit until Holland, virtually annexed to France, was subjected to the restrictions of Napoleon's continental system; thus French decrees and British orders in council practically ruined American trade with Holland. When Holland had regained its independence after the overthrow of Napoleon, the United States lost no time in demanding

compensation for the injuries sustained "by the unwarrantable seizure, destruction, and even confiscation" of American property in Dutch ports. These spoliation claims were dropped in 1820 when it dawned upon American diplomats that France, not Holland, was the real offender against American neutrality.

Meanwhile, the United States had decided upon the policy of partial reciprocity in its trade relations with Holland. From 1818 to 1840 commercial intercourse gave rise to the only questions at issue between the two nations, especially with reference to the discriminations practiced by the Dutch government in favor of its own commercial and trading classes. After years of dispute diplomatic negotiations culminated in the conclusion of a treaty which produced a more perfect reciprocity and a more friendly understanding.

Mr. Hoekstra's readable account is supplied with a good bibliography and plentiful footnote references to hitherto unused manuscripts in American, British, and Dutch archives and to books in French, Dutch, and English. An index would have made the contents of the book easily accessible.

J. Van der Zee

The Leveller movement. A study in the history and political theory of the English great civil war. By Theodore Calvin Pease, Ph.D., associate in history, University of Illinois. (Washington: American historical association, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1916. 406 p. $1.50 net)

This is a University of Chicago doctoral dissertation which was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams prize for 1915. It is a thoughtful work, based largely on a careful reading in the formidable mass of pamphlets begotten by those fertile contentious minds who were so active during the troubled years of the civil war and the commonwealth. It portrays a most significant, if unsuccessful attempt to secure a form of government substantially of the type later adopted by the United States — a system based on a paramount law embodied in a written constitution, as contrasted with the system, which came to prevail in England, of parliamentary supremacy. Mr. Pease brings out clearly that parliament starting, in the conflict against the crown, with the assertion of the supremacy of the law only gradually came to assert its own supremacy. As late as 1642 "it was only as the interpreter of the law that it claimed sovereignty for itself." It was in opposing this course of development that the Levellers developed views so rich in possibilities for the future. "The fact," says our author, "that a subordinate party in the Great Rebellion assumed the doctrinal position of the American Whigs in the

Revolution of 1775 has hardly been emphasized." The parliamentary encroachments which provoked the American revolution were manipulated by a monarch aiming at a revival of despotism and were resisted also by the English whigs; but that does not affect the validity of the present thesis. The essay confines itself "almost exclusively with the events and theories of 1640-1660." Perhaps one could never hope to trace to their remote and complex sources the ideas of the Levellers, but one may hope for some future attempt to trace a possible connection between them and those which inspired the framers of the American constitution.

A human touch is given to the discussion by making that most persistent of agitators, John Lilburne, the Hamlet of the piece: we come to know him better and in a more intimate setting than ever before. While professedly an appreciation, "an attempt to show what is best in the men and their ideals," the analysis of their aims is generally discriminating. There is a selected, critical bibliography, in which, however, pamphlets are not included because of the British museum's catalog of the Thomason collection. To make up for this omission, each pamphlet is described in some detail when first cited. The author makes his points with precision and emphasis, writing with a gravity befitting — no doubt — those times which tried men's souls. The copious extracts quoted in the text, in footnotes and at the ends of chapters, while furnishing valuable evidence upon which to test the soundness of the conclusion advanced, demand close application on the part of the reader. Possibly a few might have been spared as superfluous or not clearly illustrative. On the other hand, there are a number of terse and striking passages — too many and too long to cite in the limited space of a review — which sum up the successive stages of the argument. A few special points may be alluded to. One brings out the fact that parliament arrived at its present position of supremacy by virtue of its power of interpreting the law, the transition stage being marked by the militia bill of the spring of 1642. It was Henry Parker's doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty, we are told, "which was to become the doctrine of the English Constitution." His postulate, by the way, "that the subject shall live both safe and free," suggests President Wilson's now famous phrase which many have failed correctly to understand. The ecclesiastical question of the independence of individual congregations is emphasized as an important factor in the Leveller's opposition to parliamentary supremacy, and the distinction between Presbyterian, Independent, and Erastian is clearly brought out. We are informed flatly (p. 142) that "the Levellers were the first thinkers of the Puritan Revolution who state clearly the theory of the social compact," but one would

wish to have brought out whether Rainsborough was the first to assert, in this period, the doctrine of natural right. Some comment is required on the Independent's justification of the army's defiance of parliament on "the plea of necessity," "the necessity that knows no law," for such procedure is properly the monopoly of supermen. Some instructive comparison might be made, too, between the army agitators and the Russian Bolsheviki. Lilburne's attacks on the common law and his anticipation of the present practice with regard to the function of the jury and the rights of the accused (pp. 132, 269, 296, 326, 359) should be of profound interest to the legal student.

In spite of a few minor errors the book is a valuable contribution, well worth the time it took to prepare.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS

Mine taxation in the United States. By Lewis Emanuel Young, Ph.D., assistant professor of business organization, University of Illinois. [University of Illinois studies in the social sciences, vol. v, no. 4.] (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1916. 275 p. $1.50)

Mr. Young has given the most comprehensive statement in regard to mine taxation presented up to the present time. He includes an historical statement and comparison of the methods employed in assessing and in taxing mining properties, and gives an excellent presentation of economic principles as viewed from the standpoint of a trained mining engineer. This combined presentation of the economic and the engineering features is admirably done and a great deal of information has been brought together that will be useful to any one interested in the financial side of mining.

The bibliography includes not only the subjects directly applicable to taxation but covers a wide range of collateral subjects and any one who has to do with mine finance and mine valuation will find this bibliography most useful.

The introductory chapters give very fully the history of taxation, particularly in the United States; also a general discussion of the theory upon which different systems of taxation are based and the application of these theories to the levying of taxes on mining properties. The author then discusses the administration of the different methods in connection with different kinds of mines, mainly iron, coal, gold, petroleum, and natural gas and gives the experience in connection with taxation experiments in a number of different states, particularly those in which a definite method has been attempted for getting at the value of the properties; as for instance, in Minnesota in connection with the iron ore mines, in Michigan where Finlay appraised copper and iron properties,

in Wisconsin and Arizona; also a discussion of the taxation of the anthracite mines.

Chapter VIII, headed the "Taxation period," shows methods that have been used in different states for the gathering of taxes and the part played by the mines as tax producers. Chapter IX summarizes a number of suggested methods of taxation and reforms in connection with them, together with the criticisms and suggestions of mining engineers and mine operators, state taxation officials, tax commissions, economists, and others.

Among the important questions outlined as needing agreement as a basis for taxation the author gives the following:

1. Should natural resources be taxed in a manner or by a method different from other property?
2. Should natural resources be taxed at a higher rate if taxed in the same manner as other property?
3. Should wasting assets, such as mines, be taxed differently from other property?
4. Should the appraisal of mines for taxation be centralized, that is, placed under the immediate supervision of state officers?
5. Should mines be appraised physically for the purpose of taxation?

The author outlines the various points that should be considered in setting up a system of taxation and gives as the points at present interesting tax officials and mine operators the following: what mining properties shall be taxed; who shall tax it; how shall it be taxed; how shall it be valued; at what rate shall it be taxed? These are discussed in detail and the author's conclusions given together with his argument for these conclusions. The book is clearly written and is altogether an admirable presentation of the subject.

H. H. Stoek

History of the Australian ballot system in the United States. A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the graduate school of arts and literature in candidacy for the degree of doctor of philosophy, University of Chicago. By Eldon Cobb Evans. (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1917. 102 p. $.75 net)

Into the brief space of seventy-two pages, Mr. Evans has crowded a great amount of information useful to students and teachers of history and political science. To the historical student the chief value of the monograph lies in the first two chapters which summarize the various methods of voting in different geographical sections of the country from the colonial period to about 1890. The author has made good use of the important monographs by Bishop and McKinley relating to elections and

to the suffrage franchise in the colonial period, and has apparently done some independent historical investigation. Then follow chapters of more direct interest to the teacher or student of political science, summarizing what appears to have been a detailed study of the present so-called Australian ballot laws in the several states.

The bibliography is deficient in the technique which one expects to find observed in a doctor's dissertation, and a few typographical errors appear. In view of the strong case which can be made out in favor of the Delaware envelope ballot, one is inclined to criticise the unsupported reference to the adoption of that system as "a very reactionary step." Mention should also have been made of the mailing of sample ballots to voters now required by the laws of New Jersey and California as a means of publicity and instruction of voters. Methods of counting ballots are also frequently prescribed minutely in ballot laws and might well have been treated in this study, especially the central counting system recently adopted in San Francisco. A study of "the *development* of the Australian ballot system in the United States," to be complete, should have also included the preferential ballot now used in Cleveland, San Francisco, and over fifty other cities, at least certain aspects of the absent voters laws now in force in about one-half of the states, and legal and extra-legal methods of securing qualified officials to man the polling places and count the ballots, notably in New Jersey.

These omissions and the failure of the monograph to treat of primary ballots and to throw new light upon the practical operations of ballot laws in general and the envelope and non-partisan ballot in particular are traceable to the author's avowed purpose to confine his study to *elections* and to his failure to venture far beyond the text of election laws and court decisions for his material. With these limitations, the work done is to be highly commended and the reviewer hopes that it can early be expanded into the more comprehensive survey of our election laws which is so greatly needed.

P. Orman Ray

History of legislative methods in the period before 1825. By Ralph Volney Harlow, Ph.D., instructor in history, Simmons college. [Yale historical publications, Miscellany, V, published under the direction of the department of history] (New Haven: Yale university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1917. 269 p. $2.25 net)

This book is a study of the origin and development of the committee systems in American legislatures. The monograph, representing a prodigious amount of pioneer research, is a distinct contribution to Ameri-

can political history. No student of legislative methods can afford to ignore it. Both the formal organization of the law-making bodies and the informal activities of political parties are discussed. Incidentally the work shows how arrangements made to facilitate legislation have affected some aspects of constitutional history.

The first seven chapters deal with the origin and growth of the committee system in the colonial and state legislatures from about 1750 to 1790. During this period it appears that the most important element in legislative organization was the "Junto," an inner circle of political leaders who determined the policies of legislation. It was through the influence of the "Junto" that the law-making body became the dominant factor in colonial and state government. As the work of the legislature increased, special and standing committees were appointed, chiefly to consider petitions and frame laws. The author discusses the function and procedure of these committees and devotes a chapter to the committee of the whole.

The development of legislative methods in the national house of representatives up to 1825 is related in six chapters. Under the influence of Hamilton and Jefferson the house had little need of standing committees: congress merely ratified the administration measures that were shaped in the caucus of the majority party. Executive guidance of legislation ceased, however, when Madison became president. Thereupon the speaker gradually assumed leadership in the house of representatives and the standing committee system was the practical scheme evolved to accomplish the work of legislation with as little assistance as possible from cabinet officers.

John Ely Briggs

American Indians north of Mexico. By W. H. Miner. (Cambridge: Cambridge university press, 1917. 169 p. $1.00)

In this brief survey of Indian life in America north of Mexico, Mr. Miner has endeavored to furnish a "readable, comprehensive" and "authentic account of the original inhabitants of the American continent" and to arouse further interest in the study of the subject while material yet remains which may be collected and preserved.

The volume presents some of the theories concerning the origin and prehistoric life of the Indian tribes — especially those of the plains and the southwest — and suggests some results of geographical environment as well as many facts concerning the history and customs of various tribes. Much emphasis is placed upon language as a determining factor in classification and the more important linguistic stocks are located on a map. There is also a chapter on Indian sociology and another on their

religion or mythology. A bibliography furnished as a guide to further reading and an index are useful features of the work.

The accounts of religious beliefs, family life, and tribal government are unusually interesting. It is possible, however, that the reader may get a too favorable idea of the culture of the "vanishing race," since the theories are frequently more pleasing than the actual practices were. While the handbook contains little material which is distinctly new, much information on subjects like primitive industries, dress, and the physical characteristics of the natives may be found here more conveniently than in larger volumes.

RUTH A. GALLAHER

Abraham Lincoln and constitutional government. By Bartow A. Ulrich. (Chicago: Chicago legal news, 1916. 406 p. $2.50)

The title of this volume — *Abraham Lincoln and constitutional government* — is misleading. A glance at the title-page immediately brings one to the conclusion that the author is presenting a study which deals with Lincoln's conception of the constitution and his contributions to the development of the American state. There is, however, no connection between the two parts of the title: in reality two distinct monographs are between the covers of this book.

The first of these covers one hundred and fifty pages. The title — *Abraham Lincoln* — gives the author wide latitude in the treatment of his subject. Only the most cursory examination of the text is necessary to reveal the fact that it is neither a formal biography of the great president nor a monograph setting forth the results of a careful, exhaustive investigation of any particular phase of his character, personality, private life, or public services. Moreover it is not a history of his times. Any attempt at classification must inevitably lead to the conclusion that the work belongs under the head of "compilations." It is a compilation of newspaper clippings, extracts from public documents, biographies, and the more prominent historical works to which are added certain personal reminiscences by the author who knew Lincoln — how intimately does not appear. Some of the author's poetical productions are also inserted but unfortunately the reader is not informed as to the connection between Abraham Lincoln and these literary efforts.

The selection of the items presented, nearly all of which have already frequently appeared in print, does not form very convincing evidence of the author's capacity for critical, constructive, historical research while the plan of organization leaves much to be desired. Continuity of treatment is certainly not in evidence and a critical reader speedily comes to the conclusion that perspective is also a matter of small concern. For

example several pages are devoted to the assassination of Colonel Ellsworth and less than half a page to that of Lincoln. The organization of the materials within the several chapters calls for little in the way of commendation. The secessionist officials of Buchanan's administration, Jefferson Davis's theories concerning constitutional government and slavery, the fraudulent activities of dishonorable army contractors, rules of conduct governing Lincoln's private and public life, his attitude towards his generals, and finally the liberation of the Russian serfs by Czar Nicholas II are all discussed in a single chapter of a scant ten pages. In no single chapter can the reader find anything which resembles a careful or connected characterization of Lincoln. In one place is a sketch of his personal appearance, in another one finds his views on temperance, and here and there are comments on his faith in God, his belief in prayer, his humanity, etc. Finally the reader is by no means certain that the table of contents forms a trustworthy guide to the body of the work. Chapter X, according to this table deals with two points: the influence of West Point upon democracy; and college training versus the Declaration of Independence. At the designated page, however, the chapter heading appears as "The West Point and Annapolis Alumni" and upon examination of the text even this does not appear to be an accurate title. The question of the colleges and the Declaration of Independence happens to have been incorporated into the preceding chapter along with the Trent Affair, the Gettysburg Address, the President's proclamation for a national fast day, a thanksgiving proclamation, and the question of slavery.

It is profitless to pile up the defects which appear. Suffice it to say that this half of the book, at least, is not history and by no stretch of the imagination can it be characterized as a contribution to the literature of Lincoln or his times.

The second monograph — *constitutional government* — differs very materially from the first in character. It is a revision of the author's baccalaureate thesis which was presented to the law faculty of the University of Michigan in 1863. The first chapters taken together give the reader a general view of governmental theory as it is understood and put into operation by the leading states of Europe. Four chapters are devoted to the constitutional development and administrative machinery of the American republic. Another is devoted to a consideration of the amendments to the constitution. The constitutions of Switzerland, Portugal, Prussia, China, Belgium, and other states are grouped in the closing chapters and to each document is prefixed a short historical sketch treating its evolution. As to the general value of the work we have the assurance in the author's preface that the original essay was used as a campaign document in at least two elections.

There is no index to either monograph and the short bibliographies which are inserted here and there convey little information which is not available in a dozen other places.

Uncollected letters of Abraham Lincoln. First brought together by Gilbert A. Tracy. With an introduction by Ida A. Tarbell. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin company, 1917. 264 p. $2.50 net)

This work brings together Lincoln letters from different sources and includes hitherto unpublished manuscripts and isolated items and collections that have appeared since the last edition of Lincoln's *Complete Works.* The most important single group drawn upon was the collection of about twenty letters to Senator Lyman Trumbull published in the *Century magazine,* 4:17 in an article entitled "A Lincoln Correspondence," by William H. Lambert. The volume constitutes a contribution to Lincolniana sufficiently significant to arouse in Mr. Tracy the hope to be able to secure a publisher for a new authoritative, standard edition of Lincoln's *Complete Works.*

Even so small and haphazard a collection of letters vividly illustrates the many-sided Abraham Lincoln, the great "Commoner," the loyal friend and the defender of the weak, as well as the slipshod but eloquent lawyer, the adroit politician, and the temperate statesman. The collection contains not only his longest but also what was probably his shortest letter when in reply to an autograph collector he writes: "You request an autograph and here it is." (p. 148) A young man who wishes to read law under him he refers to a local "excellent lawyer (much better than I, in law-learning)" and advises him: "Always bear in mind that your own resolution to succeed, is more important than any one thing." (p. 62) On the eve of his presidential nomination in 1860, he declines an invitation to deliver a lecture before the Harrison Literary Institute of Chicago: "I am not a professional lecturer. Have never got up but one lecture, and that I think rather a poor one." (p. 141) Another human note is sounded when in July, 1864, the great president penned his thanks to a woman, who had passed the eighty-fourth year of life but had given to the soldiers some three hundred pairs of stockings knitted by herself. (p. 243)

A considerable part of the correspondence concerns legal services rendered by Lincoln, involving only here and there a personal touch. We see him carefully studying Manny's reaper so as to be able to defend Manny's rights against the charges of Cyrus H. McCormick. He offers his services gratuitously to defend on a charge of murder the son of a widow from whose hands he had himself received various favors. Instead of presenting formal bills for his services, he often writes as follows: "I have news that we *win* our Gallatin and Saline county case.

As the Dutch justice said when he married folks, 'Now vere ish my hundred tollers?' '' (p. 45)

The frank admission to his friends of his desire to go to congress (p. 9-10) proclaims the substance of the man. As a congressman we see him (p. 36) maintaining a close political hold on his district, keeping himself in touch with developments in every county through personal correspondence to the extent of being able to record four losses from his party as against eighty-three gains. The volume furnishes a few brief glimpses of Lincoln's interest in the nomination of General Taylor by the whigs in 1848. Lincoln's influence in bringing this about as a member of a small but active Taylor group at the national capital has never been fully appreciated; the index which is fairly comprehensive fails to take any notice of any of these references. (pp. 26, 31, 33, 34) A little over ten years later we read his own declarations that he himself was not ''fit for the Presidency.'' (p. 104) As his qualifications receive a more wide-spread recognition, he announces his belief in the enforcement of the laws and declares: ''Free speech and discussion and immunity from whip & tar and feathers, seem implied by the guarantee to each state of 'a republican form of government.' '' (p. 121) At the same time he writes ''the longest letter I ever dictated or wrote'' was to deny the compact theory and the right of secession. (p. 123-129)

Letters written in 1858 and 1860 (pp. 86-87, 132-133) explain his famous declaration that the ''government can not endure permanently half slave, and half free;'' he makes it clear that this was an essay in the realm of political prophecy and not a program for practical endeavor. This was a correction that he had frequently to make at the time and which is more necessary to-day when it is regarded as the practical political platform upon which Lincoln established his services to the nation. Only once, in the heat of a reply to Douglas at Chicago, did he declare: ''I did not ever say that I desired that slavery should be put in course of ultimate extinction. I do say so now, however.'' (*Works of Lincoln*, Federal edition, 3:49) We next find him paying the expenses of a supporter to the Chicago convention, at the same time delivering to him what later proved to be a very necessary lecture on the principle that in the main the use of money in a political contest is wrong. (p. 135)

Following his election and preceding his inauguration he drafts a memorandum to be used by Senator Trumbull as a clue to the policies of his administration. (p. 168-169) Once in the presidential chair, the material becomes less illuminating. A private and confidential letter to General Carl Schurz and another to Congressman I. N. Arnold, in both of which he indulges in some plain talk, suggests something of his relations to the republican radicals of the day.

The editorial work on the volume is generally satisfactory although in a foot-note on page 111 the editor follows the obsolete and untenable tradition assigning to Judge Nathan Sargent the credit for having given the whig party its name.

ARTHUR C. COLE

Joseph H. Choate. New Englander, New Yorker, lawyer, ambassador. By Theron G. Strong. (New York: Dodd, Mead and company, 1917. 390 p. $3.00)

This is a disappointing sketch. It is parsimonious of biographical detail, it gives no satisfying glimpse of the profession of law of which Choate was the greatest ornament of his day, it does not display the diplomatic background against which he acted as ambassador in cementing a spiritual alliance between the United States and Great Britain. It gives little more than a body of fragments upon his standing as raconteur and post-prandial orator; and even here it tells few details that are not already common property. Among the few fragments of information that it includes is an account of the work of Charles F. Southmayd in laying down the legal foundation for the reversal of the income tax of 1894. Mr. Southmayd, the former senior partner of Mr. Choate's law firm, and as eccentric as elderly lawyers can well be, had retired from active practice in 1884. He emerged from his retirement to volunteer a brief against the income tax because of his "strong idea of the right of property being at the foundation of civilized government," and it was "his masterful brief that drove the entering wedge which by its cleavage demolished the Act." For his services in this suit Mr. Choate received $34,000.

F. L. P.

Early life and letters of General Thomas J. Jackson ("Stonewall" Jackson). By Thomas Jackson Arnold. (New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell company, 1916. 379 p. $2.00 net)

Much has been written about Stonewall Jackson the soldier, but as yet the world knows little of the more human side of the man — of his family and friends, his boyhood days, and his every day life before the war. This gap in the history of Jackson's life is now filled, as well as it is now possible to fill it, by his nephew's volume of mingled reminiscence, tradition, history, and correspondence. Thomas Jackson Arnold was the son of Jackson's only sister, who corresponded regularly with her brother and whose home was Jackson's home until he was married. The young nephew also lived for a year with Jackson at the Virginia military institute. Consequently, his recollections as well as his editorial work and researches in family history possess both interest and value.

The volume contains twenty-five chapters of which only one is given wholly to the civil war period. But much is made known about Jackson's youth, his life at West Point, his experiences in the Mexican war and in the United States army afterwards, his work at the Virginia military institute, his home life, and his personality. There are thirteen good illustrations and of the letters none have been published heretofore. It is in keeping with the Jackson tradition for us to be told by the nephew that his uncle believed in "system, method and discipline" in every human activity, but it is somewhat unsettling when we read that he was not a fatalist, not a zealot in religion, that for a time he was an Episcopalian, and only somewhat accidentally became a Presbyterian, that while in Mexico he made a serious study of the Roman Catholic faith. Further, the nephew declares that Jackson was an all-round human individual, with a sense of humor and without peculiarities or eccentricities.

This view of Jackson's personality is confirmed, at least in part, by the correspondence which discloses that the future general was a frequent letter writer, was much interested in children and in friends, that he went with pleasure into Mexican society, and while stationed in New York found enjoyment in frequent soirées and felt equal to purchasing bonnets for lady friends. The professional pedagogue might not now agree with Jackson's views as to the proper methods of teaching spelling and foreign languages, nor would the physician subscribe unreservedly to his directions in regard to health, diet, and medicine, but it would appear that Jackson put them all into practice with fair success.

Jackson's youth was spent under hard conditions in a western rather than a southern environment. All his life he had to be careful of his expenditures and evidences of his frugal habits show in his letters. While at West Point he gaive aid to his sister out of his cadet pay, and later he furnished the funds to establish a half-brother. Among other things we learn that the pay of an officer of Jackson's rank in Mexico was from $90 to $104 a month, and that several years later while in Florida it was $70 to $84 a month. He began his work at the Virginia military institute at $1200 a year.

Glimpses here and there in the letters inform us of the slowness of transportation in the middle west, the imperfect facilities for transmitting money and valuables, the political and social customs of the people, and the like. Jackson was opposed to secession when it came, but he had evidently long expected trouble to come in regard to slavery. The following extracts are taken from the letters relating to the affairs of a young half-brother, Wirt Woodson, who was being set up in the west by

Jackson: (1) "I do not want him to go into a free state if it can be avoided for he would probably become an abolitionist; and then in the event of trouble between North and South he would stand on one side and we on the other;" (2) he planned to buy lands in Kansas, for "Kansas will almost certainly be a free state and this will give the advantage of a free state in selling should I, years hence, wish to dispose of them;" (3) "I design . . . locating some land in a Northern state but . . . am a little afraid to put much there for fear that in a dissolution of the Union the property of Southerners may be confiscated."

WALTER L. FLEMING

Memoirs of Colonel John S. Mosby. Edited by Charles Wells Russell. (Boston: Little, Brown and company, 1917. 414 p. $3.00 net)

This is one of the most fascinating volumes of reminiscences dealing with the civil war that has come under the reviewer's notice. Most of the book, naturally, is devoted to the author's military exploits, hence it is to be regretted, little is told of Mosby's early life. For instance, though his wife is frequently mentioned, there is no account of the marriage.

No citations of authorities are given, thus the volume is less valuable to the serious student of military history than it might be. This is especially true of the controversial parts, such as chapter XII, which deals with Stuart's cavalry during Lee's second invasion of the north. The chapter is a condensation and revision of Mosby's *Stuart's cavalry in the Gettysburg campaign.*

The last two chapters deal with Colonel Mosby's personal recollections of Generals Lee and Grant. Throughout the work, Mosby's own personality is revealed in a most attractive style, making the book a most readable one.

The presswork is good, the proof-reading well done. Besides a map of the scene of Mosby's campaigns there are sixteen illustrations, some of them excellent. There is an index and Mr. Russell's introduction strikes an appropriate keynote for the volume.

MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

Samuel Jordan Kirkwood. By Dan Elbert Clark. [Iowa biographical series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh] (Iowa City: State historical society of Iowa, 1917. 464 p. $2.00)

The changing theory and practice of warfare receives new evidence from the modern study of the civil war. When the First Iowa regiment became too slender for further use in the civil war because of losses and expirations of enlistments, Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood refused to

allow the regiment to be reorganized, and his power so to refuse is itself a measure of the control which the war department and Lincoln had over the fighting units of the United States. The reason which Governor Kirkwood gave for his refusal is further witness to the personal view of war that then prevailed: "My reasons were that the good name & fame of that regiment was the *property* of its members . . . that a new regiment under the same name *might* tarnish that good name & that I had not morally the right to commit its keeping to new hands." The anonymity in which military units are now veiled, and the theory that an army is built to fight rather than to contribute glory to its members, had not come into existence when the Iowa war governor presided over the destinies of his state.

The third of this volume that records the war administration of Iowa constitutes its most valuable contribution to history. Democracy had had its day in Iowa when the war broke out. The Jacksonian solidarity of the west, into which Iowa had been born, had weakened in the middle fifties. Kirkwood himself represents a type of the protesting democrats who declined further alliance with slaveholders and who contributed numbers and political experience to the new republican party. Wavering as to allegiance was over before the nomination of Lincoln, but the rural frontier state had much to learn before it could be a military buttress to the union. When the war session of its legislature convened the governor had already given his own notes to meet imperative needs; the legislature voted a war loan of $800,000, if anyone would buy the bonds, and gave the governor a contingent fund of $10,000 and a private secretary. As the war progressed troops, weapons, clothing, and funds had to be forthcoming, and these seem, on the whole, to have been provided by one device or another without the community's learning anything in the process. Frontier democracy had no disposition to impede the war, and little capacity to profit by its lessons. Kirkwood, and his associates in other states, stand upon a lofty eminence because to so great an extent the executives had to carry the responsibilities of war with inadequate understanding or support behind them.

Before and after the war period Kirkwood's career is typical rather than distinctive. From Maryland to northern Ohio, and thence to Iowa in time to live through the panic of 1857 in the newer state, his life is that of his average successful neighbor. His later days in the senate and, for a few months, in the cabinet added nothing. His biographer finds that he was diligent and conscientious. He was also ahead of his time in at least one point. When renominated for governor in 1875, over General J. B. Weaver of later greenback and populist fame, he an-

nounced that "he honestly hoped to see the day when in going to the polls we shall take our wives, daughters, and sisters with us, and he believed that many of us would live to see such a day."

Mr. Clark has done his task with appropriate simplicity, and has added worthily to our list of frontier biographies.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

Booker T. Washington, builder of a civilization. By Emmett J. Scott and Lyman Beecher Stowe. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and company, 1917. 330 p. $2.00 net)

Since the death of Booker T. Washington, the press has been loud in singing his praises and writers have hurriedly published sketches of his career. These first biographies unfortunately have been inadequate to furnish the public a proper review of the record of the man, and in this volume before us this requirement has not exactly been met.

The authors are Mr. Washington's confidential associate and a trained and experienced writer, sympathetically interested in the negro because of the career of his grandmother, Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's cabin.* It contains a fitting foreword by Major R. R. Moton, Mr. Washington's successor, and a forceful preface by Theodore Roosevelt. The book is readable and well illustrated.

These authors were chosen by Mr. Washington himself with the hope that they would produce "a record of his struggles and achievements at once accurate and reliable." Coming from persons so closely associated with the educator, the reader naturally expects some such treatment as the *Life and letters of Booker T. Washington.* A work of such scope, however, the authors themselves maintain, is yet to be written. Passing over his childhood, early training and education, which they consider adequately narrated in *Up from slavery,* the authors have directed their attention toward making an estimate of the services of the educator during the last fifteen years of his life. Written with this purpose in view the work serves as a complement of Mr. Washington's *Story of my life and work* which deals with the earlier part of his career.

Each chapter is complete in itself, setting forth a distinct achievement or the manifestation of some special ability. Here we get an excellent account of the making of Tuskegee, the leadership of its founder, his attitude on the rights of the negro, how he met race prejudice, the way in which he taught negroes to coöperate, how he encouraged the negro in business, what he did for the negro farmer, his method of raising large sums of money, his skill in managing a large institution, and finally an estimate of the man. The book, however, fails to establish connec-

tion between the work of the educator and the great movements of his time and does not enable the reader to determine for himself the place of the man in history. The historian, therefore, must still await a broader and more scientific treatment to estimate the contribution of Booker T. Washington to civilization.

CARTER G. WOODSON

Annual report of the American historical association for the year 1914. In two volumes. Volume I. (Washington: 1916. 504 p.)

The proceedings of the meetings of the American historical association held in Chicago, December 29-31, 1914, give a more complete report of the different sessions held, and include a greater number of papers read, than has ordinarily been included in previous reports. In addition to the brief summaries given of all the papers presented at the various sessions, fourteen of them are printed in full. Of this number, four deal with subjects in American history, viz.: "Cabinet meetings under President Polk," by Henry B. Learned; "Tennessee and national political parties, 1850-1860," by St. George L. Sioussat; "The genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act," by P. Orman Ray, and "Asiatic trade and the American occupation of the Pacific coast," by Robert G. Cleland.

The majority of the papers however — ten in number — deal with subjects in European history. And within this field, the history of the near east and the Mediterranean countries predominate. The subjects treated are as follows: "Fresh light upon the history of the earliest Assyrian period," by Robert W. Rogers; "The eastern Mediterranean and early civilization in Europe," by James H. Breasted; "A political ideal of the Emperor Hadrian," by William D. Gray; "The influence of the rise of the Ottoman Turks upon the routes of oriental trade," by Albert H. Lybyer; "Some influences of oriental environment in the kingdom of Jerusalem," by Frederic Duncalf; "The feudal noble and the church as reflected in the poems of Chrestien de Troyes," by Edgar H. McNeal; "The Turco-Venetian treaty in 1540," by Theodore F. Jones; "The house of commons and disputed elections," by Henry R. Shipman; "Tendencies and opportunities in Napoleonic studies," by George M. Dutcher; "An approach to the study of Napoleon's generalship," by Robert M. Johnston. The *Report* also includes the proceedings of the eleventh annual conference of historical societies; the fifteenth report of the public archives commission, and the proceedings of the sixth annual conference of archivists. A paper on "The Chicago historical society," by Otto L. Schmidt; "Research in state history at state universities," by J. A. Woodburn; "Restrictions on the use of historical materials," by Lawrence J. Burpee; and a report of the com-

mittee on coöperation among historical societies and departments, by Dunbar Rowland, all submitted at the conference of historical societies, are printed in full. Two of the papers read at the conference of archivists are also included, viz.: "Legislation for archives," by Charles H. Rammelkamp; and "Principles of classification for archives," by Ethel B. Virtue. A paper on the "Preliminary survey of the archives of Minnesota," by Herbert A. Kellar, concludes the *Report*.

JOHN W. OLIVER

Orderly book of the three battalions of loyalists commanded by Brigadier-General Oliver de Lancey, 1776-1778. To which is appended a list of New York loyalists in the city of New York during the war of the revolution. Compiled by William Kelby. [New York historical society, John Devine Jones series of histories and memoirs, III] (New York: New York historical society, 1917. 147 p. $2.50)

This volume, which is the third publication in its series, is of loyalist origin, like its two predecessors, and like them falls within the period of the American revolution. As appears from one of the entries in the orderly book Brigadier-General Oliver de Lancey and the other chief officers of the three battalions composing De Lancey's brigade were appointed by Sir William Howe at New York, September 29, 1776. Although the battalions were to consist of 500 men each, and were to be employed primarily in the defense of Long Island, their ranks were never filled. Various orders in the book point to the difficulties which the provincial or Tory corps were experiencing in securing recruits, and De Lancey's brigade was no exception to the rule. According to the unpublished muster rolls its greatest strength during the period covered by the orderly book was only 883 men (on April 28, 1778), while its maximum enrollment was 1,095 men.

The 111 pages of the book proper contain brigade and battalion orders issued at successive dates at various posts and camps on Long Island and in the vicinity from November 23, 1776, to June 30, 1778, including those of Governor William Tryon, major-general of the provincial forces in the province of New York since April 20, 1777, after he was placed in command of the royal troops on Long Island, May 20, 1778. With these are incorporated numerous general orders from the British headquarters at New York, a few from Morris House (August 20 to November 7, 1777), and several from Philadelphia (January 3 to June 1, 1778), during the British occupation of the latter city. This combination of instruction supplies information not only about the routine duties, the movements, and the occasional lapses in conduct of De Lancey's men, but also concerning the decisions rendered by courts martial, the expedition against

the forts on North river, the valued services of Major-General Tryon and his associates, the sending of officers and recruits from New York to Philadelphia, the formation of Lieutenant-Colonel Andreas Emmerick's chasseurs from detachments of other provincial corps, the appointment of Lord Rawdon to the command of the volunteers of Ireland and of Alexander Innes, hitherto inspector-general of the loyalist troops, as colonel of the South Carolina royalists. There are also references to many other regiments, both regular and provincial.

Inevitably the knowledge to be gleaned from such a source is fragmentary, but it becomes important when properly supplemented. The volume well illustrates the kind of service to which the tory regiments were restricted during the earlier years of the revolution. One regrets that the record closes before De Lancey's first and second battalions were sent with other troops to Savannah to participate in the campaigns in Georgia and South Carolina. The third battalion was kept at Lloyd's Neck to protect the wood cutters of that region. To the orderly book is appended a list of 1,592 New York loyalists in the city of New York during the years 1776 to 1783, compiled by William Kelby from contemporary manuscripts and newspapers. The record is adequately analyzed in the index with which the volume is supplied.

WILBUR H. SIEBERT

With the national guard on the border. Our national military problem. By Captain Irving Goff McCann, A.M., B.D., chaplain, First infantry Illinois national guard. (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby, 1917. 271 p. $1.50)

In no sense is the volume at hand a serious scientific narrative of the national guard on the border in 1916. It is, rather, an exploitation of the life of the First infantry Illinois national guard by the opinionated chaplain of that organization. Therein lies the misnomer of the title. That the book will be of interest to the men of the "Dandy First" there is no doubt, however.

In the first third of the book, the author considers the national military problem as it presented itself during the latter part of the year 1916 and the first months of 1917. He briefly sketches Mexican history with a view of arriving at the cause of the struggle beginning in 1910, namely, as he believes, Mexico's unpreparedness for self government. He also states his reasons for the intervention of the United States in the republic to the south and, correlated with that problem the need of adequate defense against the possible and probable encroachments of Japan. Captain McCann then proceeds one step forther and discusses a military and naval program involving universal service. The events leading up

to the establishment of the Huerta administration are merely excerpts copied from the *Chicago Tribune*, as are also the incidents of 1913 concerning this government and Japan.

The remainder of the book is a presentation of reminiscences of a "bloodless campaign." The narrative may be followed in the chapters entitled "The Mobilization of the Guard," "Entrainment," and "On the Border." This constitutes a readable tale for the unitiated. The events are related in popular language; they are enriched by the personal and humorous experiences of the men and officers who are often called by name. Herein are set forth the many "little personal things about our experiences" that render, in the words of the chaplain, "a true narrative of the inner life and significance of our Border experiences." These little things often lead the author astray however, and impart an air of unorganization to his book. The material presented in the "Handicaps of the National Guard" is obvious. The appendix is composed of a history of the First Illinois Infantry.

Of truly great interest is the large number of interesting illustrations of Mexican celebrities, Diaz, Huerta, and Villa; of the soldier's life, military and domestic; and of many of the officers of the "Dandy First."

L. A. L.

An old frontier of France. The Niagara region and adjacent lakes under French control. By Frank H. Severance. In two volumes. (New York: Dodd, Mead and company, 1917. 436; 485 p. $7.50 net)

From the indefatigable pen of Mr. Severance, secretary of the Buffalo historical society, has come yet another important work devoted to the Niagara region whose history he has long assiduously cultivated. This latest work, charmingly entitled and handsomely printed in two large volumes, may fairly be regarded as his *magnum opus*, at least to the present time. How long it will retain this distinction it would be hazardous, in view of Mr. Severance's industry and productivity, to venture to say.

An old frontier of France is a regional history of the Niagara and those portions of the lower great lakes the history of which during the French period had a direct bearing upon the Niagara region. The "Niagara Region" in the author's concept includes "not merely the borders of the river from Lake Erie to Ontario, but more or less broadly the country contiguous to both lakes and river." To understand further his point of view, and so the subject matter of most of the work, one must note his emphasis upon the idea that the Niagara region during the French period constituted a link in the great French highway into the

heart of the continent. "No study," he says, "of the Niagara region in the days of the French is anything but fragmentary and inadequate if it fails to view the Niagara as a portion of a great thoroughfare which crossed the divide south of Lake Erie and had as its main objective the posts of the Ohio Valley, the Illinois country and communication with Louisiana."

As an important point, therefore, in a great highway is the study conceived. Chronologically it deals with the entire French period in Canada, from its earliest beginnings until the surrender of Fort Niagara to the English in the summer of 1759. Practically, however, there is little to record of French activity in this region until a century after the voyage of Cartier; thus the period actually covered by the work is the century and a quarter ending with the year 1659.

It might be thought that after Parkman there would be slight justification for an extensive work on such a theme. Admirable as was the work of the great historian, however, it does not cover intensively the large historical field with which it deals. Just this Mr. Severance has undertaken to do within the somewhat narrow limits he has marked out for cultivation. By frankly stating his object he disarms criticism on the score of overloading the narrative with excessive detail. To check minutely the accuracy of the vast accumulation of details brought together in the work the present reviewer lacks both inclination and competence. Those who are lovers of and specialists in the history of the region and period treated may rest assured that Mr. Severance's study deserves their serious attention. Others who may chance to read this review would not care, probably, for a criticism of statements of detail.

A few general observations, then, will serve the present purpose. The author writes from a fresh and independent study of the sources for his period. Moreover he has a minute familiarity with the physical aspects of the region treated. With great industry he combines the ability to wield a facile pen. Scholarly considerations aside, this characteristic of the book most impresses the reviewer. In his ability to paint a dramatic picture and to emphasize the human interest element in a historical narrative, Mr. Severance may fairly be compared to the late Mr. Thwaites. A considerable portion of the work, dealing with the Joncaires, father and son, has been adapted from volume IX of the Buffalo historical society *Publications*. These two officers loom large in the study, the author claiming to give them for the first time "something of the attention to which their services entitle them."

M. M. Quaife

Perry's victory centenary. Report of the Perry's victory centennial commission, state of New York. Compiled by George D. Emerson, secretary. (Albany: J. B. Lyon company, 1916. 309 p. $1.00)

This volume contains a record of the proceedings of the Perry's victory centennial commission of the state of New York, and a detailed account of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Lake Erie at Buffalo, September 2-6, 1913. It does not contain a complete record of the series of celebrations, which were held by most of the cities and large towns on the great lakes as well as by the city of Louisville in 1913. A number of these cities issued souvenir pamphlets or other records less permanent than the New York publication.

The report of the celebration in New York is supplemented by appendices which comprise accounts of the battle of Lake Erie by George Bancroft, William V. Taylor, and Frank H. Severance; a dissertation by Henry Watterson; a description of the Perry memorial, Put-in-Bay, Ohio, by the architect, Joseph Henry Freedlander; an address by John M. Whitehead at the laying of the cornerstone of the Perry memorial at Put-in-Bay, Ohio, July 4, 1913; James A. MacDonald's address on "America's message to the nations" delivered at Put-in-Bay, Ohio, September 10, 1913; a muster roll of the American fleet, September 10, 1813; official reports, despatches, and letters of Commodore Perry, as well as the official report of Captain Barclay, the British commander.

With the exception of Doctor MacDonald's excellent address, the volume contains little material that is new. George Bancroft's account of the battle of Lake Erie was first published in 1891. The article by Mr. Severance was written for the *Buffalo News* and published August 24, 1913. Colonel Watterson's dissertation appears in several of the Perry Centennial publications issued prior to the report of the Perry's victory centennial commission of the state of New York, as does the article by Joseph Henry Freedlander. Colonel Gardiner's address at the Buffalo celebration, September 4, 1913, is of particular interest in that it is the only one in the volume that contains an appreciable amount of information about Oliver Hazard Perry, the man.

The book is profusely illustrated, there being seventy-three full-page half-tones. The illustrations include a portrait of Commodore Perry which forms the frontispiece, a portrait of Captain Barclay, several pictures of the "Niagara," fac-similes of Perry manuscripts in the archives of the Buffalo historical society, and portraits of the several members of the centennial commission. There are three maps from Avery's *History of the United States and its people.* The format of the book is good, the typography excellent, and the index adequate; yet one lays it aside with a feeling of regret that it should not have been made a more

scholarly memorial to Commodore Perry, rather than a means of commemorating the services of the centennial commissioners.

Mabel C. Weaks

The readjuster movement in Virginia. By Charles Chilton Pearson, Ph.D., professor of political science, Wake Forest college. [Yale historical publications, Miscellany, IV, issued under the direction of the department of history] (New Haven: Yale university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1917. 191 p. $2.00 net)

Mr. Pearson's book is a substantial contribution to the literature of Virginia history. It is illustrative of the scientific spirit among an increasing group of young historians in the south. It has all the qualities of well trained craftsmanship, such as one would expect to characterize a study set forward under Mr. Dunning, carried to completion under Messrs. Farrand and Andrews, and published by the Yale university press on the Frederick John Kingsbury memorial publication fund. Written about a stormy conflict very fresh in the recollections of participants still living, it is everywhere objective and non-partisan. Mr. Pearson has the umpire's interest in the science of the game, but like a good umpire seems to be all but indifferent as to who piles up the bigger score. The English of the book is incisive and precise, if not flowing. Indeed it is this omnipresence of precision and the objective scientific spirit of the seminar which will make this scholarly book difficult for the uninitiate. The footnotes are all there and just what footnotes should be, and the bibliographical note at the end is a model of what such a note should be, and is itself a contribution to Virginia history. Proof reading and indexing leave nothing to be desired.

Withal the story is absorbing and important, and Mr. Pearson's book is the only place where it is convincely told.

It hinges around the struggle between state debt and public schools, culminating in the years 1867-1885. From these two centers radiate other problems and movements. All told they mean the awkward efforts of the common man to inject his spirit, his needs, his unaccustomed hands into the political ménage. Bourbonism, holding to ante-bellum conceptions of honor and conservatism, pleading stability and adjusting itself to the demands of the new economic nobility, resist the levelling spirit; but Bourbonism goes its way into the limbo and conservatism, in no small measure, takes over the spirit of the new era.

The creation of the debt is the old story of internal improvements by canals and railroads. By 1861 the state had invested thirty-five million dollars for which "it had secured, besides smaller improvements, a canal

from Richmond to the Valley and a railroad system which cost nearly seventy millions and which was nearly half as long in miles as that of all New England.'' The schools dated from the firm establishment of the literary fund in 1816, whose purpose was to provide a measure of ''education'' for indigent children. But by 1860 the state was paying tuition for one half of those attending school within the limits embraced in present Virginia. The war comes and goes. One third of the territory of the state was gone, its public works were dismantled, its accumulated capital was annihilated, the taxpaying power of the people was reduced, the debt and interest had climbed and was to increase all the while. On the other hand, a radical combination of negroes and scalawags dominated the constitutional convention of 1867. They struck ''frugality'' from the bill of rights and inserted ''equal civil and political rights and public privileges'' for all citizens. As a corollary they decreed a uniform system of schools free to all classes.

Bourbons and conservatives who put the debt first in state policy had to yield to those who would readjust the debt to the demand of right, financial disabilities, social and educational needs. From 1879 to 1883 readjusters ran the state. When, however, their chief, United States Senator William Mahone, had built up a remorseless personal machine and had determined to carry the state over to the national republicans, the best of his followers deserted and returned to conservative ranks. The latter, chastened and humanized, adopted the name democratic and not a little of the spirit of democracy.

The readjusters had accomplished their purpose, done much good and gone the way of third parties. Mahone, too, had dug a little deeper the grave of republicanism in Virginia.

Mr. Pearson has painted a faithful picture of fiscal, social and political readjustment in Virginia 1867-1885. He has also added a not unwelcome touch to the canvass of national politics during those years.

D. R. Anderson

Beginnings of the German element in York county, Pennsylvania. By Abdel Ross Wentz, B.D., Ph.D., professor of history, Pennsylvania college, Gettysburg, and curator of the historical society of the Evangelical Lutheran church in the United States. (Lancaster: Pennsylvania-German society, 1916. 217 p. $1.00)

Mr. Wentz deals with the beginnings of the German settlements in one of the predominantly German counties in Pennsylvania. He confines his investigation primarily to the events connected with actual settlement, the motives and characteristics of the settlers, and their part in colonial and early national history. The book covers about two de-

cades of the early eighteenth century. The first attempts at settlement in York county, the author shows, were made by English squatters, who were in a short time forced out by the Pennsylvania colonial government on the protest of the Conestoga Indians. It appears that the first authorized settlement also was made by Englishmen, though the writer goes into a lengthy disquisition to prove that Hendricks, one of the first settlers, was a German. Mr. Wentz does not establish this as more than a probability, and his painstaking research in regard to an individual settler seems of little consequence inasmuch as the first community of settlements was undoubtedly German. This part of the monograph might well have been relegated to the appendix.

The traditional German instinct for good soil was the determining factor in the choice of localities for permanent settlement, and therefore the German areas of settlement coincide with the limestone areas of the county.

The motives of these early settlers, it is shown, lay in unhappy conditions in the home country as well as in the freedom and opportunity of the new.

In personal characteristics, Mr. Wentz maintains that the Germans of York county are in contrast with other Germans in America, that the former possess a greater self-reliance and aggressiveness due to environmental conditions. Comparatively free from aggressive and supercilious English neighbors, he explains, the York county Germans attained to a local pride and a political and cultural development higher than that of other German communities dating from the early eighteenth century.

The narrative would indicate that the Germans of York county had a substantial, though not a brilliant part, in colonial Pennsylvania. They gave support to the Quaker régime and maintained stout opposition to the encroachments of the Marylanders. However, their lack of strong political consciousness or ambition was not conducive to their becoming a positive factor in the building of a new community. Their significance in the general course of American history lies in the fact that they were a well ordered, law abiding, industrious and frugal community on a pre-revolutionary frontier.

The author has made copious use of footnotes and has a bibliography of primary and secondary sources.

Albert Kerr Heckel

Publications of the Mississippi historical society. Edited by Dunbar Rowland, LL.D., secretary. Centenary series, volume 1. (Jackson: Mississippi historical society, 1916. 664 p.)

Two thirds of this volume is taken up with an account of "Mississippi's provisional government" from 1865 to 1868 by the veteran editor of the *Vicksburg Herald*, Captain J. S. McNeily. This task, the author tells us, has "been inspired as a duty, morally compelled, indeed, by the writings of authors prejudicial to the South and with the motive of shielding the North from the just judgment of posterity." Unlike Mr. James W. Garner's valuable monograph upon *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, Captain McNeilly's account of the three crucial years of Mississippi's provisional government is anything but a dispassionate study of that stormy period; on the contrary it is full of feeling, amounting at times to bitterness, toward those responsible for the orgies of reconstruction. The author contends that the radical leaders at Washington were "relentlessly antagonistic to a peaceable and orderly settlement of the Southern problem;" on the contrary they were busy from the first with the "hell broth of their scheme of reconstruction." No concession on the part of the southern states could have averted the deep laid and paramount plan for "making the South the stronghold of the Republican party" by conferring the suffrage upon the negro. Severe criticism is meted out to those writers who utterly pervert the truths of history by making a scapegoat of President Johnson as responsible for the rejection of the second war amendment by the southern states. "The rejection of the amendment by the Southern people was instinctive, instantaneous, and practically unanimous." Mississippi's "black code" is defended, and justly so, in the light of conditions then obtaining in the state; it is a mistake, we are told, to represent this code as responsible for the acts of 1867, for these had already been determined upon. The allegation of a Ku Klux force in 1868 is characterized as an absolute myth, for the author avers that such an organization never had a vital existence in Mississippi until 1871, and was then confined to some half dozen counties. Needless to say, the author denounces the employment of negro troops for governing the southern states as "atrocious." "It was literally placing black heels on white necks." There are those who will be disposed to agree with the writer that even had Lincoln been in the executive seat, his plan of reconstruction would have failed, even as that of Johnson did, before the bitter and relentless hate of the radicals. In short, a study and exposition of the annals of Mississippi during the eventful years following 1865 leads the author to the conclusion that in its "despotic and virulent punishment of a whole people there is nothing in the history of English speaking people comparable to

the reconstruction scheme of the Republican party," though many will not agree with his belief that the "evil done the South forms the secret of the survival of sectional hostility in the North."

In his endeavor to set forth the facts and motives of reconstruction in what he concedes to be their true light, the author surely does Mr. Rhodes a grave injustice to place even by implication, his great work in the same category with a partisan production like the *Twenty years in congress* by James G. Blaine, who is characterized as the "falsest of all false witnesses." Likewise questionable is the designation of General Schurz's *Reminiscences* as "unveracious," while the denunciation of northern writers in general is uncalled for. It would have conduced greatly to clearness of presentation had the writer divided his work into chapters; without page title or table of contents, the only way any topic can be found is by scanning each page. Minor faults are the failure to give always the volume of Rhodes in citing that work; the author's diction is at times unique, to say the least: e.g. the use of "who" for "whom;" the employment of "suffragan" as the equivalent of voter (p. 105); of "negrophobics" for those concerned in the negro's betterment (p. 123), "while" should be substituted for "with" (p. 172); the use of "which" for "who," (p. 195) has Biblical warrant but is questionable; "proof" is preferable to "proving." (p. 207) Occasionally the style is marred by unpardonable slang expressions, as on p. 300, 335. Despite all this the author has made a most valuable contribution to this period of the state's history. He wields a fluent pen, and has depicted in a vivid and an interesting manner conditions in Mississippi during the years 1865-1868. His monograph is replete with extracts from official documents, a thing which adds greatly to the value of the work.

Next in importance to the monograph described above, is an account by E. T. Sykes, late adjutant-general, of "Walthall's brigade" during the years 1862-1865. This famous brigade formed part of the army of Tennessee, and was led by one of Mississippi's most distinguished sons. The writer has aptly characterized his history as a "cursory sketch, with personal reminiscences." There is a highly eulogistic account of General Walthall, as well as briefer accounts of the other members of the brigade tacked on the end of different chapters, together with a roster of the field and staff of the Thirty-fourth Mississippi regiment. Chapter 10 on war anecdotes could well have been omitted. The author points out how the "Memorial" prepared by Major-General Pat R. Cleburne advocating the arming of the slaves lost him a promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general, condones the removal

of General Joseph E. Johnston, and exhibits a marked admiration for General Bragg.

An important contribution to the colonial period of Mississippi's history is "Mississippi's colonial population in 1792" by Mrs. Dunbar Rowland. This contains a list of land grants from the king of England in British West Florida, and a census of the inhabitants of the Natchez district in 1792. Mrs. Rowland also contributes a patriotic song, Mr. George J. Leftwich contributes two interesting and valuable papers: one on "Colonel George Strother Gaines and other pioneers in Mississippi territory;" and one on "Some main traveled roads, including the Natchez Trace." To this latter are appended four maps taken from photographs of original surveys of land ceded to the government by the Chickasaw. There is a sketch of James Lockhart Autry, a gallant confederate officer, by James M. Greer, and finally a sketch and roster of Company "C," Second Mississippi regiment, during the Spanish-American war.

The volume is neatly bound, the type of good size, and there is a name index. A few typographical errors have been noted; the sentences at top of p. 47 are incomplete; 'Ponotoc' for 'Pontotoc' (p. 320); 'Culpepper' for 'Culpeper' (pp. 442, 443); 'Gault' for 'Galt' (p. 486); 'Lafourach' for 'Lafourche' (p. 546); 'Rommey' for 'Romney' (p. 549); 'Mecklinburg' for 'Mecklenburg' (p. 592). On the whole, however, the volume maintains the high standard set by the previous publications of the Mississippi historical society, and is a worthy testimonial to its energetic and painstaking editor.

James E. Winston

Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois. Herausgegeben von Dr. Julius Goebel, professor an der Staatsuniversität von Illinois. [Jahrgang, 1916, volume xvi, im Auftrage der Deutsch-Amerikanischen historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois] (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1917. 398 p. $3.00 net)

The 1916 number of the *Jahrbuch* contains four interesting contributions to the history of the German emigrants of the nineteenth century.

The volume opens with an account of the life and work of Karl Follen by G. W. Spindler. Instead of a chronicle of events such as is often found in biographies, the author has given us a good analysis of the work and philosophy of a man who was recognized by his fellow countrymen as "one of the most distinguished and influential German-Americans in the first half of the 19th century." Follen was essentially a reformer and a radical. Like most men of that type he was ahead of his

times and suffered the fate of most pioneers of great movements. For his espousal of the cause of German unity and liberty he was forced to flee to America. Here his position and financial success were sacrificed to his zeal in the abolition movement which had not at that time become popular even in Boston.

The student of the history of education and philosophy will find much of interest in this article. The author has given an exposition of the philosophy of the Germans in the early nineteenth century with especial emphasis on the ideas and ideals of the revolutionists. The story of Follen's introduction of the study of the German language and literature into this country is especially interesting at this time when so many schools are excluding it from their curricula. This is not the only educational innovation for which this country is indebted to Follen, for to him is due, also, the credit for the introduction of physical training.

The article is followed by a comprehensive bibliography of the materials upon which it was based, a list of Follen's writings and an anti-slavery article, "The Cause of Freedom in Our Country," by Dr. Follen which was first printed in the *Quarterly anti-slavery magazine*, October, 1836.

The next section is devoted to two articles dealing with the German-Americans in the middle west by two of the emigrants themselves. These are especially welcome to a student of German-American history for it is to sources such as these that he must eventually turn for his material and both of these articles are now rather difficult of access. The first is an account of "The German settlement five miles east of Belleville" by Dr. George Engelmann, who was "among the first Germans who came to this region." As this settlement was the chief German colony of Illinois and as Dr. Engelmann was one of the prominent men in the settlement the article is important for the history of the German-Americans of the state. The article, which appeared first in *Das Westland*, deals first with the physical characteristics of the region and then with the coming of the emigrants of the early thirties to the settlement. A chart of the region accompanies the article.

The second article in this section is by the well-known German-American, Gustav Koerner, and is "A criticism of Duden's report on the western states of North America." Duden's report had, as the author of this criticism says, more influence on the German emigrant than any of the other many books which appeared on America. It was, however, entirely too rose-colored and it was to correct some of the wrong impressions which it had created that Koerner wrote this criticism.

The last article in the book is "The German element in the state of Colorado. Its influence on the economic, intellectual and social develop-

ment of the state,'' by Mildred MacArthur. The article embraces a brief historical sketch of the Germans in the state, an exposition of their services in representative pursuits and their share in developing the resources of the state, and a summary, with specific examples of the influence of the German element on the religious, educational, political and social growth of Colorado. This purpose, stated in the introduction is ably carried out in the body of the article in spite of the limited number of documentary sources of information. It is a matter of regret, however, that such a large percentage of the foot-note references are to no more reliable source than county histories.

The volume closes, as usual, with the biographical sketches of deceased members and the yearly report of the German-American society of Illinois.

The volume, on the whole, contains some real contributions to German-American history, but its value to a student would be enhanced if an index were added so that special information might be easily found without the laborious task of searching through a hundred pages or more of a single article.

JESSIE J. KILE

The veto power of the governor of Illinois. By Niels H. Debel, Ph.D., sometime fellow in political science, University of Illinois. [University of Illinois studies in the social sciences, volume VI, numbers 1 and 2] (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1917. 149 p. $1.00)

A useful study of a comparatively neglected field of state government is presented in this examination of the veto power as exercised in Illinois. The introductory chapter discusses briefly the origin of the veto in England, its exercise in the American colonies and in the states under their early constitutions. Then a chapter is devoted to each of the three constitutional periods in Illinois, those respectively under the constitutions of 1818, 1848, and 1870. The treatment for each period is the same. After a preliminary statement of the situation in other states during the time covered, there is an examination of the use of the power in Illinois, and an analysis of veto messages, showing the grounds taken by the governor for withholding his approval to bills, together with a word as to the subsequent fate of the vetoed measures. As the constitution of 1870 bestowed a limited item veto on the executive, the classification for 1870 to 1915 includes vetoes of appropriation bills and items therein. Particular interest attaches to the period from 1818 to 1848, since during this time Illinois had a council of revision, owing to the fact that a prominent member of the constitutional convention had previously been a New Yorker. The last chapter contains a brief summary

and some conclusions as to the significance of the veto power and its exercise.

There are convenient and illuminating tables which summarize the information given in the text.

Taken as a whole the study is a distinct addition to the scant literature dealing with state governments and their development. Not only does it present a full statement of formal proceedings in Illinois, but it illustrates a tendency in our political development: the successive extensions, and the growing exercise, of the veto power emphasize the growing distrust of state legislatures and the increasing confidence in executive.

The method adopted by the author has unfortunately tended to make the study rather mechanical. It is a repository of facts without that comment and explanation which would serve to relate them to the general political and social development of a people. Time after time the reader wishes that he might know what induced the governor to veto a measure; how the people thought on the matter; and whether the legislature or the executive represented the best or the current opinion. Only in one or two instances is this done and then is such a way as to whet rather than appease the curiosity. Contemporary newspapers, at least, could have been used much more extensively with profit.

Lester Burrell Shippee

Proceedings of the society at its sixty-fourth annual meeting, October 19, 1916. (Publications of the state historical society of Wisconsin, edited by Milo M. Quaife, superintendent). (Madison: State historical society of Wisconsin, 1917. 363 p. $1.00)

The principal portion of this volume contains a series of valuable and interesting historical papers. Three of them are of special note as dealing with some well known phase of the civil war period, President Lincoln as war statesman by Captain Arthur L. Conger, U. S. A., the dream of a northwestern confederacy by William C. Cochran, and the story of Brevet Major Isaac N. Earl by Newton H. Culver. The first named sketch is a careful and scholarly study of the evidence bearing on the place actually held by Lincoln in the military field of the civil war. The author reaches the conclusion that President Lincoln did possess and maintain a complete knowledge of all the military operations of the war and that through the entire war he was able to direct the main campaigns and to advise skillfully and astutely in many of the minor operations. This conclusion, which is at variance with many of the authorities quoted in the sketch, helps to clear up an exceedingly confused phase of Lincoln's career. Every student of this period must feel

under obligation to Captain Conger for his clear and impartial handling of this much debated question. Cochran gives, with admirable clearness, the plans of the south with reference to the northwest and adds considerably to the material accumulating on this important subject.

Another interesting paper is on the beginnings of the Norwegian press in America. This contribution will be welcomed as a substantial addition to our knowledge regarding the migration of the Norwegians to this country and their assimilation into the populations of the various communities where they settled. The pioneer days of the state are vividly recalled by Father Verwyst's reminiscences of a pioneer missionary.

The report of the executive committee is a very full statement of the varied activities and valuable work centering with the Wisconsin historical society. Under the three principal heads of library, museum, and research and publication, Superintendent Quaife states briefly what each of these departments has accomplished and the plans for the future. From the facts and figures given, one can obtain a vivid conception of the widely ramifying interests of the society and the excellent results obtained by its coördinating activities. Hardly a profession or a locality in the state can be said to be outside the province of some one of the live agencies centering in this organization. And when there is borne in mind also, that the society maintains the closest association with the state university, it can be easily understood why this group of scholars receives the hearty support and coöperation of every one in the state.

Corn among the Indians of the upper Missouri. By George F. Will and George E. Hyde. [Little histories of North American Indians, number 5] (St. Louis: William Harvey Miner company, 1917. 323 p. $1.50)

This volume of the "Little Histories" is a work of conscientious and laborious scholarship, revealing intimate acquaintance with the peoples, regions, and product which are considered.

A plain and unpretentious style, rising in some passages to simple beauty, accords with the subject matter. The repetition of quotations from different authors on the same subject, however, sometimes tends to monotony. The omission of a bibliography is not entirely compensated for by references in footnotes. Spelling and proof reading in general have been well attended to, but in the title to the frontispiece, "rack" is used to designate a rake. The illustrations are excellent.

The upper Missouri valley is defined as the region extending along the Missouri from the mouth of the Platte to the Rocky mountains. The various tribes within it are enumerated, and the process of their settle-

ment is sketched. The technique of the agriculture of these tribes, particularly that of the Pawnee and Mandans, is adequately treated in chapters on the planting and cultivation of corn, harvesting, and methods of preparing food. Habituation to agriculture led to a comparatively elaborate and permanent form of village life, and the description of the earth-lodge villages is especially commendable. Of peculiar value, likewise, is the chapter on the corn trade which was carried on chiefly by the Mandans as intermediaries between the tribes to the northeast and to the southwest, and with the whites. The development of the many varieties of corn is handled with the skill of specialists.

A careful account, perhaps a trifle tedious but enlightening, is given of the religious legends and ceremonies generated by corn. The historian who searches for confirmation of economic determinism in religion will find here valuable data. The mysterious Mother Corn, or other supernatural agency through whom the divine gift came, was in reality none other than that long procession of patient squaws who, inspired with feminine devotion to the nurturing of human life, took a semi-tropical plant and with skill derived from need and infinite experimentation — rivaling modern scientific methods — through many decades of seed selection and practical culture, adapted this most valuable product to a habitat varying from regions of abundant rainfall and heat to the pinched summers of the Upper Missouri and even of the Saskatchewan; yet the tribes must needs seek in explanation some special dispensation of deity, build up rituals, and propitiate unfavoring influences (drouth and grasshoppers) by means of sacrifices — sometimes even human sacrifices.

The book in general may be looked upon as an exposition of the economy of corn in the life of the Indians of the Upper Missouri. It utilizes and sums up the work of many investigators, adds much original material, and opens up some new vistas in aboriginal life.

William Trimble

Contributions to the historical society of Montana. Volume 8, 1917. (Helena: Montana historical and miscellaneous library, 1917. 376 p. $2.00)

The volume before us is made up largely of pioneer reminiscences about the Indians, the fur trade, travel, road building, lumbering, military service, early settlers, and miscellaneous incidents of pioneer life in Montana. While this class of material has of course definite limitations as historical evidence, the reviewer is inclined not to agree with those who believe that it is a waste of a state's time and money to collect and publish it. For many phases of the early development of a common-

wealth it is about all the evidence obtainable, and aside from possible value to serious historical writers its publication tends to stimulate popular interest in the past of the immediate environment, to cultivate a just pride in the worthy deeds of the pioneers and to give a measure and perspective for the proper appreciation of the hardships, suffering and real heroism of the builders of the commonwealth — an interest which comes back to the more serious work of the publishing society in very practical ways. The intense interest of pioneers in reading about the scenes and incidents which made up the world of their younger days might well be considered some justification of the state's aid in publishing such a volume as this. Certain it is that whatever value for the historian such materials may have, the value can be realized only by immediate action to rescue them from oblivion. Montana as a relatively young state dating its territorial days from the sixties has still many pioneers living, but the list of deaths in the years 1916-1917 published in this volume (pages 345-367) and approaching four hundred in number, almost exclusively from the sixties, shows how rapidly the earliest pioneers are passing.

It is to be hoped, however, that in future volumes the Montana society will not confine its attention exclusively to this kind of material. A wealthy and progressive state like Montana should give some attention to publishing its more important archives and state papers, and the *Collections* of the historical society are obviously the natural medium for such publication. Such work, however, would imperatively demand more careful editing and proof-reading than is shown in the present volume. Indeed the material of this volume is worthy of more care if only out of respect for the reading public.

Misspellings and other minor slips are too numerous for specific citation, but taking the first article, which is typical, we find mention of the battle of "Chancellorville," of "Sickle's Corps," and of the "seven day's battles," and are informed of the ferocity of the "outset" when the regiment charged "with a bayonet." (p. 10-11) We are told (p. 8) that the Montana pioneers under discussion were ardent admirers of Stephen A. Douglas, believing that they were entitled to all the "sovereignity" they had enjoyed in the states they came from, but that upon the firing on Fort "Sumpter" they all "sallied to the support of Abraham Lincoln." In a sentence in the next article (p. 27) we find "a yolk of cows." In the same article we have (p. 25) "beneficient civilization" (p. 26), "beneficient labors" (p. 30), "beneficient efforts" and (p. 32) a "beneficient achievement." This is at least consistent. Perhaps "Societey" (p. 28), "scruplously" (p. 29), "terriotory" (p. 30), "prosecuter" (p. 31), "publicaly" (p. 33), "forebearance," "ar-

raigned," "judgement," "citidal" (pp. 34-35), are to be charged up to the reformed spelling board. In some cases, as in "herorically" (p. 160), a good sentiment is brought low.

The punctuation is in harmony with the spelling. The use of the comma passes understanding. Whether the long-suffering editor feared to take any liberties with his copy, or took too many, is not clear, but the reader will need to guess at the meaning of some sentences. Incomplete sentences are numerous. The bad loose sentence is characteristic of most of the reminiscences. A few of these perplexing specimens ramble along over a considerable portion of a page. A useful exercise for Montana school boys and girls for instance, might be the rectification of the wrigglers on pages 13 and 17. In paragraphing they may find an exercise in the block of sentences, stretching in calm solidarity like their own Rocky mountains, on pages 8 to 13. More frequent is the paragraph of one sentence. In places, as at the top of page 102, either paragraph or sentence or word seems to have been left out, or excised, leaving the pronouns "these" and "they" without antecedents. In general the editing recalls a certain esteemed citizen's recommendation, in which he expressed himself somewhat cautiously: "To anyone who desires this kind of book, it would undoubtedly be just what he would desire."

GEORGE N. FULLER

The Pacific ocean in history. Papers and addresses presented at the Panama-Pacific historical congress held at San Francisco, Berkeley, and Palo Alto, California, July 19-23, 1915. Edited by H. Morse Stephens, Sather professor of history, University of California; Herbert E. Bolton, professor of American history, University of California. (New York: Macmillan company, 1917. 535 p. $4.00)

Measured in time it is only a little while since the Panama-Pacific exposition opened its gates to the throngs of visitors who poured through the courts and palaces of that city of beauty and enchantment. But the years since the exposition have been so filled with great occasions and the remaking of the world, that one looks back to 1915 as across a vast distance. So to most of us, your reviewer feels sure, the recollection of what we saw and wondered at in the exposition has become overclouded and hazy, like the memory of events that happened in our childhood.

It is fortunate, therefore, that at least one phase of the exposition was not left entirely to these whims of memory but has been embodied in tangible shape and so given permanent value. The special session of the American historical association, known as the Panama-Pacific historical congress, which met in San Francisco, Berkeley, and Palo Alto from July 20 to July 23, 1915, furnished an unusual intellectual treat and

stimulus to the historians of the Pacific coast and to that considerable number from other parts of the United States who were fortunate enough to attend. Its results, however, would have been more or less transient, if the papers read and the record of its proceedings had not been preserved in published form. The work of editing the manuscripts read at the various sessions of the congress was placed in the hands of two men eminently fitted for the undertaking — Mr. H. Morse Stephens, of the University of California, who was the moving spirit of the entire enterprise; and his colleague, Mr. Herbert E. Bolton. The volume issued under their direction, *The Pacific ocean in history*, is altogether worthy of the occasion which called it forth and of the high standing of its editors in the field of historical scholarship.

Unusual foresight was shown as early as 1910 in planning what indeed would have been one of the most noteworthy of international historical conventions, and in pressing those plans to the point where success seemed assured, only to have them in large measure frustrated by the outbreak of the European war. In spite of this obstacle, however, which affected not only the attitude of the belligerent nations, but made it impossible for many neutral delegates to attend, the congress as actually held, together with the special meeting of the Asiatic institute and the American Asiatic association, which were in session on the 19th and 20th of July, served a notable purpose and brought together an international group of historical scholars.

It was eminently fitting that at such a congress, met to celebrate the opening of the Panama canal, the program should deal almost exclusively with one of the greatest of international subjects — the Pacific ocean in history. Even where the papers touched upon other matters, as in the case of those read before the meeting of the New Mexico historical society, which are included in the volume, there is no lack of harmony with the central theme, for the advance of Spaniard or American across the great southwest was only a prelude to his occupation of the Pacific.

Naturally, in a large collection of papers by different authors bearing upon different subjects, there is much room for comparison, and for criticism or praise. But in a space necessarily limited, the task of speaking of the merits or demerits of particular articles becomes impossible, even if it were desirable. The book as a whole is so systematically arranged, however, that its content can be summarized with ease. After the introduction, come five addresses delivered at the general sessions of the congress. Two former presidents of the American historical association and one very eminent Spanish historian are represented among these five. A second group consisting of six papers deals with the Phil-

ippine Islands and their part in the history of the Pacific. A third division of four papers touches upon the relation of the northwestern states, British Columbia and Alaska to the Pacific. A fifth series of four papers has to do with Spanish America and the Pacific. This is followed by two contributions on California and five on the history of New Mexico and Arizona. The last group, consisting of three papers, very fittingly takes up topics relating to Japan and Australasia.

One or two societies, such as the Native sons of the golden west, were represented on the program of the congress; while American universities supplied some seven or eight of the papers and foreign universities an equal number. Several of these papers appearing in *The Pacific ocean in history* have been printed elsewhere; while one or two of those read at the congress are not included in the volume.

While recognizing that the wider and more comprehensive program at first outlined for the Panama Pacific congress, had to be radically modified and curtailed because of the European war, one must assuredly congratulate the Pacific coast branch of the American historical association and all others who carried out the undertaking in spite of difficulty and discouragement, upon its eminent success. The volume which records this success is also worthy of high commendation. It is well printed, carefully indexed, and gotten up mechanically in a way that leaves little room for criticism. From a scholarly standpoint, it serves as a fitting expression of the most important historical convention as yet held on the Pacific coast and takes rank as one of the most valuable publications of the American historical association. Its editors are to be congratulated, as well as those whose contributions make up its interesting pages.

Robert G. Cleland

The constitution of Canada in its history and practical working. By William Renwick Riddell, LL.D., justice of the supreme court of Ontario. (New Haven: Yale university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1917. 170 p. $1.25 net)

The author of this little volume, a distinguished justice of the supreme court of Ontario, has sought to give in the four lectures in the Dodge foundation a popular exposition of the Canadian government and its actual operations. The first lecture gives a very readable sketch of Canadian history while the following one traces in general outlines the development of its organic law.

The constitution in its actual working is then considered. Here is found a very lucid exposition of the relation of public opinion to government. It affords an excellent illustration of the typical English attitude

in accepting a government partially autocratic in form but which inevitably becomes democratic in fact. This is particularly well instanced by the popular attitude towards the senate with its membership appointed for life. "When it is troublesome by refusing to carry government measures a cry is raised by some for its abolition or amendment, but this is not continuous or influential. . . In most instances it is the political creed of the voter which determines his view of the usefulness of this second Chamber." (p. 103) Since vacancies are rather frequent as most men appointed are well advanced in years and since they are always filled by men of the same political faith as the government, there is always an ultimate escape from a permanent deadlock between the popularly elected house of commons and the senate.

The observations of the author as to the desirability of a bicameral legislature in the provinces will be of special interest to American students of state government, for the provinces of Canada have had experience with both types of legislative organization. His conclusions are summed up as follows: "No Province with only one chamber has ever desired two; while at least one of those with two has groaned under the imposition. Nor has there been found crudity or want of thought more in the monocameral than in the bicameral Provinces." (p. 103)

The final chapter is devoted to a comparison of the governments of Canada and of the United States, the major portion of which is devoted to the discussion of the relative merits of the parliamentary omnipotence of the former as compared with the American system of constitutional checks. Here the author lays aside the splendid judicial poise characteristic of the first lectures and assumes the role of the partisan. It is to be regretted that such is the case for a careful and discriminating effort to value the relative merits of the two systems by so able a writer would have been a genuine contribution. But nothing of this nature is attempted. Instead there is given a list of decisions, mainly taken from the state courts, some of which represent minority views while others are in conflict with the federal supreme court, to show what American legislatures cannot do and to emphasize the unrestricted powers of Canadian legislative bodies. On the whole the cases have been wisely selected from a partisan point of view for they reflect in the main the worst aspects of our system of constitutional restraints, and such cases as Yick Wo *v.* Hopkins, *in re* Sing Lee, and Cory *v.* Atlanta, where intolerable invasions of liberty have been prevented, are significantly omitted. The biased results of such a treatment of the subject are obvious. It would seem to serve no other useful purpose than to lead to the astounding conclusion that in being free from the system of constitutional limitations Canada is spared the evils of the system.

Whatever of good may be found in constitutional restraints which require an enforced period of consideration and the exercise of sober second thought before established principles of distributive justice may be outraged, is brushed aside as apparently unworthy of remark.

It may not be unfairly said that the following inaccurate generalization are fairly typical of the writer's grasp of the principles of American public law: "No interpretations of the courts of the meaning of the words of the statutes, can the legislature correct: no contract created by legislation, however unwise, can be cancelled: no grant, however improvident, can be recalled." (p. 145)

The reader is told that "In the United States the courts are supreme: in Canada, the people thru their representatives" rule. "In the United States, half a dozen men sitting up in a quiet chamber can paralyze the activity of a Senate and House, may say that a measure imperatively called for in the public interest cannot be validly enacted: and the legislators, the people, are helpless — that is called republicanism, democratic government." (p. 145) After thus being informed of the tragic helplessness of the people one finds that the author on another occasion (p. 152, not 9) has contended that the Dartmouth college case has been of no more importance than "to oblige legislatures to introduce into private charters a clause reserving the power to repeal or alter them." Again "Did the decisions, or either of them, on the constitutionality of taxation of incomes do any good? and would any harm have been done if they had been the other way? No constitutional amendment would have been necessary, but what of it? Would any one have been injured if he were validly taxed under the constitution as it stood, rather than under an amendment?" And again, in discussing the Ives case he declared "Did this do more than call for an amendment, inevitable if the people wanted it?" Such inconsistencies merely typify the role of the agitator which the distinguished author assumed in the final lecture.

Despite such delinquencies, however, the book is valuable and instructive so far as it deals with the Canadian government and its problems, and its contribution will be to impress upon the American mind the English love of liberty which is not different from our own, that the aspirations of the two peoples are substantially the same, and finally that from the standpoint of democracy the differences between the governments is one of form rather than of fact.

Arnold Bennett Hall

To Mexico with Scott. Letters of Captain E. Kirby Smith to his wife. Prepared for the press by his daughter, Emma Jerome Blackwood. With an introduction by R. M. Johnston, A.M., assistant professor of modern history, Harvard university. (Cambridge: Harvard university press, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford university press, 1917. 225 pp. $1.25 net)

These letters and diary of Captain Smith invite comparison with the *Mexican war diary* of George B. McClellan published early in 1917 by the Princeton university press. Both officers agree in their contempt for volunteer soldiers and officers, but the youthful McClellan was more extreme than Smith; both, in their writings throw light upon army life in war time, army administration in the field, battles, and campaigns. The more highly professional point of view is that of McClellan. Smith was an older man, a captain of infantry, while McClellan was just out of West Point and in the engineer corps. He records little except directly personal experiences and professional observations. It is to be noted that McClellan has much to say about the bad effect of drink, drink, everywhere, while Smith hardly mentions it. Smith's letters and diary are fuller than McClellan's diary and cover more time and space. They begin in August, 1845, near Cincinnati and end in September, 1847, a few hours before he was killed at Molino del Rey. He saw and described to his wife much of Taylor's marches and battles in northern Mexico and Scott's campaigns from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico.

Captain Smith had a love for nature which shows in nearly every letter, and he possessed a gift for description whether of a battle, a city, or a sunset which makes interesting all that he wrote. He was troubled by no scruples as to the cause of the war, was ambitious, anxious to do his whole duty, he loved his country and the flag as its emblem. But he was most anxious for peace which would permit him to go back to his family. Curiously enough his attitude toward Mexico was much the same as that of those who today criticise President Wilson's Mexican policy: he thought that the United States was not hard enough on the Mexicans who could not, he thought, understand anything but force. Yet he was horrified by the harshness of the volunteers in dealing with the non-combatant population. If one may read between the lines it seems clear that General Scott maintained better discipline than did General Taylor. The volume has value not only for the historian but for the student of army administration.

There are some mistakes in proof-reading or in copying, e.g., in the spelling of Tamaulipas, de Reussy, etc. The writer of these letters, Captain Ephraim Kirby Smith, must not be confused with his brother,

Captain Edmund Kirby Smith, who was in the same Mexican campaigns and who later was well-known as a confederate general.

WALTER L. FLEMING

Inter-American acquaintances. By Charles Lyon Chandler, curator of Latin-American history and literature, Harvard university library. Second edition. (Sewanee, Tennessee: University press of Sewanee, 1917. 187 p. $1.25)

The historical basis of Pan-Americanism will be strengthened by the second edition of Mr. Chandler's book. This volume is in several ways an improvement over its predecessor. It contains forty-eight pages of additional material. The first chapter, particularly, is made more comprehensive by the inclusion of new data on commercial relations, taken largely from the contemporary public press of the period from 1800 to 1820, showing the extent of our trade with Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil during that period. Notable indeed is the fact that in 1801, 58.3 per cent of our total foreign trade was with nations to the south of us, and that from 1802 to 1809 our trade with Brazil increased over 500 per cent. There is included a list of American vessels trading with the River Plate in 1801 and 1802, and we are shown the extent of New England's interest in the trade during this period. Mr. Chandler has given us a new chapter on the "Wilkes exploring expedition in Brazil, Chile and Peru in 1838-1839." This expedition was despatched by the United States government, "for the purpose of exploring and surveying in the great Southern Ocean in the important interests of our commerce embarked in the whale fisheries and other adventures in that ocean, as well as to determine the existence of all doubtful islands and shoals, and to discover and accurately fix the position of those which lie in or near the track pursued by our merchant vessels in that quarter." Such eminent scientists as Dr. Charles Pickering and James Dwight Dana accompanied the expedition. It is refreshing to note that the United States had scientific interests as well as political and commercial in Latin America in the early nineteenth century.

In his preface, Mr. Chandler exonerates himself of any charge that might be made relative to any lack of completeness of his book. It is rather an outline, based almost entirely on original material, however, and indicating a field of scholastic endeavor which might be utilized to great advantage. The object of this volume, he says, is "to stimulate perhaps a few of those now engaged in studying Spanish-American history . . . to elaborate its material into historical or economic studies of permanent value." Aside from submitting evidence of the productivity of this as a possible field of research Mr. Chandler seeks to prove

(1) that the moral and material aid and example of the United States were factors in the Latin-American wars of independence and (2) that during this period the Pan-American movement was forecasted, "embodying the fundamental ideas on which the Pan-American Union is based."

The evidence submitted divides itself logically into two parts, commercial and political, and the latter division may be regarded from two viewpoints, that of the United States and that of South America. To show that we had preëminent commercial affinities with South America before the Monroe doctrine was promulgated, the author considers only our trade with South America, but pays no heed to the extensive British, French, or Spanish commerce. North Americans did participate in the wars of independence, but so did Englishmen and much British aid was rendered upon which the revolting states placed great dependence. The importance of British interests in South America cannot be disregarded even in a study of the fundamentals of Pan-Americanism. Mr. Chandler shows that Clay and Monroe were the true originators of the Monroe doctrine. In support of his contention that the Monroe doctrine had a Pan-American origin, the author cites Monroe's correspondence of as early a date as 1812, and shows that Jefferson entertained proposals for the recognition of Brazil in 1787. Canning is condemned for his famous statement of December 26, 1826, although Mr. Chandler does not attempt to show that the assurance of England's support did not influence the United States in the promulgation of the Monroe doctrine. Emphasis is placed on the Pan-American sentiments of South American leaders in the era of independence — the sincerity of their admiration of the United States, her statesmen, ideals, and institutions. It is a question, nevertheless, whether the declarations of South American leaders, who were so anxious for North American aid, and who were equally if not more extensively aided by England, can be regarded as evidence of an abiding Pan-American feeling. The attitudes of South American political leaders subsequent to the era of independence would prove a better criterion.

It is suggested that in a future edition, the first chapter, now consisting of 113 pages (three-fifths of the book) be subdivided into two chapters, possibly on the respective topics of political and commercial relations. Such an arrangement would be of great assistance to the reader, as would be the inclusion of a system of footnotes, showing sources, and an index. Typographically the work is well executed, although minor errors exist on pages 3, 17, 59, and 120. *Oidores* (magistrates of an *audiencia*) cannot be rendered as "deputies" (p. 55).

Charles H. Cunningham

American government. With a consideration of the problems of democracy. By Frank Abbott Magruder, Ph.D., instructor of politics, Princeton university. (Chicago: Allyn and Bacon, 1917. 468 p. $1.25)

This volume is intended for use as a high school text-book in government and citizenship. The author states in substance that the aims in teaching American government are: first, to impress upon the pupil his responsibility as a future citizen, for the development of better government; second, to show that the state has evolved from a simple organization for defense to the complex socialized society of today, and that it is still evolving; third, to explain the operation of government — national, state, and local — emphasizing the functions without neglecting the necessary details of framework; fourth, to make plain the influence of the judiciary; and fifth, "to present the political and social problems of today such as the initiative, referendum, recall, short ballot, woman suffrage, industrial education, and prohibition." He has succeeded in presenting a text which will be a great help in accomplishing the aims set forth.

The book consists of twenty-nine chapters, three appendices, and a working index. Very little space is given to historical considerations. The first chapter is an interesting discussion of the benefits of government. It is followed by one of seven pages on the development of the state from the earliest stages to the present. Ten pages suffice to present the origin and formation of the federal constitution. The framework, functions, and operation of the federal government are discussed in fourteen chapters. State and local governments are discussed in nine chapters, and one chapter is devoted to each of the following: political parties and politics, suffrage, nominations and elections, public education, social legislation.

The arrangement is good. The book is well-proportioned, well-printed, and generally complete. Numerous good illustrations well selected are used to advantage. The book is full of interest and the many questions on the text and questions for discussion appended to each chapter form a valuable feature. There is an adequate but not extensive bibliography at the end of each chapter.

I. L. Pollock

A beginner's history. By William H. Mace, professor of history, Syracuse university. (Chicago: Rand, McNally and company, 1916. 404 p. $.60)

This book is intended as a text book for pupils who are just beginning the study of United States history. The author makes the text inspira-

tional as well as informational by telling the story of the lives of the men and women who have been influential in moulding the developing nation. Those who favor the teaching of history by the biographical method will welcome this book.

One-fourth of the text, treating of about twenty-five explorers, colonizers, and missionaries and of the industries, manners, and customs of the people of their time, is devoted to the colonial period. From Washington to Goethals an admirable selection of about forty-five characters — statesmen, soldiers, frontiersmen, inventors, and administrators — is presented. Seven "heroines of national progress" are included. The treatment of the social, economic, and political aspects of the nation's development is well-balanced.

There are more than two hundred illustrations, many of which are good and some of which are meaningless. The fifty-eight portraits of the leading characters and the more than twenty maps constitute valuable features of the work. At the end of each of the twenty-five divisions of the text is a group of "suggestions intended to help the pupil." These suggestions are divided into three parts: first, the leading facts of the division are enumerated; second, a group of study questions are given; and third, some well-selected readings are suggested. The book is fairly well made and includes a glossary of about two hundred fifty words and a good working index.

I. L. Pollock

History of the United States. By Henry William Elson, Ph.D., Litt.D. (New York: Macmillan company, 1917. 1022 p. $1.80)

Thirteen years after its first publication, this one-volume history of the United States appears in a revised edition. The revision, however, is confined to the addition of two chapters of thirty and eight pages respectively; these bring the narrative down to the second election of Wilson. In other respects the edition is identical with the first issue — printed from the same plates, with all of the original errors, typographical, and otherwise. The text has not profited by the author's invitation, thirteen years ago — "the pointing out of any errors by the reader will be deemed a kindness."

The stamp of general approval, however, has been placed on Mr. Elson's volume by a demand which has necessitated eighteen reprints, and its merits and defects are too well-known to call for a discussion of the older portion at this time. The first of the new chapters, entitled "The twentieth century," is an excellent summary of events since 1905. Party history; tariff, trust, and financial legislation; and relations with Mexico and the European belligerents during our period of neutrality, are

admirably dealt with for so concise a treatment. The chapter will add greatly to the present-day usefulness of the work. It is to be regretted that the revision was not delayed a few weeks longer, so that it might include our entry into the war, or at least the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany.

The final chapter, on "The latest industrial progress and inventions," conforms to a conventional demand in textbook writing with which the reviewer has little sympathy. The segregation of such topics obscures their most vital relations, and the necessary brevity of discussion precludes any real elucidation.

HOMER C. HOCKETT

NEWS AND COMMENTS

The managing editor regrets that for causes some unavoidable and others not, for which he was generally responsible, the account of historical activities in the south does not appear in this number.

A profusely illustrated and carefully prepared article on "The Feurt mounds and village site" by William C. Mills comprises the July, 1917, number of *Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly*, while that of October, 1917, contains, among others, an interesting study of "Henry Bouquet," by J. C. Reeve.

Bulletin number 844 of the University of Wisconsin is the doctor's thesis of John William Oliver, *History of the civil war military pensions, 1861-1885*. This monograph might more properly be called a "Legislative history of the civil war military pensions." Unless some such qualification is assumed one can rightly challenge its failure to penetrate the human background of the heavy economic burden which the civil war imposed upon succeeding generations. As it is, the study presents a fine example of the kind of formal discipline that can be administered to the ambitious candidate for the doctorate who is willing laboriously to grind out the requirements for his degree. Painstaking the study is, without doubt; its chief success perhaps lies in the thorough manner in which it eliminates from the mind of the reader, out of shear weariness with everything pertaining to pensions, all doubt as to the wisdom of the insurance policy adopted in the present war.

"Penalties of patriotism," an appreciation of Francis Vigo, Pierre Gibault, George Rogers Clark, and Arthur St. Clair by Joseph J. Thompson, is the leading article of the January, 1917, *Journal of the Illinois state historical society.*

Morgan's raid in Indiana by Louis B. Ewbank is number 2, volume 7, of the *Indiana historical society publications.*

Tennessee historical magazine publishes two interesting sets of documents: "Correspondence of John Bell and Willie Mangum, 1835," and "Letters of John Bell to William B. Campbell, 1839-1857."

Fold lore and local color, well flavoured with hero worship, are the materials of J. Edward Murr's "Lincoln in Indiana" in the December, 1917, *Indiana magazine of history.*

Western Pennsylvania historical magazine, to be published quarterly by the Historical society of western Pennsylvania, made its debut as a pamphlet of fifty-five pages, January, 1918. It avows the purpose of preserving, discussing, and disseminating matters of local history, biography, and belles lettres, and of publishing original letters, records, and journals. It begins the "Diary of a young oil speculator" and gives the first entries of the "Common place book of Rev. John Taylor" as well as reprinting from Loudon's *Indian narratives* a most interesting account of the "Trial of Marmachtago" by Judge Hugh Henry Brackenridge.

A full-fledged case of witchcraft, in all the quaint details of seventeeth century English, as recorded in the "Minutes of the council and general court, 1620-1629" is published in the *Virginia magazine of history and biography* along with "Letters of William Byrd, First," and "Virginia gleanings in England."

A valuable reprint of "Ole Bynning's true account of America" makes up the body of the *Minnesota history bulletin* for November, 1917. Theodore C. Blegen is to be congratulated on the careful editing and translation of this rare account of early Norwegian settlement in Illinios.

The Iowa journal of history and politics for January, 1918, has two articles on the part of that state in the civil war: one, by Ivan L. Pollock on "State finances," and the other, by Cyril B. Upham on "Arms and equipment for the Iowa troops."

The state historical society of Iowa is issuing a monthly pamphlet, *Iowa and war*, dealing with military matters connected with the history of Iowa. They are edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh, and, though in no sense monographic, "are none the less based upon critical studies and reliable sources of information." Under the general title, Cyril B. Upham in the November issue reviews the connection of Iowa with the history of wars, local, national, and international. In December, Earl S. Fullbrook contributes "Sanitary fairs — a method of raising funds for relief work in Iowa during the civil war."

H. A. Trexler discusses the Missouri river as a route to the great northwest in "Missouri-Montana Highways" in the *Missouri historical review*, for January, 1918.

The forty-first annual meeting of the Nebraska state historical society, January 15-16, 1918, struck a refreshingly novel note by spending its entire time on the development of the general topic, "Farmer's movements in Nebraska, 1857-1917."

"The government of Austin's colony, 1821-1831" by Eugene C. Barker, "The residencia in the Spanish colonies," by Charles H. Cunningham, and the first installment of "The powers of the commander of the confederate trans-Mississippi department, 1863-1865," by Florence Elizabeth Holladay appear in the January, 1918, *Southwestern historical quarterly.*

Bulletin number 11, department of geology of the South Dakota school of mines is a fat volume of two hundred and twelve pages in which Cleophas C. O'Harra has listed a critical bibliography of the *Geology and mining interests of the Black Hills region.* There are eleven hundred and eighty-seven titles arranged chronologically from 1814 to 1917.

Opening the west with Lewis and Clark, by Edwin L. Sabin, is a piece of fiction for boys, the *locus* of which is the expedition of Lewis and Clark, constituting an addition to "The trail blazers series." Such books are obviously not history, but the present volume may well be put into the hands of any healthy boy of twelve or thereabouts to entertain him. It will do him no harm. This is more than can be said for many works of juvenile fiction.

The September-October, 1917, *Magazine of history* serves as usual a heavenly hash of historical by-products.

The "Supplement" to the *American economic review*, December, 1917, contains an elaborate index to subjects, authors, books reviewed and publications of the American economic association, 1886-1910.

The January, 1918, *Military historian and economist* prints the first of a series of articles looking toward the revision of the doctrines of the late Admiral Mahan. "H. H.," a distinguished English contributor, in "Mahan and his successors" points out with constructive criticism the weaknesses of Mahan's theories while paying scrupulous deference to the great work that he accomplished.

"Catholicism in the Philippine Islands" by James Alexander Robertson and the "Inquisition in the Philippines," by Charles H. Cunningham are two valuable contributions that appear in the January, 1918, *Catholic historical review.*

Grace Gardner Griffin has compiled a comprehensive topical bibliography, *Writings on American history, 1915*, which includes all books and articles, however brief, containing anything of value to the history of the United States and British North America. This is the tenth of an annual and continuous series, which, begun in 1906, has been sustained by a group of subscribers consisting of various historical societies and individuals.

Professor William Trimble has published an *Introductory manual for the study and reading of agrarian history,* which plans "to afford references and suggestions for a survey of the general history of agriculture and for a more detailed study of that of the United States." It embodies bibliographical data from both technical agriculturists and historians and will be of great value to those interested in this comparatively new field of history.

Robert Southey's *Life of Nelson* has long been recognized as one of the best biographies of the great English admiral; the present edition, published by Houghton Mifflin, is especially valuable owing to the introduction by Henry Newbolt. This introduction presents in a rather glowing, but still accurate form, the main features of the biography, corrects a few errors in the original text, and amplifies the account of the battle of Trafalgar with a technical description of the naval victory. The eighteen excellent illustrations in color and the footnotes likewise add to the historical worth of the present volume.